The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization

The Life of the Prophet Muḥammad

VOLUME I

Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya

Ibn Kathīr

Translated by Professor Trevor Le Gassick

Reviewed by Dr Ahmed Fareed

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In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

FOREWORD

THE interrelationship and interaction of human cultures and civilizations has made the contributions of each the common heritage of men in all ages and all places. Early Muslim scholars were able to communicate with their Western counterparts through contacts made during the Crusades; at Muslim universities and centres of learning in Muslim Spain (al-Andalus, or Andalusia) and Sicily to which many European students went for education; and at the universities and centres of learning in Europe itself (such as Salerno, Padua, Montpellier, Paris, and Oxford), where Islamic works were taught in Latin translations. Among the Muslim scholars well-known in the centres of learning throughout the world were al-Rāzī (Rhazes), Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Ibn Rushd (Averroes), al Khwārizmī and Ibn Khaldūn. Muslim scholars such as these and others produced original works in many fields. Many of them possessed encyclopaedic knowledge and distinguished themselves in many disparate fields of knowledge.

In view of this, the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization was established in order to acquaint non-Muslims with the contributions Islam has given to human civilization as a whole. The Great Books of Islamic Civilization Project attempts to cover the first 800 years of Islam, or what may be called Islam's Classical Period. This project aims at making available in English a wide selection of works representative of Islamic civilization in all its diversity. It is made up of translations of original Arabic works that were produced in the formative centuries of Islam, and is meant to serve the needs of a potentially large readership. Not only the specialist and scholar, but the non-specialist with an interest in Islam and its cultural heritage will be able to benefit from the series. Together, the works should serve as a rich source for the study of the early periods of Islamic thought.

In selecting the books for the series, the Center took into account all major areas of Islamic intellectual pursuit that could be represented. Thus the series includes works not only on better-known subjects such as law, theology, jurisprudence, history and politics, but also on subjects such as literature, medicine, astronomy, optics and geography. The specific criteria used to select individual books were these: that a book should give a faithful and comprehensive account of its field; and that it should be an authoritative source. The reader thus has at his disposal virtually a whole library of informative and enlightening works.

Each book in the series has been translated by a qualified scholar and reviewed by another expert. While the style of one translation will naturally differ from

another, the translators have endeavoured, to the extent it was possible, to make the works accessible to the common reader. As a rule, the use of footnotes has been kept to a minimum, though a more extensive use of them was necessitated in some cases.

This series is presented in the hope that it will contribute to a greater understanding in the West of the cultural and intellectual heritage of Islam and will therefore provide an important means towards greater understanding of today's world.

May God Help Us!

Muhammad bin Hamad Al-Thani
Chairman of the Board of Trustees

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THIS series of Arabic works, made available in English translation, represents an outstanding selection of important Islamic studies in a variety of fields of knowledge. The works selected for inclusion in this series meet specific criteria. They are recognized by Muslim scholars as being early and important in their fields, as works whose importance is broadly recognized by international scholars, and as having had a genuinely significant impact on the development of human culture.

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The work of translating these texts has been entrusted to a group of professors in the Islamic and Western worlds who are recognized authorities in their fields. It has been deemed appropriate, in order to ensure accuracy and fluency, that two persons, one with Arabic as his mother tongue and another with English as his mother tongue, should participate together in the translation and revision of each text.

This series is distinguished from other similar intercultural projects by its distinctive objectives and methodology. These works will fill a genuine gap in the library of human thought. They will prove extremely useful to all those with an interest in Islamic culture, its interaction with Western thought, and its impact on culture throughout the world. They will, it is hoped, fulfil an important rôle in enhancing world understanding at a time when there is such evident and urgent need for the development of peaceful coexistence.

This series is published by the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, which serves as a research centre under the patronage of H.H. Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, Amir of Qatar. It is directed by a Board of Trustees chaired by H.E. Sheikh Muhammad bin Hamad al-Thani, the former Minister of Education of Qatar. The Board is comprised of a group of prominent scholars. These include H.E. Dr Abul-Wafa al-Taftazani*, Deputy Rector of Cairo University, and Dr Yusuf al-Qaradhawi, Director of the Sira and Sunna Research Center. At its inception the Center was directed by the late Dr Mohammad Ibrahim Kazim, former Rector of Qatar University, who established its initial objectives.

The Center was until recently directed by Dr Kamal Nagi, the Foreign Cultural Relations Advisor of the Ministry of Education of Qatar. He was assisted by a

* Died 1994, may Allāh have mercy on him.

Board comprising a number of academicians of Qatar University, in addition to a consultative committee chaired by Dr Ezzeddin Ibrahim, former Rector of the University of the United Arab Emirates. A further committee acting on behalf of the Center has been the prominent university professors who act under the chairmanship of Dr Raji Rammuny, Professor of Arabic at the University of Michigan. This committee is charged with making known, in Europe and in America, the books selected for translation, and in selecting and enlisting properly qualified university professors, orientalists and students of Islamic studies to undertake the work of translation and revision, as well as overseeing the publication process.

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INTRODUCTION

THE work at hand in its original Arabic is, in a sense, the product of two minds: the author himself, Abū al-Fidāʾ ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar b. Kathīr,[1] and, to a lesser extent, its editor, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. In his introduction to the Arabic, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid points out that this work is in fact the culmination of a search for a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad to which Ibn Kathīr makes reference in his celebrated exegesis of the Qurʾān. There is, however, no extant copy of any such independent biographical study traceable to Ibn Kathīr. That such a study did exist is questionable, notwithstanding Ibn Kathīr's own allusion thereto. Given the unavailability of this particular work, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid offers the theory that the biography in question is none other than that which appears in Ibn Kathīr's chief work, his opus on history, the *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*.[2] He argues that the *sīra* section of the latter work is so comprehensive in its analysis of the life and times of the Prophet Muḥammad as to almost obviate the need for any independent study of the same topic. The biography at hand, therefore, is the same as found in the *al-Bidāya*. Nevertheless, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid must be commended for the not inconsiderable task of editing and publishing this particular section as an independent unit, and appropriately titling it *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya li Ibn Kathīr*.

Ibn Kathīr, whose ancestors are said to have been from Iraq, was himself born around the year 1313 CE/700 AH in the Boesra district of eastern Damascus. He died 74 years later, shortly after suffering a total loss of vision. He counts as his tutors such illustrious personages as the eminent historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, the Mālikī jurist Abū Mūsā al-Qarāfī, and the celebrated Damascene polemicist and jurist Ibn Taymiyya al-Ḥarrānī.

Ibn Kathīr's was an era of the great political and social upheavals that posed many challenges to the Muslim world at large, and in particular, to its scholars. What with the scourge of the Tartars threatening the very existence of Islam as a socio-political entity from the outside and the sectarian and ethnic strife created by the Mamluk revolution doing much the same from within, Ibn Kathīr and his

1. According to R. Y. Curtis, *Authoritative Interpretation of Classical Islamic Tafsīr: Critical Analysis of Ibn Kathīr's Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓīm* (unpublished dissertation, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1989) (21), classical bibliographers have cited Ibn Kathīr's name in more than one way. Al-Dhahabī for instance, in the supplement to his bibliography, *Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Huffāẓ*, gives Ibn Kathīr's name as Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar b. Kathīr b. Ḍaw b. Kathīr b. Zarʿ. Other versions have been given, however, such as appear in al-Ziriklī's *al-Aʿlām* (1: 320) and ʿUmar Ridā Kahhāla's *Muʿjam al-Muʾallifīn* (1: 28).

2. According to C. Brockelman in his *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* ii. 49, this historical work of Ibn Kathīr is itself based on al-Birzāli's chronicle. For more information see also, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina* (Cod. Vienna, no. 1172).

colleagues, no doubt, had huge challenges with which to contend. In addition, the unrelenting pestilence and drought that had plagued the Levant and areas east thereof, made their burden all the more unwieldy. He died in 1387 CE/775 AH and lies buried in Damascus next to his master, Ibn Taymiyyah. He was mourned by his wife Zaynab, the daughter of his teacher, al-Mizzī, who, according to some reports, was an accomplished scholar in her own right. She bore him four sons, one of whom succeeded his father to the post of principal of the teaching academy al-Madrasa al-Ṣāliḥiyya.[3]

Ibn Kathīr, true to the pre-eminent tendencies of the academic milieu within which he functioned, brings to his study of the Prophet of Islam the method of the *muḥaddith*, the scholar of *ḥadīth* traditions, more assiduously than he does that of the traditional historian. In doing so, however, he has, I believe, substantially succeeded in combining two of the three sources available for the pursuit of the historical Muḥammad: the *ḥadīth* literature and the *sīra*; the Qur'ān, being the third such source, features less prominently, if not altogether rarely, in his study. Given the very extensive usage of *ḥadīth* material in this particular work, a word about the classical nature of such material and its contemporaneous validity would be appropriate at this point.

Early historical studies of Muslim society and culture, as A. A. Duri points out, "followed broadly two lines that were distinct from each other – that of *ḥadīth*, and that of the tribes (i.e. the *ayyām* anecdotes as narrated by the *akhbārīs* and the *ruwāt*), which is in a sense a continuation of pre-Islamic activities. "These two lines", he explains, "reflect the two major currents in early Islamic society – the Islamic and the tribal lines which influenced all aspects of life."[4] According to Muslim tradition, the learning and transmission of the sayings and actions of Muḥammad, his tacit approvals and disapprovals of the actions of others, and his general behaviour had religious significance second only to that of the Qur'ān. To that end Muslim scholars began the collection of such data as was related to the Prophet and his era even while he was still alive. At first, the system of oral retention was popular, but by the middle of the first century of the Muslim era, written compilations of *ḥadīth* traditions began to appear. By the end of the third quarter of that century, "a pattern was fixed for the learning and teaching of the *ḥadīth* which flourished in the second and third centuries."[5] A system of sorts for verifying the authenticity of such prophetic traditions was allegedly extant from the earliest of times – albeit in a

3. Curtis, 23.

4. Professor Duri's article is in large measure an elucidation of what he calls "the tribal type of history". See in this regard 'The Iraq School of History to the Ninth Century', in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962).

5. M. M. Azami, *Studies in Early Hadith Literature* (Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 1983), 186,

rather rudimentary manner. That system, however, was neither systematized nor rigorously applied until the advent of the civil wars (*fitna*), whereupon sources were no longer regarded, prima facie, as trustworthy, but were instead increasingly scrutinized to establish authenticity. Thus evolved the elaborate *isnād* system where every *ḥadīth* was scrutinized from two perspectives: the text (*matn*) containing the information transmitted as such, and the chain of transmitters (*sanad*) giving the names of all those responsible for transmitting such information from the Prophet himself.

As indicated earlier, Ibn Kathīr's method in this particular work is more that of the *ḥadīth* scholars than it is of the historian; al-Bukhārī, Muslim and more so, al-Baihaqī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and Abū Nuʿaim thus feature more prominently as sources for his biography than do historians such as Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Hishām or Tabarī. But, as ʿAbd al-Wāḥid rightly points out, Ibn Kathīr, on occasion, is not averse to using some rather obscure historical works, some even that are no longer extant: the rare historical tractate of Mūsā b. Uqba, and the *al-Rawḍ al-Anf* of al-Suhaylī are examples thereof.

True to tradition, if not quite on the same scale as, for instance, Ibn Hishām, are Ibn Kathīr's copious citations of poetry, almost all of which seem to have been taken from Muḥammad b. Ishaq's biography of the Prophet. The poems deal with a variety of themes and styles: there is, for instance, the unmistakable sarcasm of Kaʿab b. Zuhayr as reflected in his lampooning of the Prophet, followed by his subsequent retraction and apology as in the much celebrated poem, *Bānut Suʿād*; there is also the occasional celebration of pre-Islamic Arabian chivalry, as in the haunting ode of Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām, when he speaks so movingly of his virtual self-immolation for the love of a friend. Then, of course, there are the evocative panegyrics of Ḥassān b. Thābit in defence of Islam, its Prophet, and his Companions.

Ibn Kathīr, oddly enough for someone who has plumbed the depths of *ḥadīth* methodology, frequently paraphrases, not just the many references to scholars such as Ibn Isḥāq, but also, at times, the very *ḥadīth* material he so often quotes. He thus takes almost the same liberties with such material as he does with works on history, and the reader, particularly of the Arabic text, sometimes searches in vain for all but the gist of the traditions that he ascribes to, say, the *saḥīḥ* of Bukhārī or that of Muslim. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid offers two possible reasons for this anomaly; the one I believe to be somewhat more plausible than the other. It may well be, he suggests, that Ibn Kathīr was simply quoting from memory, seeing no need for any further textual verification, or it may also be that he is, in fact, using sources unavailable to us today. This latter hypothesis is, I believe, somewhat disingenuous for it requires, amongst other things, that Ibn Kathīr possessed not one, but an entire set of *ḥadīth* works unique to his library alone!

The text itself suffers from a singular lack of the literary cadence that makes the historical works of al-Ṭabarī, for instance, more of a pleasure to read. This seems to result from Ibn Kathīr's efforts to present an authentic description of the life and times of the Prophet of Islam, and to submit such data as is found in the popular biographical works to the scrutiny of *ḥadīth* literature. The flow of his text is, without question, a casualty of this exercise. But, as has been pointed out by a scholar of the Bible, "If we read biblical narrative (or in this case the *sīra* material) as a story, we abandon its historical truth. If we read it as literature, we will often find literary art in it, but this art takes us further from truth."[6] Not that the method of Ibn Kathīr is altogether without its redeeming features: it certainly provides useful information to scholars, particularly those of the traditional schools, who would prefer to have the classical sources for *sīra* studies close at hand.

The contents of works such as Ibn Kathīr's *sīra* are today regarded by many scholars of Islam as largely proto-historical, focusing, that is, on an era whose source documentation falls short of contemporary historiographical standards. It is, some say, the stuff of myth and legend, entwined in places with real historical data. For modern historians of Islam and the Middle East such as Maxime Rodinson, Patricia Crone et al., *sīra* material contains, in the first instance, virtually "nothing of which we can say for certain that it incontestably dates back to the time of the Prophet".[7] And so, "when doing research about the life and work of the Prophet Muḥammad", Rudi Paret warns, "we on principle distrust the traditional statement and explanation of facts given by later generations, in so far as they cannot be verified by internal evidence or in some other way."[8]

In addition, the work at hand may be seen by some to be no more than the product of one who had a variety of interests in the topic: one who was, at one and the same time, a historian, a scribe of "sacred biography", and also a devotee; the results of an endeavour such as Ibn Kathīr's, therefore, risk being perceived as less than the product of dispassionate scholarship.[9]

This critical approach to Islamic historiography emerged gradually in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was, understandably, only a matter of time before Albert Schweitzer's "quest of the historical Christ" would be appropriated by

6. See Robin L. Fox, *The Unauthorized Version: Truth and Fiction in the Bible* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

7. This particular statement appears in the introduction to Maxime Rodinson's own biography of the Prophet. See Maxime Rodinson, *Mohammed*. Trans. Anne Carter (London, 1971).

8. For the full text of this article see R. Paret, "Recent European Research on the Life and Work of Prophet Muhammad", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi, 1958.

9. See in this regard G. D. Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad* (Columbia: University of Southern California Press, 1989).

scholars of Islamic history in their search of the demythologized Muḥammad; after all, this kind of appropriation of the analytical tools indigenous to studies of Christianity for the unravelling of the Islamic historical experience has become almost a convention in Islamic and Middle Eastern studies. Yet the entire process is, I believe, fraught with questionable hypotheses, broad generalizations and a certain disregard for the spatio-temporal factors that shape ostensibly similar events. The application of New Testament heuristic tools such as Form and Redaction criticism to the corpus of information pertaining to the *sīra* seems to betray a casual disregard for the *Sitz im Leben* of that very corpus. The life and work of Jesus is clearly different from that of Muḥammad; the former's mission – if it can be described as such – is, for example, singularly devoid of the political and socio-economic objectives that informed that of the latter. It is, therefore, hardly surprising, as F. E. Peters in his recent article "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad" points out, that "even though a great deal of effort has been invested in research into the life and times of Muḥammad, the results do not seem at all comparable to those achieved in research on Jesus, and the reasons are not at all clear."[10]

Ever since Gustav Weil presented his *Mohammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre* in 1843, scholars have endeavoured to unravel the historical Muḥammad using a variety of tools and strategems. Initially the material offered by Muslim historians such as Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām and more importantly, al-Ṭabarī was used almost unquestioningly by Christian scholars who, as Holt characterizes them, belonged mainly to "holy orders".[11] Their primary purpose, it would seem, was to provide a spirited defence of Christian theology and dogma against the claims of Islam and its adherents. The polemics that ensued were, in the main, reflective of the attitude that there was "not any rational inducement in all (that Muslims) believe or practice; insomuch that common sense must be discarded in order to embrace their system."[12] As for Muḥammad, he was for many in that era "so coarse and barbarous an imposter, that there is not a man, who does not or cannot perceive plainly his cheat and corruption."[13] Humphrey Prideaux, the 17th-century lecturer in Hebrew at Oxford, captured rather succinctly the disposition of scholars *vis-à-vis* the study of Muḥammad, in the rather long-winded title of his work, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annex'd*

10. F. E. Peters, "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad", in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (19912), 291–315.

11. See P. M. Holt, "The Treatment of Arab Historians by Prideaux, Ockley, and Sale", in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 290–302.

12. Ibid., 300.

13. Ibid., 300.

for the vindication of Christianity from this charge. Offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present age.[14] Later Simon Ockley, the somewhat less acerbic and brusque vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, authored *The History of the Saracens*, a "much more solid contribution to historical knowledge" as Holt puts it, but one that none the less did "not fail to follow common form by stigmatizing Muḥammad in his first line, as 'the great Imposter' and then describing the Arab conquests as 'that grievous calamity'."[15] The liberalism that swept across Europe in the 18th century helped create a relatively less hostile attitude among European scholars towards Islam and its leader. We thus find during that era scholars such as Henri de Boulainvillier emerging. Boulainvillier, his theological affinities notwithstanding, assumed a decidedly more conciliatory tone in his biography of Muḥammad, *La vie de Mahomet*. For him, Christianity is undoubtedly superior to Islam but he is, none the less, quite charitable in his evaluation of his subject, and says: "With respect to the essential doctrines of religion, all that (Muḥammad) has laid down is true; but he has not laid down all that is true; and that is the whole difference between our religion and his."[16]

The quest itself began in earnest in the writings of the Belgian Jesuit, Henri Lammens. Whereas Theodor Noeldeke, prior to him, had largely failed in his attempts to unravel "the historical person of Muhammad", Lammens plodded on, and succeeded to some extent, in demonstrating "the possibility of the critical analysis of the *sīra*". Lammens' efforts, however, were directed, not at a biographical study of Muḥammad *per se*, but rather on the search for the secret of his personal appeal and the rapid expansion of his message. "Muhammad to him, was a historical problem as well as a symbol of Islam's obstinacy and insensitiveness to the missionary influence."[17]

Lammens also happened to be among the first to argue, with some conviction, that the *ḥadīth* traditions as well as the *sīra* material on the Prophet are, on the whole, fictitious. This inaugurated a new perspective on Islamic history: the emphasis shifted from a critique of the actors in that history to the questioning of the source material itself.

In the 19th century, the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher concluded that much of the *ḥadīth* material was but a "pious fraud . . . invoked by every group (in early Islam) for every idea it evolved; . . . through solid chains (*isnad*) of tradition, all such matters acquired an unbroken tie to the 'Companions' who had heard those pronouncements and statutes from the Prophet or had seen him act

14. Ibid., 291.

15. Ibid., 311.

16. P. M. Holt, *The Treatment of Arab History*, 300.

17. K. S. Salibi, "Islam and Syria in the Writings of Henri Lammens", in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 330–342.

in pertinent ways."[18] Later Professor J. Schacht further explored the foregoing hypotheses by subjecting the *isnād* of a few legal traditions to an exhaustive scrutiny. He concluded that "hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic; they were put into circulation . . . from the first half of the second century onwards."[19] From this others were quick to extrapolate that even the biographical material is fraudulent. Crone thus states: "that the bulk of the *sīra* . . . consists of second century *ḥadīths* has not been disputed by any historian, and this point may be taken as conceded."[20]

Not all Western scholars, however were as eager to jettison the classical material. W. M. Watt, writing in his *Muhammad at Mecca*, is clearly more reluctant than Crone, for example, to reject out of hand all such material, simply on the strength of Schacht's conclusion. He thus maintains that "In the legal sphere there may have been some sheer invention of traditions, it would seem. But in the historical sphere, in so far as the two may be separated, and apart from some exceptional cases, the nearest to such invention in the best early historians appears to be a 'tendential shaping' of the material . . ."[21]

It must be remembered, however, that traditional Muslim scholars display little awareness of the foregoing conundrum. The classical methodology of *ḥadīth* criticism as practised by early Muslim scholars, with its close scrutiny of the *isnād* and the *mutūn* of prophetic traditions, has, in the main, not been discredited, or even questioned, by Muslim scholars. If anything, that methodology has today been given a new lease of life by scholars such as Nāsir al-Dīn al-Albānī, who, for example, regard the re-evaluation of the early sources as integral to what they call the Islamic renaissance (*al-Nahḍa al-Islamiyya*). Such a renaissance, Albānī argues, will fall far short of its goals, without a thoroughgoing purge of what remains of the spurious material that had crept into *ḥadīth* and *sīra* works during the turbulent epoch of early Islamic history.[22] He thus set himself the task of appraising scholars and the Muslim laity alike to those traditions that were deemed spurious by the regimen of classical *ḥadīth* studies. His findings, which were first published under the title "al-Ahādīth al-Daʾīfah wa al-Maudūʿah" in a weekly column in the magazine *al-Tamaddun al-Islamī*, now comprise a multi-volume work, appropriately titled *Silsilah al-Ahādīth al-Daʾīfah wa al-Maudūʿah*.[23]

18. See Goldziher's chapter on the development of the law in Islam in *Introduction to Islamic Law and Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

19. J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford University Press, 1959).

20. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 14–15.

21. W. G. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford University Press, 1953), xiii.

22. M. N. Al-Albani, *Silsilah al-Ahādīth al-Daʾīfah wa al-Maudūʿah*. Vol. i. Damascus?: Manshurāt al-Maktab al-Islami, 1376 h.

23. Ibid., 6.

Clearly not all contemporary scholars are as eager as Schacht et al. to ring the death knell on *ḥadīth* literature as a tool for unravelling early Islamic history. Azami for one, in his studies on early *ḥadīth* literature has attempted to show that *ḥadīth* literature is indeed the richest source for the investigation of that era, for it provides, among other things, material for the understanding of the legal, cultural and religious ideas of those early centuries. He maintains that the theories of Margoliouth, Goldziher and more recently, Schacht can no longer be incontestably accepted given the recent discoveries of manuscripts or research. According to him

> "In the period referred to, works on the biography of the Prophet and on other historical topics were in a very advanced stage. We find that work on the biography of the Prophet was begun by the Companions. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs recorded many historical events. It is possible still to trace his work in the *ahadīth* narrated by ʿAmr b. Shuʾaib (d. 118 AH) as he utilized his great grandfather ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr's books. ʿUrwah (d. 93 AH) in his biography of the Prophet names his authority and most probably he had obtained the information in writing. There are works mentioned here and there on a single topic of the Sirah, e.g. *Memorandum on the Servants of the Prophet*, a book on the ambassadors of the Prophet to different rulers and chieftains with their negotiations. There are references to the collections of the Prophet's letters in a very early period."[24]

But it is, in fact, these very sources that Azami cites that have, through the use of contemporary literary and hermeneutical tools, been relegated to no more than "the rubble of early Muslim history". For Patricia Crone therefore, the "inertia" of material such as appears heretofore "comes across very strongly in modern scholarship on the first two centuries of Islam."[25] "The bulk of it", she argues, "has an alarming tendency to degenerate into mere rearrangements of the same old canon – Muslim chronicles in modern languages and graced with modern titles."[26]

Others, such as Juynboll, have strived to arrive at the inevitable *solution intermédiaire*, "a conceivable position that could be taken between the two points of view represented respectively by Muslim and Western scholarship."[27] For him therefore, the *ḥadīth* traditions "taken as a whole" do provide a fairly reliable rendition of early Islamic history, and "a judiciously and cautiously formulated overall view of what all those early reports . . . collectively point to, may in all likelihood be taken to be not very far from the truth of 'what really happened'."[28]

24. Azami, *Early Hadith*, 7–8.

25. See in this regard the introduction to her work, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge University Press, 1980).

26. Ibid., 13.

27. See G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early hadith* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

28. Ibid., 7.

Finally, the true value of this particular work probably resides outside the context of the foregoing academic debate, for as Gadamer explains in *Truth and Method*,[29] "The meaning of a literary work is never exhausted by the intentions of its author; as the work passes from one cultural or historical context to another, new meanings may be culled from it which were perhaps never anticipated by its author or contemporary audience."[30]

Ahmed Fareed
Reviewer of Volume I

29. H. G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London, 1975).

30. This is in fact an interpretation of Gadamer's thoughts as espoused by T. Eagleton in his study, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 71.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

As has often been observed, translation is impossible, since the associations and emotive content of words in one language and culture differ from those of all others. Attempts at translation, therefore, inevitably represent strivings for compromise. While accuracy and precision are prime objectives, the ultimately necessary requirements for clarity and comprehension in the host language may require simplification or even omission from the original text. The dilemmas inherent in these conflicting objectives are at times irreconcilable, and this is particularly true when one is dealing, as here, with languages and cultures so far removed as ancient Arabic and modern English. This translation, composed in everyday, contemporary English, gives no impression of the ubiquitous rarities, oddities and archaisms of vocabulary and syntax that make the original extremely challenging to comprehend. It is hoped, of course, that the innumerable compromises that this translation represents will be accepted as good-faith attempts to convey the spirit and purpose of the original in a form that readers of English will not find impossibly daunting.

In some instances Ibn Kathīr repeats anecdotal *aḥādīth* with differing chains of authority that are almost identical in content; often, as will be seen, the accounts differ in only very few of their words and these are typically vocabulary rarities. While such variations between accounts may seem of scant interest to the Western reader, they have nevertheless been left complete and intact in this translation. Including them in full, as in the original work, gives a strong impression of the care with which these anecdotes have been handed down and the impression of their likely authenticity is therefore enhanced. This seems especially the case where the discrepancies involve vocabulary rarities that are synonymous. It seems that it would be just such words that would have been subjected to dispute, change or loss from memory.

Ibn Kathīr's objective was to appear authoritative and discriminating in his choices of inclusion and discussion of specific *aḥādīth*; to him the listing of all the names of his authorities and his comments on their reputations was an essential component of this lectures. The give-and-take of oral lecturing – of which this work is essentially a record – would have enabled immediate verbal clarification. Our English text, in contrast, has to stand by itself, and to present an inherent and visible logic and clarity; it must also give some impression of the reliability of the Arabic text that is indicated by its complexity, and by the care with which the names of quoted sources are given and at times evaluated.

A perpetual challenge in presenting this text has therefore been to leave the essential narratives clear and succinct while including yet simplifying the lines of authority on which their authenticity is based. The names of authorities quoted

have been included in full, since their identities were of prime importance for the initial 'readership' of this work as well as to students and researchers today. However, the exact nature and relative value of the means of transmission from authority to authority and the suggestions implied of Ibn Kathīr's preference for certain sources over others, have not been conveyed with exactitude, since common English vocabulary is unable to convey some of the subtleties of the Arabic technical terms employed for this purpose. The essential completeness of the original text in this translation does, however, enable serious students of early Islamic materials to bring their own differentiation to bear by their knowledge of the reputations of the persons quoted.

Certain words common in this text – such as *Abū* and *sūrat* – change in their form in Arabic to accord with basic grammatical rules. Here, however, to avoid confusion for those readers who do not know Arabic, they have been left in the form in which they are most commonly met. Initial *hamza*, moreover, has been omitted. Since early Arabic manuscripts, like the Arabic printed version of this text, are devoid of quotation marks, the identity of the narrator is sometimes unclear. Similarly, it is occasionally difficult to discern whether comments at the end of an account are those of the transmitting authority or of Ibn Kathīr himself. Footnotes referring to these and similar textual difficulties have been kept to a minimum, while brief parenthetical explanatory comments have sometimes been inserted to aid the general reader.

Discriminating and knowledgeable readers and reviewers will no doubt find discrepancies and perhaps inaccuracies in this lengthy and demanding text, especially in the extensive poems quoted. For these the translator – and his reviewers, text editors and typesetters – apologize. But since this work offers intimate details not elsewhere available in English about Arabian history and the inspiration and leadership of Islam in its earliest formative period, it would seem unsatisfactory to leave it in a language and form accessible only to a small coterie of scholars. The evident religious historical and philosophical interest of this text suggests that all those associated with its production may properly take refuge and find consolation from criticism in the knowledge that 'to err is human'. To attempt the impossible, moreover, while perhaps foolhardy, is surely more laudable than to make no attempt at all.

Trevor Le Gassick
Ann Arbor, 1997

VOLUME I

In the name of God, the most Beneficent, the most Merciful

It has been said that all Arabs trace their origins to Ishmael, the son of Abraham; upon them both be peace, salutation, and homage. However, what is well known to be true is that the *ʿarab al-ʿĀriba* (the original Arabs) came before Ishmael. Among them were the peoples of Ād, Thamūd, Ṭasm, Jadīs, Umaym, Jurhum, and the ʿAmālīq, as well as others known only to God. Also, these peoples both came before and were contemporaries of *al-Khalīl*.[1] Yet the *ʿarab al-mustaʿriba* (the Arabized Arabs), the Arabs of the Ḥijāz, were descendants of Ishmael, son of Abraham; upon both of them be peace.

The Arabs of the Yemen, the Ḥimyar, are well known to have been from Qaḥṭān, whose name was Muhzam, as Ibn Mākūlā said. It has been stated that they were a group of four brothers; Qaḥṭān, Qāḥiṭ, Muqḥiṭ, and Fāligh. Qaḥṭān was the son of Hūd; it is also said that he was Hūd, or that Hūd was his brother or one of his offspring. Qaḥṭān is also said to have descended from Ishmael, as Ibn Isḥāq and others relate it. One authority stated that Qaḥṭān was the son of al-Hamaysaʿ, son of Tayman, son of Qaydhar, son of Nabt, son of Ishmael. And there are other genealogies tracing him back to Ishmael; but God knows best. Al-Bukhārī treats this in his chapter on tracing the ancestry of Yemen back to Ishmael. He states that Musaddad related to him, quoting Yaḥyā, from Yazīd b. Abī ʿUbayd, and also Salama – God be pleased with him – as follows, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out and confronted a group from Aslam who were fighting one another with swords. He said to one of the two sides, 'Combat, O sons of Ishmael, I am with the so-and-so tribe.' So they stopped fighting. 'What's wrong with you?' he asked. 'But how can we combat if you are with the so-and-so tribe?' they replied. 'Go on, combat,' he insisted, 'I'm with all of you.'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this tradition. In one of his versions the tradition goes, "Combat, O sons of Ishmael. Your forebear was a skilled marksman. Combat; I'm with Ibn al-Adraʿ." And when they stopped fighting, he said, "Go on, combat. I'm with all of you."

Al-Bukhārī states, "And Aslam b. Afṣā b. Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir is from the tribe of Khuzāʿa." He means the following: that Khuzāʿa was one group of those who were split off from the tribes of Sabaʾ when God sent on them the flood of al-ʿAram, as will be explained later. And the Aws and the Khazraj tribes

1. *al-Khalīl* is an epithet of Abraham, which literally means in Arabic "the true friend" or "companion". Here this honorific connotes "the true follower of God".

were from Saba' also. The Prophet (ṢAAS) had said to them, "Combat, O sons of Ishmael." By so saying he was pointing out that they were from Ishmael's line of ancestry. Others interpret his words as meaning the entire Arab race, though that interpretation is far-fetched, since it contradicts without proof the apparent meaning. But the overwhelming view is that the Qaḥṭānī Arabs, whether they were from Yemen or somewhere else, were not from the line of Ishmael.

Most consider that all the Arabs are divided into two strains, those of Qaḥṭān and those of ʿAdnān. Those of Qaḥṭān consist of two peoples: Saba' and Ḥaḍramawt. Those of ʿAdnān are also from two peoples: Rabīʿa and Muḍar, the two sons of Nizār b. Maʿad b. ʿAdnān. A fifth people, the Quḍāʿa, are the object of dispute. One theory asserts that they are from ʿAdnān; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr reports that the majority so believes. This theory is related from Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn ʿUmar, and Jubayr b. Muṭʿim. It is also preferred by al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, his uncle Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, and Ibn Hishām. According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr and others, the name "Quḍāʿa son of Maʿad" appeared in a *ḥadīth* but this is incorrect.

In addition it is said that Quḍāʿa continued to trace the ancestry back to ʿAdnān, both before and after the coming of Islam. But by the time of Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, some of them being maternal uncles of his, they were tracing back to Qaḥṭān. In that regard Aʿshā b. Thaʿlaba composed the following verses:

"Inform Quḍāʿa in the letter that but for the vicars of God's people, they would not have been embraced (into Islam).
Qudāʿa has said, 'We are among the fortune blessed.'[2]
And only God knows if they have been honest and spoken true.
They claimed a father who never had their mother;
They may know, but they are fearful (to tell the truth)."

Abū ʿAmr al-Suhaylī has also mentioned unique Arab poetry which reproaches Quḍāʿa for attributing their descent to Yemen. But God knows best.

The second theory is that Quḍāʿa has descended from Qaḥṭān; Ibn Isḥāq, al-Kalbī, and a number of other genealogists subscribe to this view.

Ibn Isḥāq gave his genealogy as being Quḍāʿa b. Mālik, b. Ḥimyar, b. Saba', b. Yashjub, b. Yaʿrub, b. Qaḥṭān.

A certain poet of theirs, ʿAmr b. Murra, a Companion of the Prophet to whom two *ḥadīths* are attributed, composed the verses:

"O caller, summon us and rejoice;
Be of Quḍāʿa, stand not aloof in shame.
We descend from the noble and handsome

2. A play on Yemen, pronounced "yaman" in Arabic, a word meaning "success", "happiness", "luck".

Quḍā'a, son of Mālik, son of Ḥimyar.
The line is well-known and fault-free,
Engraved in the stone beneath the pulpit."

One genealogist gave the line as follows: Quḍā'a b. Mālik, b. 'Amr, b. Murra, b. Zayd, b. Ḥimyar.

Ibn Lahī'a stated, on the authority of Ma'rūf b. Suwayd from Abū 'Ushāba Muḥammad b. Mūsā, from 'Uqba b. 'Āmir, that the last-mentioned said, "I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) whether we were descended from Ma'ad. He replied that we were not. So I asked who we were. He replied, 'You are descended from Quḍā'a b. Mālik b. Ḥimyar.'"

Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr said the following: "People do not dispute that Juhayna b. Zayd b. Aswad b. Aslam b. 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍā'a is the tribe of 'Uqba b. 'Āmir al-Juhanī. Accordingly, Quḍā'a would be in Yemen in the tribe of Ḥimyar b. Saba'."

Some genealogists combine these ancestries, as in the report of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār and others to the effect that Quḍā'a was a woman of the Jurhum who was married to Mālik b. Ḥimyar, from whom she gave birth to Quḍā'a. Then, she married Ma'ad b. 'Adnān, while her son was still small; some even claim that she was pregnant with Quḍā'a prior to her marriage (to Ma'ad). Thus, Quḍā'a was ascribed descent from his mother's husband, as was frequently the custom in such cases. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Sallām of Basra, the skilled genealogist, said, "The Arabs came from three strains: 'Adnān, Qaḥṭān, and Quḍā'a." When he was asked who were the more numerous, the descendants of 'Adnān or those of Qaḥṭān, he replied, "It depends on Quḍā'a; if they related to Yemen, then Qaḥṭāns are more numerous; if to Aden, then 'Adnāns are more."

All this points to Quḍā'a's inconsistency in relating their descent. However, if the aforementioned *ḥadīth* from Ibn Lahī'a is true, then it proves their being from Qaḥṭān. But God knows best. And God Almighty did state: "O people, we have created you from a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another. Truly, in God's sight it is the most pious of you who are the most noble" (*sūrat al-Ḥujurāt*, XLIX, v.13).

Genealogists indicate that their taxonomy has the following order: *shu'ūb* (peoples); *qabā'il* (tribes); *'amā'ir* (tribal confederations); *buṭūn* (sub-tribes); *afkhādh* (small divisions of a tribe); *faṣā'il* (extended kinsfolk); and *'ashā'ir* (extended families). And the last refers to those closest to a man, and there are no more terms thereafter.

Let us begin with mention of the Qaḥṭān, then the Arabs of the Ḥijāz who are the 'Adnān, and discussion of the *jāhiliyya* era (before Islam, that is) as a way of leading up to the biography of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). All this if it be the will of God, in whom there is trust.

Al-Bukhārī stated, in his chapter, *An Account of Qaḥṭān*, as follows: "ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh told us, quoting Sulaymān b. Bilāl, from Thawr b. Zayd, from Abū al-Ghayth, from Abū Hurayra, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'Judgement Day will not come until a man from the Qaḥṭān goes forth driving the people before him with his stick.' Muslim also relates it in that way, from Qutayba, from al-Darāwardī, from Thawr b. Zayd."

Al-Suhaylī said that Qaḥṭān was the first to whom were spoken the phrases *abayta al-laʿna*[3] (i.e. "you have scorned the malediction") and *anʿim ṣabāḥan* (i.e. "have a happy morning!").

The Imām Aḥmad said, "Abū al-Mughīra related to us, from Jarīr, and Rāshid b. Saʿd al-Muqrāʾī told me, from Abū Hayy, from Dhū Fajar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'This status once belonged to Ḥimyar, but God withdrew it from them and placed it with Quraysh and *waw, sin, yā, ʿayn, waw, dal, alif ḥamza, lām, yā, hā, mīm.*'" ʿAbd Allāh said, "This was in a document of my father, and as he related it to us he spoke it out directly as meaning the words, *wa sayaʿūdu ilayhim*, meaning 'it will return to them.'"

The Story of Sabaʾ.

God Almighty said, "For Sabaʾ there was indeed a sign in their dwelling-place: two gardens, on the right hand and on the left. 'Eat of the bounty from your Lord, and render Him thanks.' Good was the country, and forgiving the Lord. But they turned away, so We sent down upon them the torrent of al-ʿArim, and changed their gardens into ones of bitter fruit, tamarisks, and a few lote trees. Thus We punished them for their disbelief, and is it not the disbelievers alone whom We punish? And We placed between them and the villages We had blessed other settlements, easily seen, well spaced for journeying, (saying) 'Travel in them in safety by day and night.' They responded, 'O God, extend the distances between our travel stops.' They harmed themselves, and We made of them tales to be told and scattered them asunder. In that there are signs for all who are truly patient and thankful" (*sūrat Sabaʾ*, XXXIV, v.15–19).

The genealogists, including Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, give the name as Sabaʾ ʿAbd Shams b. Yashjub b. Yaʿrub b. Qaḥṭān; they say that he was the first of the Arabs who *sabaʾ*[4] and that that was why he was called Sabaʾ. He was also called *al-Rāʾish* ("the philanthropist"), because he gave to the people from his own wealth.

3. A salutation made to kings in the pre-Islamic era, meaning "your deeds are too impeccable to deserve malediction, O king."

4. The word lends itself to various interpretations. Thus A. Guillaume, in his translation of Ibn Isḥāq's *The Life of Muḥammad* (Oxford, 1955, p4) renders it "to take captives". Dictionaries give other meanings that might also fit this context. For example, in E. W. Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon* we find *sabaʾ* as "to renege on an oath" or "to imply God's abandonment of a person".

Al-Suhaylī said, "It is related that he was the first person to be crowned." Some stated that he was a Muslim and that he wrote verses predicting the advent of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). In that poetry are the lines:

"He will control after us a mighty domain,
A prophet who will give not licence to evil.
After him, other kings from among them will hold sway
Ruling all men, with no dishonour nor disgrace.
After them, rulers of ours will control
And our kingdom will be fragmented.
After Qaḥṭān a prophet will rule,
Pious, humble, the very best of mankind.
He will be named Aḥmad, and I wish
I could be given to live a year after his coming
To support him and award him my aid
With all fully-armed warriors and all marksmen.
When he appears, become his helpers and let
Him who meets him pass on my greeting."

Ibn Diḥya related this in his book *al-Tanwīr fī Mawlid al-Bashīr al-Nadhīr* (*Illuminating the Birth of the Messenger, the Herald*).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa, on the authority of ʿAbd Allāh b. Hubayra al-Sabaʾī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Waʿla, that the last-named said that he heard ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās say that a man once asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) who or what Sabaʾ might signify, whether a man, a woman, or a territory. He replied, "Certainly he was a man who gave birth to ten children. Six of them dwelled in Yemen and four in Syria. Those in Yemen were Madhḥij, Kinda, al-Azd, the Ashʿarīs, Anmār, and Ḥimyar, all Arabs; in Syria they were Lakhm, Judhām, ʿĀmila, and Ghassān."

We related in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) that it was Farwa b. Musayk al-Ghuṭayfī who asked about that; also therein we analysed the lines of transmission and the phraseology of this tradition. And all praise be to God!

What is meant here is that Sabaʾ encompasses all these tribes. Among them there used to be [kings] in the lands of Yemen called the *tabābiʿa; tubbaʿ* in the singular. Their kings would wear crowns during their reign, as also did the Chosroes, the kings of the Persians. The Arabs used to apply the word *tubbaʿ* to each king who rules Yemen, along with al-Shahr and Ḥaḍramawt, just as they applied *qayṣar* to kings ruling Syria and the peninsula, *kisrā* to those ruling Persia, *farʿūn* to Egypt's rulers, *al-najāshī* to those over Abyssinia, and *baṭlaymūs* to India's kings. Balqīs[5] was one of the Ḥimyarite rulers of Yemen. They used to be in a state of great felicity, with abundant prosperity and a plenitude of local fruits and pro-

5. Balqīs is identified as the Queen of Sheba who married King Solomon.

duce. However, they lived in rectitude, propriety, and right guidance. But when they replaced God's blessings by disbelief, these kings brought their people to ruin.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated from Wahb b. Munabbih, "God sent to them 13 prophets." And al-Suddī claimed that he sent 12,000 prophets to them! But God knows best.

What is implied here is that they deviated from the true guidance into error and bowed down to the sun apart from God. That was so in the time of Balqīs and beforehand as well, continuing up to when God sent the flood of al-ʿArim upon them. As the Almighty said, "But they turned away, so We sent down upon them the torrent of al-ʿArim, and changed their gardens into ones of bitter fruit, tamarisks, and a few lote trees. Thus We punished them for their disbelief, and is it not the disbelievers alone whom We punish?" (*sūrat Sabaʾ*, XXXIV, v.16–17).

A number of former and contemporary scholars on the Qurʾān commentaries and others have related that the Maʾrib dam was constructed where waters flowed between two mountains; in ancient times they built an extremely strong dam there so that the water-level reached these mountain tops. On those mountains they planted many fields and orchards with elegant and highly productive trees. It is said that Sabaʾ b. Yaʿrib built it and that it was fed by 70 valleys with 30 outlets for the water from it. But he died before it was completed and so Ḥimyar finished it after him. It was one *farsakh*[6] long and one *farsakh* wide. People lived there in great felicity, prosperity, and ease. So much so, that Qatāda and others related that the orchards gave fruit of such quantity and ripeness that a woman could fill a large basket on her head from the fruit dropping in it as she passed below. It is said that there were no fleas or dangerous beasts there; the climate being wholesome and the land excellent, as the Almighty stated, "For Sabaʾ there was indeed a sign in their dwelling-place; two gardens, one on the right hand and one on the left. 'Eat from the bounty of your Lord, and render Him thanks – a fair land and a much-forgiving Lord'" (*sūrat Sabaʾ*, XXXIV, v.15). And He also stated, "And so your Lord proclaimed: 'If you give thanks, I give you increase thereof; but if you show ingratitude, then is my punishment severe indeed'" (*sūrat Ibrāhīm*, XIV, v.7).

Then they worshipped other than God and were discontent with His bounty; after He had made their travel stages close together, made good their orchards, and secured their roads, they asked Him to extend their travel stages, to make their journeys difficult and tiresome, and to replace good by evil. They did just like the Israelites when they requested that He exchange manna and quails for vegetables, cucumbers, garlic, lentils, and onions. And so they nullified that great blessing and common good by despoiling the land and scattering the people, then, as the Almighty said, "they turned away and so We sent down upon them the torrent of al-ʿArim" (*sūrat Sabaʾ*, XXXIV, v.16).

6. Parasang, an ancient Persian measure of length, equal to about 3½ miles.

More than one source related that God dispatched rodents against the base of the dam, that is, large rats, or, it is said, moles; and when people knew of this, they set up nets. But, it having been so decreed, these efforts did no good and their precautions were useless. When the destruction at the base was well advanced, the dam fell and collapsed and the water flowed out. Thus the streams and rivers were cut off; all those fruits were lost and all the produce and trees perished. Afterwards they were replaced with inferior trees and fruits, as All-powerful and Almighty God has stated, "and we changed their gardens into ones of *khāmṭ* and *athl* (bitter fruit and tamarisks)" (*sūrat Sabaʾ*, XXXIV, v.16).

Ibn ʿAbbās, Mujāhid, and others stated that *khāmṭ* is the *arāk* tree which gives a fruit known as the *barīr*, whereas the *athl* is the *ṭarfāʾ*, the tamarisk, or some such similar tree that produces wood without fruit. The Qurʾān verse continues, "and a few lote-trees". This refers to the fact that when the *nabaq*, the "Christ's thorn" tree, gives fruit it does so in very small quantity despite the profuseness of its thorns. The proportion of its fruit is similar, then, to what the proverb implies, "like the meat of a scrawny camel high on a rock-strewn mountain", not an easy path to be climbed, nor a nice fat meal to be attained. This, then, is why the Almighty states, "Thus We punished them for their disbelief, and is it not the disbelievers alone whom We punish?"

That is, He only metes out such severe punishment to those who disbelieve in Him, give the lie to His messengers, disobey His commands, and defile His sanctuaries.

The Almighty also said, "We made of them tales to be told and scattered them asunder." In fact, when their wealth was gone and their lands were in ruin, they were forced to depart. So they scattered into the lower areas and into the higher reaches of the country, in all directions, *aydī Sabaʾ* (in disarray that is) as the common idiom goes. Some of them settled in Ḥijāz, the Khuzāʿa tribe among them; they migrated to the suburbs of Mecca, with the consequences that we will relate later. Others went to what is now Medina, being the first to settle there. They were later joined by three tribes of Jews: Banū Qaynuqāʿ, Banū Qurayẓa, and Banū al-Naḍīr. These made a pact with the tribes of Aws and Khazraj and stayed with them, as we will relate. Other groups from Sabaʾ moved to Syria and it was later they who became Christian; these were the Ghassān, ʿĀmila, Bahrāʾ, Lakhm, Judhām, Tanūkh, Taghlib, and others.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that Abū ʿUbayda told him that al-Aʿshā b. Qays b. Thaʿlaba, also known as Maymūn b. Qays, spoke the verses:

"In that there is a moral for those who seek morals,
Maʾrib was wiped out by the torrent of al-ʿArim,
Marble, built for them by Ḥimyar,
Which did not budge when the raging billows came.

Its water irrigated the crops and the vines
Far and wide, since it was decreed
Then they were scattered and could not
Give drink to a child when just weaned."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, in his biography of the Prophet (ṢAAS), indicated that the first man to leave Yemen before the flooding of al-ʿArim was ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir of the Lakhm tribe. Lakhm was the son of ʿAdī b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Udad b. Zayd b. Hamaysaʿ b. ʿAmr b. ʿArīb b. Yashjub b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Sabaʾ. Lakhm's genealogy has also been given as Lakhm b. ʿAdī b. ʿAmr b. Sabaʾ, as Ibn Hishām states.

According to Ibn Isḥāq, "The reason for his departure from Yemen was, as Abū Zayd *al-anṣārī* related to me, that he saw rodents burrowing into the Maʾrib dam which held back the water which they distributed over their land as they pleased. He realized that the dam would not last, and so he decided to emigrate from Yemen. So he tricked his people, as follows. He ordered his youngest son to stand up to him and strike him back if he should berate and strike him. His son did as he was told and ʿAmr then said, 'I will not remain in a land where my youngest son has slapped my face.' So some of Yemen's tribal leaders said, 'Let's take advantage of ʿAmr's anger and buy up his properties.' Then ʿAmr moved with his sons and grandsons. The Azd tribe then stated that they would not remain behind after ʿAmr; so they sold their properties and left with him. They journeyed until they reached the land of ʿAkk, crossing to and fro across their territory. So ʿAkk attacked them, their battles favouring first one side, then the other. On this fighting, ʿAbbās b. Mirdās spoke the following verses:

'And ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān were those who toyed with
Ghassān until they were completely expelled.'

"ʿAmr's people therefore disengaged from them and dispersed in different directions. The family of Jafna b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir went to Syria, while the Aws and the Khazraj settled in Yathrib and Khuzāʿa went to Marra.[7] The Azd al-Sarāt went to al-Sarāt, the Azd ʿUmān to ʿUmān. Then God dispatched the torrent down upon the dam and destroyed it, concerning which event God revealed these verses in the Qurʾān." Something close to this account was also related from al-Saddī.

According to Muḥammad b. Isḥāq in this account, ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir was a soothsayer. Others say that his wife, Ṭarīfa daughter of al-Khayr, the Ḥimyarite woman, was a soothsayer and that she told him of the imminent doom of their country. Apparently they saw proof of that in the rats being given control over their dam, and that was why they acted as they did. God alone knows best.

7. Known as *marr al-Ẓahrān*, on the road to Mecca.

I have given a lengthy account of ʿAmr's story, from ʿIkrima, as related by Ibn Abī Ḥātim, in my *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*).

Division

Not all of Saba' left Yemen when they were afflicted with the torrent of al-ʿArim; the majority of them remained. The people of Ma'rib, who had the dam, moved into different parts of the country. That is the gist of the previously mentioned *ḥadīth* coming down from Ibn ʿAbbās to the effect that all the tribes of Saba' did not leave Yemen, but four went to Syria while six remained. These were Madhḥij, Kinda, Anmār, and the Ashʿarīs. Anmār was the father of Khathʿam, Bajīla, and Ḥimyar; so these were the six tribes from Saba' who remained in Yemen. They continued retaining the rights of power and the *tabābiʿa* kingship until the king of Abyssinia took that position from them through the army he sent under his two generals Abraha and Aryāṭ. The Abyssinian rule lasted some 70 years until Sayf b. Dhū Yazan the Ḥimyarite regained control, and that was a short time before the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This we will recount in detail shortly, God willing, and upon Him is all trust and dependence.

Later the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAlī and Khālid b. al-Walīd to the people of Yemen, then he sent Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and Muʿādh b. Jabal. They were calling people to worship God and making clear to them matters of doctrine. After that al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī gained control over Yemen and he expelled the deputies of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When al-Aswad was killed, the power of Islam became firmly established over Yemen, during the rule of Abū Bakr "the trusting", God be pleased with him.

The Story of Rabīʿa b. Naṣr b. Abū Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir.

The man referred to in the above heading was of the Lakhm tribe; this is what Ibn Isḥāq related. Al-Suhaylī stated that the genealogists of Yemen give his name as Naṣr b. Rabīʿa; but he was really Rabīʿa b. Naṣr b. al-Ḥārith b. Namāra b. Lakhm. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār gave his genealogy as Rabīʿa b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Shaʿwadh b. Mālik b. ʿAjam b. ʿAmr b. Namāra b. Lakhm. Lakhm was the brother of Judhām; he was named Lakhm because he had *lakhmed* his brother on the cheek, i.e. he had struck him there. The brother bit his hand in return so *jadham*ing it; hence he was called Judhām.

Rabīʿa was one of the *tubbaʿ* kings of Ḥimyar, and about him is told the tale of his contacts with the two soothsayers Shiqq and Saṭīḥ, and how they warned him of the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Saṭīḥ was named Rabīʿ b. Rabiʿa b. Masʿūd b. Māzin b. Dhi'b b. ʿAdī b. Māzin Ghassān. Shiqq was the son of Ṣaʿb b. Yashkur b. Ruhm b. Afrak b. Qays b.

ʿAbqar b. Anmār b. Nizār. Some say that Anmār was the son of Irāsh b. Liḥyān b. ʿAmr b. al-Ghawth b. Nābit b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Sabaʾ. It is said that Saṭīḥ had no limbs but was like a waterskin, with his face in his chest. When he got angry he would puff up and sit. Shiqq was one-half a man. And it is said that Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qasrī was of his progeny. According to al-Suhaylī both Shiqq and Saṭīḥ were born on the same day when Ṭarīfa, daughter of al-Khayr, the Ḥimyarite woman, died. It is said that she spat into the mouth of each of them, each therefore inheriting the gift of divination from her. She was the wife of ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir, previously mentioned. But God knows best.

Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq said that Rabīʿa b. Naṣr was king of Yemen and of the true line of the *tubbaʿ* kings. He saw a vision that awed and terrified him. So he gathered every single soothsayer, magician, bird prognosticator, and star foreteller in his kingdom and told them, "I have seen visions that amazed and scared me. Tell me what they were and how to interpret them." They replied, "Relate them to us and we will interpret them." He responded, "If I do tell you what they were I won't feel secure with your explanation; the only one capable of interpreting them will be someone who knows what they were before I tell them."

One of the wise men then suggested, "If that is what the king wants, then he should send for Shiqq and Saṭīḥ. No one is more knowledgeable than they; they will tell him what he asked for."

So the king sent for them, and Ṣatīḥ arrived before Shiqq. Their conversation went as follows:

The king: "I have seen visions that amazed and scared me; tell me what they were, and if you are right you will interpret them correctly."

Saṭīḥ: "I will do so. You saw fire emerge from the darkness, fall on low ground, and consume every living being with a skull."

The king: "You've not made a single error, Saṭīḥ. So how do you interpret them?"

Saṭīḥ: "I swear by all the snakes between the two stony plains, that the Abyssinians will descend upon your land and will surely reign over all between Abyan and Jurash."

The king: "That, Saṭīḥ, angers and hurts me greatly; will that occur in my time or later?"

Saṭīḥ: "Later, by your father I swear, some time later, after more than 60 or 70 years have passed."

The king: "And will their dominion endure or be cut short?"

Saṭīḥ: "It will be cut down to some 70 years, and then they will be killed and expelled in flight."

The king: "Who will then follow, after their killing and expulsion?"

Saṭīḥ: "Iram Dhū Yazan will follow, emerging from Aden to fight them, and he will not leave one of them in Yemen."

The king: "And will his era endure or be cut short?"

Saṭīḥ: "It will be cut short."

The king: "Who will do this?"

Saṭīḥ: "A prophet, pure, to whom revelation comes from the All-high."

The king: "And from where will this prophet come?"

Saṭīḥ: "He will descend from Ghālib b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr. And the rule will be with his people till the end of time."

The king: "Does time end?"

Saṭīḥ: "Yes, on that day when the first and the last shall all be assembled and the good will be happy, the evil mortified."

The king: "Is this really true, what you're telling me?"

Saṭīḥ: "Yes, by the twilight, the dark of night, and the spreading dawn, what I told you really is the truth."

Then Shiqq arrived and the king spoke to him as he had to Saṭīḥ but hid from him what he had foreseen to establish whether they would be in agreement or not. Shiqq told him, "You saw fire emerge from the dark, fall down between a meadow and a hillock, and eat up every breathing creature there."

When Shiqq said this, the king knew that they were in agreement and saying one and the same thing, except for Saṭīḥ's words being "fall on low ground and consume every living being with a skull", while Shiqq's were "between a meadow and a hillock and eat up every breathing creature there". So the king told him he had it right and asked his interpretation.

Shiqq: "I swear by all the men who live between two stony plains that the blacks will descend upon your land, oppress all your young, and reign over all between Abyan and Najran."

The king: "By your father, Shiqq, that angers and hurts me greatly; will that occur during or after my reign?"

Shiqq: "No, it will be in a later period. And then a great man will emerge to save your people and inflict on your enemies all disgrace."

The king: "And who will this great saviour be?"

Shiqq: "A young man who is guilt-free and faultless and will emerge from the line of Dhū Yazan."

The king: "And will his reign last long?"

Shiqq: "No, it will be brought short by a messenger dispatched, who will bring truth and justice, and come from a people of religion and virtue in whom power shall reside until the Day of Separation."

The king: "What is the Day of Separation?"

Shiqq: "A day when the pious shall be rewarded, when calls shall be made from the heavens that the living and the dead shall hear, and men shall be gathered to the appointed place. Then the pious shall receive victory and rewards."

The king: "Is it really true what you predict?"

Shiqq: "Yes, by the Lord of the heavens and the earth and of all high and low between them both, what I have informed you is all true and doubt-free."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that the soothsayers' prediction had great impact on Rabīʿa b. Naṣr and so he provisioned all his family and relatives for departure to Iraq. He wrote for them to a Persian king called Sābūr b. Khurzādh who settled them in al-Ḥīra. According to Ibn Isḥāq, the progeny of Rabīʿa b. Naṣr included al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, son of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr b. ʿAdī b. Rabīʿa b. Naṣr. This al-Nuʿmān was viceroy over al-Ḥīra for the Persian kings; and the Arabs used to send delegations to him and gave him praise. This, then, is what Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said about al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir being of the line of Rabīʿa b. Naṣr, according to most people. Ibn Isḥāq related that when the sword of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir was brought to the Commander of the Faithful, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, he asked Jubayr b. Muṭʿim from whom it had come. He replied, "From the remains of Qanaṣ b. Maʿad b. ʿAdnān." Ibn Isḥāq commented that it was unclear who that person was.

The Story of Tubbaʿ Abū Karib Tubbān Asʿad, king of Yemen, with the people of Medina; how he wished to raid the Holy Sanctuary at Mecca. Then he dignified and venerated it and covered it with cloth; thus he was the first to do so.

Ibn Ishāq stated that when Rabīʿa b. Naṣr died all kingship in Yemen reverted to Ḥassān b. Tubbān Asʿad Abū Karib. Tubbān Asʿad was the last *tubbaʿ*; he was the son of Kulkī Karib b. Zayd. Zayd, the first *tubbaʿ*, was the son of ʿAmr Dhū al-Adhʿār b. Abraha Dhū al-Manār b. al-Rāʾish b. ʿAdī b. Ṣayfī b. Sabaʾ al-Aṣghar b. Kaʿb Kahf al-Ẓulum b. Zayd b. Sahl b. ʿAmr b. Qays b. Muʿāwiya b. Jusham b. ʿAbd Shams b. Wāʾil b. al-Ghawth b. Qaṭan b. ʿArīb b. Zuhayr b. Ayman b. al-Hamaysaʿ b. al-ʿAranjaj. The latter was Ḥimyar b. Sabaʾ al-Akbar b. Yaʿrub b. Yashjub b. Qaḥṭān. ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Hishām gave Sabaʾ's line as being son of Yashjub b. Yaʿrub b. Qaḥṭān.

According to Ibn Isḥāq, Tubbān Asʿad Abū Karib was he who went to Medina and led two Jewish rabbis to Yemen and refurbished and covered with cloth the holy sanctuary. His reign preceded that of Rabīʿa b. Naṣr. He had routed his return journey from a campaign in the east through Medina. First he had passed there without bothering its inhabitants and left among them a son of his who was treacherously killed. He advanced against it, determined to destroy it, wipe out its people, and cut down its date-palms. So this clan of the *anṣār*[8]

8. The Medinan followers of the Prophet Muḥammad who granted him refuge after his emigration from Mecca.

joined up against him, their leader being ʿAmr b. Ṭalla, the brother of Banū al-Najjār and also one of Banū ʿAmr b. Mabdhūl. Mabdhūl's name was ʿĀmir b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, and al-Najjār's name was Taym Allāh b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr b. al-Khazraj b. Ḥārith b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir.

Ibn Hishām stated that ʿAmr b. Ṭalla was ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, that Ṭalla was his mother and that she was the daughter of ʿĀmir b. Zurayq al-Khazrajiyya.

Ibn Isḥāq's account proceeds: "A certain man of Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār, called Aḥmar, attacked and killed one of the followers of Tubbaʿ whom he found cutting down date clusters off one of his date-loaded palm trees, saying, 'Dates belong only to those who pollinate them.' This added to Tubbaʿ's animosity towards them and fighting broke out.

"The *anṣār* claimed that they would fight against him by day and host him by night; their saying this surprised Tubbaʿ who would say, 'Our people, by God, are certainly generous!'"

Ibn Isḥāq related about the *anṣār* that Tubbaʿ's anger was directed only against the Jews and that they, the *anṣār*, protected them from him. Al-Suhaylī stated that Tubbaʿ only came to give victory to the *anṣār*, his cousins, against the Jews who had taken up residence with them in Medina on certain conditions that they had not kept, and because they were behaving arrogantly. God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq's account relates that while Tubbaʿ was engaged in this fighting against them, two Jewish rabbis came to him; they were both deeply learned men from Banū Qurayẓa. When they heard how he intended to destroy the city and its inhabitants, they told him, "O king, do not do this. Unless you adopt a different course from that you intend, you will be prevented from accomplishing it, and we will not be able to save you from swift retribution." Tubbaʿ asked why this was so, and they replied, "This is where a prophet will migrate; he will go forth from this holy sanctuary from Quraysh in times to come and this shall be his home and his abode."

So Tubbaʿ changed his plan; he recognized the learning they had and was intrigued by what he had heard from them. He therefore departed from Medina and adopted the rabbis' religion. According to Ibn Isḥāq, Tubbaʿ and his people had idols whom they worshipped.

Tubbaʿ then set off towards Mecca on his way to Yemen. When he arrived between ʿUsfān and Amaj he was approached by some men of the tribe of Hudhayl b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Maʿad b. ʿAdnān. They asked him, "O king, may we lead you to an ancient treasury overlooked by kings before yourself, in which there are pearls, chrysolite, sapphires, gold, and silver?" "Certainly you may," he replied. They said, "It is a building in Mecca whose people worship it and offer prayers there."

Actually the Hudhaylīs sought to destroy him by this, since they knew that any king wanting this or being disrespectful there would perish.

After agreeing to their suggestion Tubbaʿ sent word to the two rabbis asking their advice. They replied, "Those people wished only your death and the destruction of your army. We know of no other building than that in the land that God Almighty and Glorious has taken for Himself. If you do as they suggest, you will perish, as will all those with you."

Tubbaʿ asked what he should do when he approached the building and they said he should do the same as those who lived there, that he should circumambulate it and venerate and honour it, shaving his head and acting with humility before it until he left it.

The king then asked, "What is it that prevents you both from doing the same?" They replied, "It certainly is the house of our father Abraham, on whom be peace, and it is as we told you, but the people there have created a barrier between us and it by the idols they have set up about it and the blood they shed there. They are unclean and polytheists." This was the gist of their words.

Tubbaʿ saw the good of their advice and the truth of their words and so he summoned the men from Hudhayl, cut off their hands and feet, and continued to Mecca. There he performed the circumambulation of the building, made sacrifice, and shaved his head. He remained in Mecca for six days, so they say, providing sacrificial feasts for its people and giving them honey to drink. In a dream he was shown that he should cover the building, so he clothed it with palm fronds. Then, in another dream, he was shown that he should clothe it in something better, so he dressed it with a Yemeni tribal fabric. Again he had a vision that he should clothe it even better, so he covered it with fine sheets and striped cloth. People claim that Tubbaʿ was thus the first to clothe the building. He ordered its guardians from the Jurhum tribe to clean it thoroughly and to prevent any blood, dead bodies, or menstruating women from coming close to it. He also made for it a door and a key.

On this subject Subayʿa, daughter of al-Aḥabb, spoke the following verses for her son Khālid b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib, telling him to avoid sinning in Mecca and reminding him what Tubbaʿ had done there:

"O my son, in Mecca neither do wrong to the young nor to the old.
Preserve its sanctity, my son, and let not conceit confuse you.
Whoever sins in Mecca, my son, meets extreme disaster.
His face, my son, shall be beaten, his cheeks consumed by fire.
I have tested this there, my son, and found those harming it perish.
God made it secure, though no towers are built in its courtyards.
God made its birds inviolate and also the white-footed crows on Mt. Thabīr.
Tubbaʿ raided it, but dressed its buildings with new, smooth cloth.

My God humbled his power there, so he made proper sacrifice,
Walking barefoot towards it, in its courtyard,
And offering two thousand camels,
Well-feeding its people the flesh of Mahry camels and cattle,
Giving them strained honey and barley-water to drink.
And God destroyed the army of the elephants, casting rocks amongst them,
Ending their rule in far distant lands, in Persia and Khazīr.
So hear when this is told, and understand how things ended."

Ibn Isḥāq continued: "Thereafter Tubba' left for Yemen, taking his armed men and the two rabbis with him. On his arrival he asked his people to adopt the religion he had embraced, but they refused until it should be put to the test of fire as was the custom in Yemen."

He went on: "I was told by Abū Mālik b. Tha'laba b. Abū Mālik al-Quraẓī that he heard Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh say that when Tubba' reached the outskirts of Yemen, Ḥimyar intercepted him and denied him entry. They told him, 'You shall not enter our land; you have abandoned our faith.' So Tubba' called on them to embrace his new religion, proclaiming it to be better than theirs. They asked whether he would agree to put the issue between them to the test of the fire, and he agreed."

He continued: "There was in Yemen, as Yemenis assert, a fire they would employ to adjudicate differences; it would consume wrongdoers but not harm the innocent. And so Tubba''s people and the two rabbis walked to the fire site. His people took their idols and carried their sacrificial offerings, while the rabbis wore their sacred books around their necks. They all sat near the spot from which the fire would emerge. When it raged towards them they drew away and avoided it. The onlookers berated them and ordered them to endure it, and they did so until it enveloped them and consumed their idols and sacred objects and those men of Ḥimyar who carried them. But the two rabbis emerged safe, with their holy books around their necks, unharmed though their foreheads were sweating. Thereupon the Ḥimyarites adopted their religion; and this was how Judaism began in Yemen."

Ibn Isḥāq continued to report that one authority told him that the two rabbis and the men of Ḥimyar approached the fire only seeking to force it back, for it was said that truth lay with him who could do this. The Ḥimyarites approached the fire bearing their idols to force it back, but it closed on them seeking to consume them. So they drew away and were not able to force it back. Later the two rabbis approached it and began reciting the Torah. The fire withdrew from them and so they forced it back to where it emerged. Thereupon the Ḥimyarites adopted their religion. But God knows best which report is true.

Ibn Isḥāq went on: " They had a temple called Rʾām which they venerated and where they made sacrifice; there they received oracular messages while

engaged in their polytheistic practices. The two rabbis told Tubbaʿ, 'It is just a devil who is deceiving the people that way; let us deal with him.' Tubbaʿ agreed and the rabbis, so the Yemenis say, forced out from it a black dog which they killed. Then they destroyed that temple; and its ruins – so I have been told – still to this day bear traces of the blood shed on it."

In our new *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) of the Qurʾān we have told of the tradition coming from the Prophet (ṢAAS) wherein he said, "Do not curse Tubbaʿ; he had become a Muslim."

Al-Suhayli stated that Muʿammar related from Humām b. Munabbih from Abū Hurayra that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Do not curse Asʿad the Ḥimyarite; it was he who first clothed the *kaʿba*." According to al-Suhaylī, Tubbaʿ spoke the following verses when the two rabbis told him about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS):

> "I do testify that Aḥmad is a messenger from God, guiltless his soul,
> If only my life were extended up to his, I would have been a helper, a cousin to him,
> I would have fought his enemies with the sword and cleared all cares from his breast."

These verses continued to be handed down and memorised among the *anṣar*; they were with Abū Ayyūb *al-anṣārī*, may God be pleased with him and bless him. Al-Suhaylī stated that Ibn Abū al-Dunyā indicated in his *Kitāb al-Qubūr* (*Book of Graves*) that a grave was dug up at Ṣanʿā in which two females were found and along with them a silver tablet on which was written in gold, "This is the grave of Lamīs and Ḥubbā, two daughters of Tubbaʿ, who died declaring, 'There is no God but God alone and without peer,' and before them the righteous had died saying the same."

Later, rule passed to Ḥassān b. Tubbān Asʿad, and he was the brother of al-Yamāma al-Zarqāʾ who was crucified on the gate of the city of Jaw, which from that day on was named al-Yamāma.

Ibn Isḥāq continued that when Tubbaʿ's son Ḥassān b. Abī Karib Tubbān Asʿad became king, he set out with the people of Yemen, wishing to subdue the lands of the Arabs and the Persians. But by the time they were somewhere in Iraq, the Ḥimyarites and the Yemenites disliked going further with him and wanted to return to their own countries and families. So they spoke to a brother of Ḥassān named ʿAmr, who was there with him in the army, as follows: "Kill your brother Ḥassān and we will make you king over us and you can take us back home." He said he would, and there was agreement about this except in the case of Dhū Ruʿayn the Ḥimyarite. He urged ʿAmr against this, but ʿAmr disagreed. So Dhū Ruʿayn composed a poem containing the following two verses:

"Whoever would exchange insomnia for sleep? Happy he who sleeps in peace.
Though Ḥimyar has betrayed in treachery, Dhū Ruʿayn has God's forgiveness."

This poem he then entrusted to ʿAmr. When the latter did kill his brother Ḥassān and returned to Yemen, he was deprived of sleep and suffered insomnia. When he asked physicians, astrologists, soothsayers, and diviners what was wrong, they told him, "No one has ever killed his brother or relative unjustly without losing his sleep and suffering insomnia." Thereupon he set about killing all those who had encouraged him to murder his brother. Finally, he came to Dhū Ruʿayn who told him, "I have cause for you to spare me." When ʿAmr asked why, he drew attention to the document he had entrusted to him. ʿAmr then took out the verses, read them and realized that Dhū Ruʿayn had advised him well. ʿAmr perished and Ḥimyar's state fell into disorder and disarray.

USURPATION OF THE THRONE OF YEMEN BY LAKHNĪʿA DHŪ SHANĀTIR.

He ruled there for 27 years.

Ibn Isḥāq continued that a Ḥimyarite not of the royal lines then took control of Yemen, a man called Lakhnīʿa Yanūf Dhū Shanātir. He murdered the most prominent Yemenites and abused the country's royal families. He was, moreover, a most depraved man, behaving as had the people of Lot. He would send for a royal prince and attack him in an upper chamber he had constructed for that purpose; this was to prevent the prince from ruling after him. Eventually he would look down from his high chamber to his guards and soldiers below and place a tooth-cleaning stick in his mouth to show them that he had finished with the prince.

One day he sent for Zurʿa Dhū Nuwās b. Tubbān Asʿad, the brother of Ḥassān, who had been a small boy when Ḥassān was murdered. He had grown up to be a fine, intelligent, and handsome young man. When a messenger came to fetch him he realized what was in store for him, so he hid a thin metal blade between his foot and sandal. When they were alone and Lakhnīʿa attacked him, Dhū Nuwās fought back and stabbed and killed him. Then he cut off his head and placed it in the window out of which Lakhnīʿa had looked below. Having placed a tooth-cleaning stick in his mouth he then went outside. The guards called to him, "Hey there, Dhū Nuwās, fresh and moist, or all dried out?" He told them in reply to ask the head of "Hell-bent" there in the window, and they saw that Lakhnīʿa's head had been cut off. They then caught up with Dhū Nuwās and implored him to be their king now that he had spared them from the evil tyrant.

So they made him king, and Ḥimyar and the tribes of Yemen united under him. He was the last of the kings of Ḥimyar. He took the name Yūsuf and ruled for an extended period.

In Najrān there were still some remnants of followers of the religion of Jesus, son of Mary, on whom be peace. They were people of goodness and virtue and their leader's name was ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Thāmir.

Ibn Isḥāq then related how the people of Najrān adopted Christianity due to the influence of a man named Faymiyūn, a Christian from Syria. He was a man whose prayers were answered and was accompanied by a man named Ṣāliḥ. They spent each Sunday in prayer, while Faymiyūn worked the rest of the week as a builder. He said prayers for the sick, the crippled, and the disabled, and their ills would be cured. Eventually he and his friend were taken prisoner by bedouins and were sold in Najrān. The man who bought Faymiyūn was astonished to see that when he began his prayers in the house at night it would fill with light.

The people of Najrān worshipped a tall palm tree, bowing down before it and festooning it with their wives' jewellery. Faymiyūn said to his master, "If I were to say a prayer to God against this tree and it were destroyed, would you recognize that your religion is false?" His master agreed that he would, and gathered all the people from Najrān together. Faymiyūn then went into his prayer-room and asked God to destroy the tree. So God sent a storm that tore it up by the roots and threw it flat on the ground. Thereupon the people of Najrān adopted Christianity and he encouraged them to follow the Gospel until they were overtaken by the same events that affected the Christians all over the world.

That was how Christianity came to Najrān in the Arab lands.

Then Ibn Isḥāq related the story of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Thāmir when he adopted Christianity at the hands of Faymiyūn and how Dhū Nuwās killed him and his companions and dug the *ukhdūd*, the trench, for them. According to Ibn Hishām that *ukhdūd* was a long trench in the ground like a ditch. Dhū Nuwās kindled fires in it and burned these people with them; he also killed many others, to the total of almost 20,000, as is examined at length in the study of *sūrat al-Burūj* (LXXXV) in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) of the Qurʾān.[9] And all praise be to God!

An Account of how rule in Yemen passed from Ḥimyar and was transferred to the black Abyssinians.

The aforementioned events support the predictions of the two soothsayers, Shiqq and Saṭīḥ. Only one of the people of Najrān survived; his name was Daws Dhū Thaʿlabān and he escaped on his horse in the desert and could not be caught. He continued travelling until he reached Caesar, the emperor of Byzantium. Since the emperor was also a Christian, as he was, he told him what Dhū Nuwās and his troops had done and asked his aid. The emperor replied

9. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* . . . , Vol. 4, pp491–7.

that Daws' land was very far, but that he would write a message to the king of Abyssinia who was also of the same religion and whose country was closer at hand. The emperor then wrote such a message asking him to provide help and to seek revenge for Daws.

So Daws took Caesar's letter to the Negus[10] who dispatched 70,000 troops from Abyssinia under the leadership of one of his officers named Aryāṭ, along with another named Abraha al-Ashram. Aryāṭ crossed over the sea and reached the shores of Yemen, accompanied by Daws. Dhū Nuwās came out to meet him with his forces made up from Ḥimyar and the Yemeni tribes under his control. When they engaged, Dhū Nuwās and his men were defeated. When he realized that disaster had befallen himself and his people, Dhū Nuwās turned his horse to the sea and beat it until it entered the water and took him through the shallows and out to the depths of the sea where he perished. Aryāṭ entered Yemen and took control there. At this point Ibn Isḥāq records several poems by the Arabs detailing these strange events. These poems are in fine, eloquent, vivid, and elegant language, but we omit them here to avoid boring or wearying the reader. And God is our helper.

An Account of how Abraha al-Ashram rebelled against, fought, and killed Aryāṭ, and so assumed power over Yemen.

Ibn Isḥāq stated: "Aryāṭ remained in control over Yemen for some years but eventually Abraha challenged him and the Abyssinian forces split into two sides. One side moved to attack the other, but when the armies approached for battle, Abraha sent a message to Aryāṭ suggesting that he was wrong to pit the Abyssinians against one another to the ultimate damage of all, and that they should meet alone in battle, all forces then combining under the authority of the one victorious. To this Aryāṭ responded with agreement.

"Abraha, a short, stocky man and a devout Christian, then went out to fight Aryāṭ who was tall, handsome, powerfully built, and bore a javelin. Behind Abraha was a slave named ʿAtwada protecting his rear. Aryāṭ struck out, aiming at the top of Abraha's head, but his javelin hit him on the forehead and slit his eyebrow, eye, nose, and lip; that was why he was known as *al-Ashram*, i.e. the cleft-face. Then ʿAtwada advanced from behind Abraha and attacked and killed Aryāṭ. The forces of Aryāṭ went over to Abraha and all Abyssinians in Yemen united under him. Abraha then paid over the blood price for Aryāṭ's death.

"When this news reached the Negus, who had dispatched them both to Yemen, he was furious at Abraha, for he had attacked and killed his commander without orders from himself. Then the Negus swore an oath that he would give

10. The title given to the ruler of Abyssinia (now Ethiopia).

Abraha no respite until he had trodden his land and cut off his locks. So Abraha shaved his head and filled a leather bag with Yemeni soil which he sent to the Negus with a message saying, 'O king, Aryāṭ was merely your slave as I am. We differed about your command; everyone owes you obedience. But I was stronger, more effective, and more skilful than he was in managing Abyssinian affairs. I shaved my head completely when I heard of the king's oath and have sent to him a bag of my country's soil so that he may tread it underfoot and so keep his oath.' This message pleased the Negus when he received it, and he sent him a message that Abraha should remain in Yemen until further orders. And so it was that Abraha did remain in Yemen."

An Account of why Abraha attacked Mecca with elephants to put the kaʿba *to waste and how God quickly destroyed him.*

As God Almighty stated in the Qurʾān, "Have you not seen how God dealt with those who had elephants? Did he not defeat their scheme, sending flocks of birds which cast upon them stones of baked clay, rendering them like digested chaff?" (*sūrat al-Fīl*, CV, v.1–5).

It was said, according to al-Ṭabarī, that the first person to tame an elephant was Ifrīdūn b. Athfiyān, who killed al-Daḥḥāk. It was also he who first saddled horses. The first person to domesticate and ride a horse, though, was Faṭhamūrath, who was the third of the world's kings. It was also said that Ishmael, son of Abraham, upon both of whom be peace, was the first to ride a horse, and it is likely that he was the first Arab to ride. But God knows best.

Some say that, in spite of their size, elephants are scared of cats. Some army commanders brought cats into the pitch of battle when fighting the Indians, and so the elephants ran away.

Ibn Isḥāq continued: "Later Abraha built al-Qullays church in Ṣanʿā', the like of which had never at that time been seen on earth before. He wrote to the Negus saying, 'I built a church for you the like of which was never built for any king before you, and I will not cease striving until I divert to it the Arabs' pilgrimage.'"

Al-Suhaylī stated that Abraha sought to humiliate the people of Yemen by building this ugly church, humbling them in a variety of ways. He invariably amputated the hand of any labourer who arrived for work after dawn. He began to transfer to it, from the Balqīs palace, marble, stone, and splendid furnishings. In it he erected crosses of gold and silver and pulpits made of ivory and ebony. Al-Qullays was built very tall indeed and its spaciousness was amazing. When eventually Abraha died and the Abyssinians dispersed, spirits would inflict evil on anyone daring to take any of its building materials or furnishings. This was

because the building was undertaken in the name of two idols, Kuʿayb and his wife. The height of each of these was 60 cubits. Consequently the Yemenis left the church alone. It remained just as it had been up till the time of al-Saffāḥ, the first of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. He sent there a group of men of determination, judgement, and knowledge who demolished it stone by stone; and today its remains are completely effaced.

Ibn Isḥāq continued: "When the Arabs learned of and talked about Abraha's message to the Negus, a certain intercalator of the Kināna tribe became enraged; the intercalators were the ones who would postpone a sacred month in Mecca, during which warfare would have been forbidden, when they wanted to make war. This is referred to in the Qurʾān: 'The practice of postponing (the sacred month) is merely further disbelief'" (*sūrat al-Barāʾa*, IX, v.37).

Ibn Isḥāq went on: "This Kinanite then travelled to the al-Qullays church and squatted down there, that is he defecated without anyone seeing, then left and returned home. When Abraha was informed of this he demanded to know who had done such a thing. He was told: 'It was one of the people of that *bayt* (building) in Mecca to which the Arabs made pilgrimage. When he heard of what you said of your intention to change the Arabs' pilgrimage to this church of yours, he became angry and so defiled it, thereby indicating that it was unworthy of being a place of pilgrimage.'

"Abraha was enraged at this and he swore that he would go to the *kaʿba* and destroy it. And so he ordered his Abyssinian troops to equip themselves and make ready, and then he set forth with his elephant. The Arabs were highly anxious and alarmed when they heard of this and considered it their duty to do battle with him, when they learned he wanted to destroy the *kaʿba*, God's sacred edifice. A member of the Yemeni nobility named Dhū Nafr summoned his people and those Arabs who would support him to do battle with Abraha and prevent his destruction of the *kaʿba*. Some did respond and they engaged in battle. Dhū Nafr and his supporters were vanquished and he himself was taken prisoner and brought before Abraha. When about to be killed, Dhū Nafr suggested to Abraha that he might well be more useful to him alive than dead. So Abraha kept him prisoner, in chains; he was a clement person.

"Abraha continued ahead to meet further adversaries and in the area of Khathʿam came up against Nufayl b. Ḥabīb al-Khathʿamī with his two allied tribes of Shahrān and Nāhis, along with other Arab supporting tribes. They did battle, Abraha won, and took Nufayl prisoner. When Abraha was about to execute him, Nufayl pleaded for his life and offered to be his guide in the Arab territory, guaranteeing that the tribes under him would be obedient to Abraha. So Abraha released him and went on ahead, with Nufayl acting as guide.

"Reaching Ṭāʾif, Abraha was met by Masʿūd b. Muʿattib b. Mālik b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. ʿAwf b. Thaqīf along with the warriors of Thaqīf. They

addressed Abraha, saying, 'O king, we are your slaves, fully obedient to you; we have no dispute with you and this temple of ours is not the one you want.' By this they meant the temple devoted to the goddess al-Lāt. 'What you want is the building in Mecca; we will send guides to take you there.' So Abraha passed them by unmolested."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The temple of al-Lāt was one they had there in al-Ṭā'if that they venerated almost as was the *ka'ba*.

"So Thaqīf sent with Abraha Abū Righāl as guide to Mecca. They travelled as far as al-Mughammis where they made a stop. It was there that Abū Righāl died and thereafter the Arabs stoned his grave; his grave is the one at al-Mughammis that people still stone. In the story of Thamūd, Abū Righāl was one of their men who would seek refuge at the sanctuary but was struck and killed by a stone as he left it. Once the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to his Companions, 'And the proof is that he was buried with two branches of gold.' When his grave was disinterred, they did find them. He was said to be known as Abū Thaqīf."

The connection between this and Ibn Isḥāq's account is that the name of this latter Abū Righāl was the same as that of his ancestor and that the people stoned his grave just as they did that of the former. But God knows best. Jarīr spoke the verse: "When al-Farazdaq dies, then may people stone his grave like they stoned Abū Righāl's."[11]

It seems evident that he was the second.

Ibn Isḥāq continued: "When Abraha made a halt at al-Mughammis he sent on ahead to Mecca one of his Abyssinian men named al-Aswad b. Maqṣūd with some cavalry. He brought to him the possessions of the people of Tihāma, from Quraysh and others; this included 200 camels belonging to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim who was at that time the leader and elder of Quraysh. As a result, Quraysh, Kināna, and Hudhayl, and all those venerating the *ka'ba* decided to do battle with Abraha but abandoned this idea when they learned they had insufficient power to match him."

Abraha then sent Ḥunāṭa the Ḥimyarite to Mecca with the following order: "Find the leader and the most noble of these people. Then tell him that the king says, 'I have not come to war upon you, but only to destroy that building (the *ka'ba*). If you do not engage in warfare to prevent our access to it, then I shall have no need for your blood.' If he does not want war, bring him to me with you."

When Ḥunāṭa entered Mecca he asked after the leader of Quraysh. He was directed to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim and so passed on Abraha's message to him. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib replied, "By God, we do not want war with him and have not the power for it; this house is God's sacred house and that of His true follower Abraham, upon whom be peace." He was saying in effect, "If God does

11. Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, who lived during the seventh to eighth centuries AD, are remembered chiefly for their satiric verses aimed at one another.

protect it from Abraha, then it is because it is His holy sanctuary and His house. If he abandons it to him, then, by God, there's no way for us to defend it."

Ḥunāṭa then told ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib that he must accompany him to Abraha in accord with his orders.

So ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib set off along with some of his sons. Arriving at Abraha's encampment, he asked to see Dhū Nafr, who was a friend of his. When he met Dhū Nafr, still in confinement, he asked him whether he had any solution to their predicament. Dhū Nafr replied, "How can a man have a solution when he is a king's prisoner and is expecting to be killed at any time? I have no advice to give you, except to say that Unays, the elephant keeper, is a friend of mine. I will send him a message strongly commending you and ask him to seek permission for you to address the king. Speak to him as you see fit, and Unays will intercede on your behalf as well as he can."

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib agreed and Dhū Nafr sent Unays the following message: "'ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is lord of Quraysh and custodian of the well[12] of Mecca; he feeds both men in the plains and wild animals on the mountains. The king seized 200 of his camels. So seek permission for him to see the king and intercede for him as best you can." Unays responded that he would.

Unays then spoke to Abraha, saying, "O king, here at your door seeking audience is the lord of Quraysh and keeper of the well of Mecca; he feeds both men in the plains and the wild beasts in the mountains. Allow him in to see you to discuss a matter with you." Abraha let him in.

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the most dignified, handsome, and impressive of men. When Abraha saw him, he wanted to honour him by not making him sit below himself. But he did not want the Abyssinians to see him sitting next to himself on the throne. So Abraha descended, sat down on a carpet, and had ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib take his place beside him. He then told his interpreter to ask why he had come and he did so. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib replied, "What I want is for the king to return the 200 camels he took from me as compensation."

Hearing this, the king told his translator to reply as follows: "You impressed me when I saw you, but you displeased me when you spoke. You want to talk to me about 200 camels I took from you in compensation, but not about the building which is your religion and your ancestors' religion that I have come to destroy?"

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib replied, "I am the owner of the camels; the building has its own master who will protect it."

Abraha replied, "He won't protect it from me."

"Then it's between you and Him," ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib said.

And so Abraha returned his camels to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

12. The reference is to *zamzam*, the holy well in Mecca.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that when he went in to see Abraha, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was accompanied by Yaʿmur b. Nafātha b. ʿAdī b. al-Dīl b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna, leader of Banū Bakr tribe, and Khuwaylid b. Wāʾila, leader of Hudhayl.

These men offered Abraha one-third of the produce of Tihāma if he would withdraw and not destroy the building. But Abraha refused their offer. And God alone knows whether or not that happened.

When they left Abraha, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib went to report to Quraysh and told them to retreat from Mecca to defensive positions in the mountains. Then ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib took hold of the metal door knocker of the *kaʿba* and stood there with a group of men from Quraysh praying to God and asking His help against Abraha and his troops. As he stood holding the *kaʿba* door knocker, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib recited the verses:

> "O God, Your worshippers protect their homes, so protect Your building,
> Let not their cross and their power vanquish Yours tomorrow
> If You should leave them free with our *qibla*,[13] then that is what You will."

Ibn Hishām said that these were what he found to be the authentic verses of this poem.

Ibn Isḥāq reported that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib then released the *kaʿba* door-knocker and went off, along with his men of Quraysh, to the mountain peaks, taking up defensive positions and waiting for whatever Abraha might do.

Next morning Abraha prepared to enter Mecca, readying his elephant and equipping his troops. The elephant's name was Maḥmūd. When they directed the elephant towards Mecca, Nufayl b. Ḥabīb came close to it, took its ear and told it, "Kneel down, then go back to where you came from. Here you are in God's holy land." Then he released the elephant's ear and it knelt.

According to al-Suhaylī this means that the elephant fell to the ground, since it is not in the nature of elephants to kneel; although it has been said that some elephants do kneel like camels. God knows best.

Nufayl b. Ḥabīb hurried off into the mountains. Abraha's troops beat the elephant to make it stand up, struck its head with axes, and stuck hooks into its hide until it bled. But it refused to stand. Then they turned it to face towards Yemen, and it got up and moved in a hurry. When they directed it towards Syria and then towards the east it did the same. But when they turned it towards Mecca it knelt again.

Then God sent against them birds from the sea like swifts and crows, each one of which carried three stones, one in its beak and one in each claw. The stones were like chickpeas and lentils. Every soldier hit died, but not all were struck.

13. The *qibla* is the direction, usually indicated by a decorated niche in the wall of a mosque, to which Muslims turn in prayer, towards the *kaʿba*, that is.

So they retreated in haste along the road by which they had come, calling out for Nufayl b. Ḥabīb to lead them on the way back to Yemen. About this situation Nufayl spoke these verses:

"Greetings to you from us, O Rudayna. How much we have gladdened our eyes this morning!
Rudayna, had but you seen, but may you see not, what we saw at Mt. Muḥaṣṣab.
Then you would have forgiven and praised me, and not felt ill will at what passed between us.
I praised God to see the birds, and feared that a stone be cast upon me.
While all called out for Nufayl, as though I owed the Abyssinians some debt."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "So down they scrambled by any path, dying randomly where they went. Abraha was struck on his body and they carried him away as his fingers dropped off one by one. As they fell pus and blood emerged. When they got him to Ṣanʿā he was like a baby bird. He finally died when his heart burst from his chest. Or so they say."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to relate that Yaʿqūb b.ʿUtba told him that it was reported that measles and smallpox were seen for the first time in Arab lands that year. Also that that was the first year bitter plants were observed there: the African rue, the colocynth, and the *Asclepias gigantea*.

Ibn Isḥāq commented that when God sent Muḥammad (ṢAAS) one of the actions he enumerated as God's grace and bounties upon Quraysh was His having repelled the Abyssinians and saved Quraysh for posterity. And so God spoke in the Qurʾān, "Have you not seen how God dealt with those who had elephants? Did he not defeat their scheme, sending flocks of birds which cast upon them hard stones of baked clay, rendering them like digested chaff?" (*sūrat al-Fīl*, CV, v.1–5).

At this point both Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn Hishām go into interpretations of this chapter and the one that follows it. I have dealt with this in my *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*)[14] in all sufficiency, God be willing, and to Him is due all praise and credit.

Ibn Hishām stated that the word *al-abābīl*, flocks, means groups; the Arabs used no singular form for this noun that we know. He also stated that regarding the word *al-sijjil*, i.e. "hard", Yūnus the grammarian and Abū ʿUbayda told him that the Arabs used it to mean "very solid". Some commentators claim that the latter is really two Persian words made into one by the Arabs, they being *sanj* and *jill*. The first of these means "stone", the second "clay", so the combination word would indicate something made of both of these. The word *ʿaṣaf* in the Qurʾān passage quoted above means vegetation foliage that has not been chewed. Al-Kisāʾī said that he had heard from a grammarian that the singular of the word *al-abābīl* is *ibbīl*.

14. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* . . . , Vol. 4, pp548–53.

Many early authorities interpreted this word *al-abāḇīl* to mean birds that follow one another hither and thither in groups.

According to Ibn ʿAbbās they had beaks like those of birds but paws like those of dogs.

ʿIkrima said that their heads were like those of lions which emerged at them from the sea and that these were green.

ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr said that they were black sea-birds bearing stones in their beaks and claws.

According to Ibn ʿAbbās they were similar in form to the griffins of North Africa. He also maintained that the smallest stones they had were like human heads, some as big as camels. That is what Yūnus b. Bukayr said on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq. It is also said they were small – but God knows best.

Ibn Abī Ḥātim said that he was told, by Abū Zurʿa, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Shayba, and Abū Muʿāwiya, from al-Aʿmash, Abū Sufyān, and ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr, that when God wished to destroy those with the elephant He sent upon them birds like swifts that were raised up from the sea. Each bird carried three stones, two in its claws and one in its beak. He said the birds came, lined up over their heads, screeched, and dropped what was in their claws and beaks. Each stone that fell on a man's head exited through his behind and each stone that fell on one side of a man exited from the other. God also sent a fierce gale which struck the stones and increased their velocity. And so they were all killed.

But, as Ibn Isḥāq has stated above, not all were struck by the stones. Some did return to Yemen to tell their people of the disaster that befell them. And it was also said that Abraha, God curse him, went back, his fingers dropping off one by one, and that when he reached Yemen his chest burst open and he died.

Ibn Isḥāq related that ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr told him, on the authority of ʿAmra, that ʿĀʾisha[15] said, "I saw the elephant's keeper and guide in Mecca, both blind and crippled, begging for food." As mentioned above, the keeper's name was Unays, though no name was given for its guide. But God knows best.

Al-Naqqāsh stated in his Qurʾān exegesis that a torrent bore away their bodies into the sea. Al-Suhaylī said that the events of the elephant occurred on the first day of Muḥarram, year 886 of the era of Dhū al-Qarnayn (Alexander the Great).

And I add that it was the same year that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born, as is generally known. It is also said, however, that these events preceded his birth by some years, as we will report, God willing, and in Him we trust.

Here Ibn Isḥāq mentions the poetry recited by the Arabs on this great occasion on which God rendered His sacred house victorious, wishing it to be honoured, respected, purified, and dignified through the mission of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) and through the true religion He legislated to him. One of the elements of this

15. ʿĀʾisha was the daughter of Abū Bakr and became the wife of the Prophet.

religion, indeed one of its pillars, is prayer, the direction of which would be towards this sanctified *kaʿba*. What God did then to the elephant's army was not a victory for Quraysh over the Abyssinian Christians; the Abyssinians were at that time closer to it (i.e. to victory from God) than the polytheist Quraysh. The victory belonged to the sacred house and served to set the foundation and pave the way for the mission of Muḥammad (ṢAAS).

Included in this poetry are the verses of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zibaʿrā al-Sahmī:

"They fled in terror from Mecca's interior, its sanctuary undisturbed for ages past;
Sirius had created no nights inviolate since not even one of the mightiest of men could ever aspire to attack it.
Ask the Abyssinian prince what he saw of it; he who has knowledge of it shall inform the ignorant.
Sixty thousand men did not return to their land, even their sick did not live after their homecoming.
ʿĀd and Jurhum were there before them, but God held it high above all men."

Abū Qays b. al-Aslat *al-anṣārī* al-Madanī also spoke verses on the subject:

"God's work it was the day of the Abyssinians' elephant; many times did they urge it on, but it didn't budge;
Their hooks were under its sides and they slashed its trunk until it tore.
They used a knife instead of a whip; when they aimed it at its back it was badly wounded.
So it turned and ran away, and those there did fail for their evil.
God sent a gale down upon them, overwhelming them as if they were dwarves.
Their priests urged fortitude but they screamed like bleating sheep."

Abū al-Ṣalt Rabīʿa b. Abū Rabīʿa Wahb b. ʿAllāj al-Thaqafī spoke the following verses, though Ibn Hishām attributed them to Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt:

"Our Lord's signs are manifestly clear, only disbelievers doubting them.
He created night and day and all clear, its reckoning determined.
Then a merciful Lord makes clear the day with a sun of spreading rays.
He kept the elephant at al-Mughammis until it crawled as though hamstrung.
Kneeling down like a camel, and still, as if it were carved out of a rock from the mountain.
Around it heroes from among the kings of Kinda, eagle-like lords in wars
They left it, then all fled in fright, each with a broken leg.
All religions except Abraham's *al-Ḥanīfa* are null in God's sight on Judgement Day."

Abū Qays b. al-Aslat said also:

"Arise and pray to your God, cleansing yourself at the pillars of His house between the rugged mountains.
From it you had a certain calamity on the day of Abū Yaksūm [Abraha, tr.], leader of the phalanges:

His élite walks on the plain, his troops on their camels at the mountain heights.
When you received victory from the Owner of the Throne, hosts of angels repelled them, casting soil and stones.
Quickly they turned in flight; and of the Abyssinians all who returned were injured."

Also among such verses is the one of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Qays al-Ruqayyāt extolling the greatness of the *kaʿba* and its protection through the destruction of those wishing it harm:

"Split-face (Abraha) attacked it, coming with his elephant, but his army turned back, defeated.
Birds rained stones down upon them until he was like a man being stoned.
Whoever attacks that place returns with his armies defeated, humiliated."

Ibn Isḥāq and others related that upon the demise of Abraha, his son Yaksūm assumed power, followed by the latter's brother Masrūq b. Abraha. He was the last of their kings and it was from him that Sayf b. Dhū Yazan of Ḥimyar wrested the kingship with the aid of troops he brought from Chosroe Anūshirwān, as we shall relate. The events with the elephant occurred in the month of Muḥarram, in the year 886 in the era of Dhū al-Qarnayn, Alexander son of Phillip, the Macedonian, after whom the Greeks count their calendar.

Abraha and his two sons having died and Abyssinian rule over Yemen having ended, al-Qullays, the temple Abraha had built, in his ignorance and stupidity, as a substitute for the Arab pilgrimage, was abandoned and left unattended. He had constructed over it two wooden idols, Kuʿayb and his wife, each one 60 cubits high. These idols were invested by spirits, and consequently anyone chancing to take anything from the temple building or its furnishings would come to harm. This continued to be the case until the time of al-Saffāḥ, the first of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. When he was told about it and all its marble and furnishings that Abraha had brought from the Balqīs castle in Yemen, he sent people to disassemble it stone by stone and to take away all its contents. That is how al-Suhaylī related it; God knows best.

An Account of the reversion of the kingship from the Abyssinians to Sayf b. Dhū Yazan the Ḥimyarite, just as the two soothsayers had predicted to Rabīʿa b. Naṣr, the Lakhmite.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, God have mercy on him, said that when Abraha died, his son Yaksūm b. Abraha became king over the Abyssinians. Abraha's agnomen was Abū Yaksūm, i.e. the father of Yaksūm. Then, when Yaksūm died his brother Masrūq b. Abraha became the Abyssinian king over Yemen.

Ultimately, the people of Yemen having so long suffered in misery, Sayf b. Dhū Yazan, the Ḥimyarite, became rebellious. His genealogy was Sayf b. Dhū Yazan b. Dhū Aṣbaḥ b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Sahl b.ʿAmr b. Qays b. Muʿāwiya b. Jashm b. ʿAbd Shams b. Wā'il b. al-Ghawth b. Quṭun b. ʿArīb b. Zuhayr b. Ayman b. al-Hamaysaʿ b. al-ʿAranjaj, the last being Ḥimyar b. Saba'. Sayf was also known as Abū Murra.

He made his way to the Byzantine emperor and complained to him of the state of affairs in Yemen, asking him to oust the Abyssinians and appoint him governor there. He suggested the emperor send from Byzantium whatever troops he thought necessary for this purpose and so himself would become king of Yemen. The emperor declined.

So Sayf went to al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, who was Chosroe's vice-regent over al-Ḥīra and the neighbouring territories in Iraq, and complained to him about the Abyssinians. Al-Nuʿmān responded that every year he sent an official delegation to Chosroe, and invited Sayf to stay with him until then. Sayf agreed.

Sayf later did accompany al-Nuʿmān, who took him in to see Chosroe, seated in the chamber where his crown was kept. His crown was like a large grain bucket and was, so they say, set with rubies, chrysolites, pearls, gold, and silver, suspended by a gold chain from the dome of his audience chamber. His neck did not bear the crown; he was kept hidden by a cloth until he sat down there. Then he would put his head into his crown. When he was thus positioned on his throne, the cloth would be removed. All who saw him for the first time would kneel down in awe of him.

When Sayf entered he bowed his head down low, and the king commented, "It is really stupid to come in through such a tall doorway and bow one's head down so low!"

When this remark was transmitted to Sayf, he responded that he had only done this out of his preoccupying distress that overwhelmed all else. He then went on to say, "O king, crows have taken charge of our country!"

"What crows?" Chosroe asked, "the ones from Abyssinia or from Sind?"

"From Abyssinia. I've come to ask your help; and you shall have kingship over all our land."

Chosroe replied, "Your country is far away, and its riches meagre. I'm not going to embroil an army from Persia in Arabia. I don't need that."

He then presented Sayf with 10,000 pure-minted dirhams and a robe of honour. Having received these, Sayf went outside and began distributing the money to people. When the emperor heard of this he wondered why, and so sent for him and asked him why he was throwing away a king's gift to people.

Sayf replied, "What else am I to do with your gift? Are not the mountains of my country made of gold and silver?"

He said this to arouse Chosroe's interest. So Chosroe then assembled his advisers and asked their counsel about Sayf and his mission. They reminded him of the presence in his gaols of prisoners he had condemned to death and suggested he send them with Sayf. For if they were killed that was what Chosroe had intended for them anyway, and if they triumphed his own domain would be expanded.

Chosroe therefore sent off with Sayf eight hundred men from his prisons and placed them under the command of a man named Wahriz, an elder of the highest repute and ancestry. They set sail in eight ships, of which two sank; so six ships eventually arrived on the coast of Aden.

Sayf gathered together all his own men he could to help Wahriz, saying, "My leg is with yours till we all die or all triumph." Wahriz replied that that was fair.

Masrūq b. Abraha then came out with his troops to meet them in battle. Wahriz sent his own son out to do combat and test their mettle. Wahriz's son was slain; this increased the anger and hatred the father had for them.

When the enemy troops were positioned on the battlefield, Wahriz asked his men to indicate which was their king. They pointed to a man on an elephant with a crown and wearing a ruby between his eyes. He saw him and told them not to attack him.

For some time nothing was done. Then Wahriz asked what the Abyssinian leader was doing now. They told him he was now on a horse. Again Wahriz told them not to attack him, and for long they waited. Eventually Wahriz asked after the king and was told he was now on a mule. "So", Wahriz commented, "on an ass's filly, is he? He has humbled himself and his domain. I'll take a shot at him. If you see his companions not moving, then stay still till I give you further orders, for I will have missed the man. But if you see his people crowding around him and not advancing, I shall have hit him. In that case, you advance at them."

With that he braced his bowstring; they say his bow was so stiff only he could brace it. He then had his eyebrows tied back and let the arrow fly. He split the ruby between the king's eyes and the arrow pierced right through his head and emerged from its back. He was knocked off his mount, and the Abyssinians milled around him in confusion. The Persians charged and the Abyssinians were defeated, being killed or fleeing in all directions.

Wahriz advanced to enter Ṣanʿāʾ. When he reached its gateway he insisted that his banner could never enter in a lowered position, and that they should therefore demolish the gate. This was done and he went inside with his banner held high. Sayf b. Dhū Yazan then said:

"People thought the two kingdoms had united.
If some had really believed it, then the matter would be serious and grave.
We killed the general Masrūq and spilt blood on the sandhills.

The new general, Wahriz, the people's general, swore an oath
Not to drink wine before taking prisoners and booty."

Arabs from Ḥijāz and elsewhere came in delegations to Sayf, praising him and congratulating him that the kingship had gone to him. Quraysh sent such a delegation and its number included ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim. Sayf gave him the glad tidings of the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and informed him of what he knew about him. Details of this will be given hereafter in the chapter related to the predictions of his coming.

According to Ibn Isḥāq, Abū al-Ṣalt b. Rabīʿa al-Thaqafī spoke the following verses. However, Ibn Hishām attributed them to Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt.

"Let vengeance seekers be like Ibn Dhū Yazan, who took to the sea and for ages sought a way to his enemies,
Going to Caesar when his journey seemed right, but finding there none of what he sought.
Then he turned after ten years to Chosroe, disregarding his life and the cost
Until he came bringing a band of free men; how quickly you sped!
What a fine group of men; I never saw their like before.
Persian braves, mighty warriors, archers, like lions raising their cubs in the forests,
Their bows shooting arrows like *howdah* poles, swiftly dispatching their enemies.
You sent lions against black dogs, their prey defeated and lost in the land
So drink up, enjoy your crown, and settle at the top of Ghumdān's palace as your permanent home.
Those were fine deeds. They were not two pails of milk mixed with water and later turning to urine!"

It is said that *Ghumdān* mentioned here was a palace in Yemen built by Yaʿrub b. Qaḥṭān; it was owned after him by Wāʾila b. Ḥimyar b. Sabaʾ. It was reputed to be 20 storeys high. God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq relates that ʿAdī b. Zayd al-Ḥīrī, of the Banū Tamīm, spoke these verses,

"What after Ṣanʿāʾ? There lived governors of abundant gifts.
Its builders raised it high to the scattering clouds, its chambers musk-scented.
Guarded by the mountains against the enemy hordes, its heights unscalable.
The hooting of owls pleasingly answered at night by the flute players.
Fate led there the army of free men, their knights in procession,
Crossing the desert on mules bearing death, accompanied by their foals,
Until the princes saw them from the castle heights, their divisions armour-clad,
The day they shouted at the barbarians and al-Yaksūm, 'Damn all who flee!'
A day long remembered, when a prosperous way of life ended which had been secure,
A day when the one was replaced by the many, so times change, many the marvels,
After the Tubbaʿ kings came noblemen whose satraps held quiet sway there."

According to Ibn Hishām this is what Saṭīḥ meant when he said, "Iram Dhū Yazan will follow, emerging from Aden to fight them, and he will leave not one of them in Yemen." This is also what Shiqq meant by saying, "a young man, guilt-free and faultless, who will emerge from the line of Dhū Yazan."

Ibn Isḥāq's account states, "So Wahriz and the Persians stayed in Yemen. And the *abnā'*[16] who live in Yemen today are descendants of these Persian troops."

The rule of the Abyssinians in Yemen, lasting between Aryāṭ's arrival and the death of Masrūq b. Abraha at the hands of the Persians and the removal of the Abyssinians, was 72 years. Their dominion was passed through four rulers, Aryāṭ, then Abraha, then Yaksūm b. Abraha, and finally Masrūq b. Abraha.

An Account of how Persian rule in Yemen ended.

Ibn Hishām's account states that eventually Wahriz died and Chosroe appointed his son al-Marzubān b. Wahriz over Yemen; when he died, Chosroe appointed the latter's son al-Taynujān. Later Chosroe exiled al-Taynujān from Yemen and appointed Bādhān to the rule; it was during his reign that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was appointed to his mission.

Ibn Hishām also relates that he was informed, on the authority of al-Zuhrī, that the latter said that Chosroe wrote the following to Bādhān, "I am told that a man from Quraysh has appeared in Mecca claiming to be a prophet. Travel to him and seek his repentance. If he repents, well and good. If he does not, send me his head!"

Bādhān sent Chosroe's message to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who replied, "God has promised me that Chosroe will be killed on such and such a day and month." When this response was brought to Bādhān he came to a halt and waited, saying, "If indeed he be a Prophet, it will occur as he said." And God did kill Chosroe on the day foreseen by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

According to Ibn Hishām he died at the hands of his son Shīrawayh. Others state that his sons joined forces to kill him.

This Chosroe was by name Abrawīz b. Hurmuz b. Anushirwān b. Qabbādh. It was he who defeated the Byzantines, as referred to in the Almighty's words in the Qur'ān, "A.L.M. The Romans have been defeated in the closest land" (*sūrat al-Rūm*, XXX, v.1–3). This will be explained later.

According to al-Suhaylī his death occurred the night of Tuesday, the tenth of Jumādā al-Ūlā, of the year 9 AH. What happened, it is thought, though God

16. The word in Arabic means "sons". Originally it was used in this context to refer to the offspring of the Persians who accompanied Sayf b. Dhū Yazan to Yemen. Then the term became more loosely used to refer to those whose mothers were not from the same race as their fathers.

alone knows, is that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote to Chosroe inviting him to accept Islam, he became enraged, tore up the letter and then wrote his own instructions to his governor in Yemen.

Some accounts report that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied to Bādhān's emissary with the words, "This night my Lord has killed your lord." And it was as he said, Chosroe being killed that very same night by his sons as a result of his having changed from justice to tyranny. Having deposed him they appointed his son Shīrawayh in his place. But he only lived on for six months or less after he had murdered his father.

Khālid b. Ḥiqq al-Shaybānī spoke the following verses on this:

> "And there was Chosroe, sliced up by his sons with swords as if he were meat.
> One day fate did bring him to term; is there not a term for every pregnant mother?"

Al-Zuhrī added that when news of Chosroe's death reached Bādhān, he sent word to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of the acceptance of Islam by himself and the Persians along with him. His Persian envoys asked, "To whom do we belong, Messenger of God?" He replied, "You are from us and to us, the people of the House." According to al-Zuhrī, that was why the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the words, "Salmān is of us, the people of the House."

It seems that this was after the emigration of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Medina. He therefore sent his commanders to Yemen to inform people of what was good and to call upon them to believe in God, the Almighty and Glorious. First he dispatched Khālid b. al-Walīd and ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib; later Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and Muʿādh b. Jabal followed them, and Yemen and its people accepted Islam.

Bādhān died and his son Shahr b. Bādhān ruled after him. It was he whom al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī killed after al-Aswad had pretended prophecy and taken Shahr's wife, as we will report, and expelled from Yemen the deputies of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When al-Aswad was killed the authority of Islam returned.

Ibn Hishām stated that it was he whom Saṭīḥ had meant by his words, "A Prophet pure to whom revelation comes from the All-high." He was also meant by Shiqq when he said that Persian rule would be "brought short by a messenger dispatched, who will bring forth truth and justice among a people of religion and virtue, in whom power shall reside until the Day of Separation."

Ibn Isḥāq states also that there was, so they claim, a stone inscription in Yemen, from the Book of Psalms, dating from ancient times which read, "Who rules Dhamār? Ḥimyar the Good. Who rules Dhamār? The evil Abyssinians. Who rules Dhamār? The free Persians. Who rules Dhamār? Quraysh the merchants."

A poet's words on this subject are recorded by al-Masʿūdī as follows, "When Dhamār was named, it was asked, 'To whom do you belong?' 'To Ḥimyar the good', came the reply. Asked to whom next, the reply came, 'To the Abyssinians most vile.' 'To whom next?' it was asked, and 'To the free Persians' came the reply. 'To whom next?' it was asked, and 'To the merchants of Quraysh,' came the reply."

It is said that these verses quoted by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq were found inscribed at the grave of Hūd, upon whom be peace, when the wind exposed his tomb in Yemen. That was shortly before the time of Balqīs, in the days of Mālik b. Dhū al-Manār, brother of ʿAmr Dhū al-Adhʿār b. Dhū al-Manār. It is said also that it was inscribed on Hūd's tomb and that those were his own words.

It is al-Suhaylī who related this; God knows best.

The Story of al-Sāṭirūn, King of al-Ḥaḍr

His story was related at this point by ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Hishām because of what certain scholars of genealogy had stated in connection with al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, mentioned above. They related that when Sayf b. Dhū Yazan went to al-Nuʿmān and asked him for help in regaining control over Yemen, it was stated that al-Nuʿmān had descended from al-Sāṭirūn, king of al-Ḥaḍr.

We earlier stated from Ibn Isḥāq that al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir was of the line of Rabīʿa b. Naṣr, and that it was reported from Jubayr b. Muṭʿim that he was a descendant of Qanaṣ b. Maʿad b. ʿAdnān. These are, then, three statements on his genealogy, and Ibn Hishām went on to tell about the king of al-Ḥaḍr.

Al-Ḥaḍr was a great fortress built by that king, whose name was al-Sāṭirūn, on the banks of the Euphrates. It was positioned high up and built tall and very spacious, its accommodations being like those of a large town. It was extremely well fortified and decorated in the utmost luxury, splendour, and good taste; it received taxes from all the surrounding areas.

The genealogy of al-Sāṭirūn, as given by Ibn al-Kalbī, was al-Dayzin b. Muʿāwiya b. ʿUbayd b. Ajram, from the tribe of Sulayḥ b. Ḥulwān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍāʿa.

Others said that he was of the al-Jarāmiqa, one of the Ṭawā'if kings whom he used to lead when they gathered to make war against one of their enemies. His fortress was between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

Ibn Hishām went on to state that Chosroe Sābūr Dhū al-Aktāf attacked al-Sāṭirūn, king of al-Ḥaḍr.

Someone other than Ibn Hishām stated that the one who attacked the king of al-Ḥaḍr was Sābūr b. Ardashīr b. Bābik, the first of the Sassanian kings, who

humiliated the Ṭawā'if kings and returned control to the Chosroes. Sābūr Dhū al-Aktāf, this authority claims, came a long time afterwards. God knows best. That information comes from al-Suhaylī.

Ibn Hishām's account continues, "And Sābūr besieged al-Ḥaḍr for two years." Others say four years.

His reason for doing this was that al-Sāṭirūn had attacked Sābūr's territory during the latter's absence in Iraq. The daughter of al-Sāṭirūn, whose name was al-Naḍīra, looked down and saw Sābūr dressed in silk garments and wearing a gold crown studded with topaz, emeralds and pearls; and he was handsome. So she secretly sent him a message asking if he would marry her if she opened the fortress gate for him. He replied that he would.

That evening al-Sāṭirūn drank wine till he was drunk; he was always drunk when he went to bed. Then she took the fortress keys from beneath his head and gave them to a servant of hers who opened the gates. Another account states that she directed Sābūr's people to a wide water channel through which they entered al-Ḥaḍr. Yet another version has her telling them of a spell over the fortress; they knew it would not be conquered until a grey pigeon was taken, its feet dyed with the menstrual fluid of a blue-eyed virgin, and then released. If it dropped on the walls of the fortress the spell would be removed and the gates would open. Sābūr did this, and the gates did come open.

So Sābūr went inside, killed al-Sāṭirūn, confiscated al-Ḥaḍr and then destroyed it. Then he took al-Naḍīra away with him and married her. While sleeping at night in bed, she began tossing and turning and could not sleep. Sābūr had candles brought and they searched her bed, in which they discovered one myrtle leaf. Sābūr asked her if that was what had kept her awake, and she replied that it was.

Sābūr asked her how her father had treated her. She answered, "He furnished me with silk brocade, dressed me in silk, gave me the choicest food[17] to eat and wine to drink."

Sābūr commented, "And then you treated him the way you did! You'd do the same to me quicker!"

Then he tied her tresses to the tail of a horse and it galloped away until she was killed.

Aʿshā Banī Qays b. Thaʿlaba composed these verses about this:

> "Consider al-Ḥaḍr and its people's ease; but do blessings last forever?
> Shāhbūr kept his troops there two years, striking it with their adzes.
> And when he gave prayer to his Lord, and repented, He took no revenge.
> Did his Lord provide him extra power, and was there ever the like of his castle?

17. In the original the text reads, "gave me brain as food to eat". Cooked brain was considered a delicacy.

He had appealed to his people, 'Come to your task; it is set;
Die nobly with your swords; I see death is ordained for those so fated.' "

Also ʿAdī b. Zayd spoke the following verses in this regard,

"Al-Ḥaḍr was afflicted from above by a dreadful, terrible, huge calamity
Due to a maiden who did not protect her father when he was delirious and off his guard;
She gave him much evening wine, undiluted, which he drank abundantly. And wine deludes, its imbiber never quenched.
That night she surrendered her people, believing the (enemy's) chief would marry her,
But next morning the bride's reward was blood running in streams,
Al-Ḥaḍr was ruined and confiscated; her chamber was fired and its contents burned."

ʿAdī b. Zayd also recited the verses,

"O malicious blamer of fate, are you guilt-free and perfect?
Or has time promised you a solid pledge to be ever safe? Indeed you are stupid and conceited.
Or whom did you see fate made immortal, and who had a watchful guard lest he be harmed?
Where now is Caesar Anūshirwān, the king of kings, or where Sābūr before him?
The noble Banū Aṣfar, kings of Byzantium, not one of them remains remembered.
And al-Ḥaḍr's lord, built by him, with both the Tigris and the al-Khābūr rivers made to flow to it,
Of marble built and plaster adorned, with birds nesting in its heights,
Unsuspecting of misfortune, yet all state now gone, its gates deserted.
Remember the lord of al-Khawarnaq,[18] who set forth one day, though right guidance requires thought.
His wealth and properties delighted him, the sea was his command, and his palace al-Sadīr,
Yet his heart was converted and he said, 'What joy for the living to death progressing,
Then becoming like leaves dried and tossed by the wind and breezes?'"

The man referred to in the verses above as the 'lord of al-Khawarnaq' was a king of by-gone days who had been warned by a learned man of his time about his conduct and practices. The king had exceeded his bounds, become arrogant and self-willed, and followed his own instincts unbridled. The learned man warned him by reference to the kings and states that had preceded him, how

18. He is referring to al-Nuʿmān, king of al-Ḥīra, who owned the two palaces of al-Khawarnaq and al-Sadīr. He is mentioned frequently in the poetry of the pre-Islamic era.

they had gone without a trace, and that nothing he took from others would not be transmitted from him in turn to those following him. This advice had impact and influence on him, and he was converted, giving thought to both his present and past and to the constraints of the grave. So he repented, returned to the faith and changed his ways. He abdicated, dressed himself as a mendicant, went off into the wilderness and the desert, and enjoyed solitude, shunning that pursuit of the senses and disobedience to the Lord of the Heavens followed by most people.

His story was told in extensive detail by the Sheikh and Imām Muwaffaq b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī, may the Almighty have mercy on him, in his book *Al-Tawwābūn* (*The Repentants*). Similarly, the *ḥafiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī reported it, thoroughly documented, in his book *Al-Rawḍ al-Unuf* (*The Virgin Meadows*) which is clearly written and well organized.

An Account of the Ṭawā'if *kings.*

Regarding the ruler of al-Ḥaḍr, Sāṭirūn, he was, as previously explained, considered a precursor to the rest of the *Ṭawā'if* ('factions') kings. He lived at the time of Alexander, son of Phillip of Macedonia, the Greek. This came about when Alexander defeated the king of the Persians, Darius son of Darius. Alexander subjugated Darius's kingdom, destroyed his land, arrested the best of his people, expropriated his produce, scattered the Persians to the winds, and determined that they should never thereafter join together and unite their forces.

So he began appointing a separate king over each group of people in any given area, Arabs and non-Arabs alike. Thereafter each of these kings would protect his own area, preserve his own allotment, and exploit his own region. When one king died, he would be succeeded by his son or by some other one of his people. This system prevailed for about 500 years.

Eventually, in the time of Ardashīr b. Bābik of Banū Sāsān b. Bahman b. Asfandiyār b. Yashtāsib b. Lahrāsib, their kingdom returned to its former condition. Ardashīr took over, rejoined the petty kingdoms altogether in one, and ended the rule of the *Ṭawā'if* kings; so not a trace of them remained.

Ardashīr delayed besieging the oldest-established, greatest, and most powerful of these kinglets, the ruler of al-Ḥaḍr, since he was their leader and precursor. When Ardashīr died, his son Sābūr turned his attention to al-Ḥaḍr and besieged it until he conquered it, as told above. And God, all Glorious and Almighty, knows best.

An Account of the sons of Ishmael who were the Arabs of Ḥijāz, and of events of the jāhiliyya *period up to the time of the Mission.*

We have already, in a previous work,[19] given an account of Ishmael, upon whom be peace, along with the Prophets. It tells of how his father Abraham, upon whom be blessings and peace, bore him away with his wife Hājar and made them to dwell in the Mecca valley between the mountains of Fārān, an unpleasant and desolate place. Ishmael was still unweaned at the time. Then Abraham went away and left them there, God having commanded him to do so. Ishmael's mother had nothing except a leather bag containing dates and a skin-bottle with water in it. When that was exhausted, God made the well *zamzam* flow for Hājar, it being a tasty sustenance for the hungry and a cure for the sick, as is related in the long *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAbbās recorded by al-Bukhārī, God have mercy on him.

Later, Jurhum, who were a group of the original Arabs who were descended from the ancient Arab tribes, settled near Hājar in Mecca, with no right to the water except for their own drinking and use. Hājar felt comfortable and secure with them.

Abraham, peace be upon him, kept an eye on them all the time; it is said he would ride his horse, al-Burāq, on his journeys to and from Jerusalem.

Later, when the boy became a youth and he would busy himself with his father, the issue of making sacrifice arose, the sacrifice being in reality Ishmael.

When Ishmael grew up, he married a woman from Jurhum, then left her and married another, the daughter of Muḍāḍ b. ʿAmr al-Jurhumī. She bore him 12 sons whose names have been mentioned before. These were: Nābit, Qaydhar, Adhbul, Misha, Mismaʿ, Mashī, Dimmā, Adhar, Yaṭūr, Nabsh, Ṭīmā, and Qaydhumā. These are as given by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and others using written sources. He also had one daughter whose name was Nasma; it was she he married to his nephew al-ʿĪṣū b. Isḥāq b. Abraham. From her were born to him al-Rūm and Fāris, and also al-Ashbān, in one of the two accounts.

The Arabs of Ḥijāz, with all their different tribes, are traced in their genealogy to Ishmael's two sons Nābit and Qaydhar. After Ishmael, the governor and ruler-in-chief of Mecca and the custodian of the temple and of the well *zamzam* was Nābit, cousin through his mother to the Jurhumites.

Later the Jurhumites gained control over *al-bayt* (the *kaʿba*), being jealous of their relatives, and ruled in Mecca and the areas around it for a long time in place of Ishmael's line. The first to gain control after Nābit was Muḍāḍ b. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. al-Raqīb b.ʿAybar b. Nabt b. Jurhum.

19. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya* (*The Beginning and the End*), Vol. 1.

Jurhum was the son of Qaḥṭān. His line was also given as Jurhum b. Yaqṭun b. ʿAybar b. Shālikh b. Arafkhshud b. Sām b. Nūḥ al-Jurhumī. The Jurhumites settled in the heights of Mecca, at al-Quʿayqiʿān.

Al-Samaydaʿ, leader of Qaṭūrā' had settled with his people in the lower part of Mecca. The Jurhumites and Qaṭūrā', charged a tax on all who passed by them on their ways to Mecca.

Ultimately warfare broke out between the tribes of Jurhum and Qaṭūrā'. Al-Samaydaʿ was killed, and full power over Mecca and *al-bayt* thus were gained by Muḍāḍ. The descendants of Ishmael did not contend with him despite their large numbers, respected position, and the diversity of their locations throughout Mecca and its surroundings; this was due to their family ties to them and to the majesty of the sacred *bayt*.

After Muḍāḍ, power went to his son al-Ḥārith and then to his son, ʿAmr.

Later Jurhum acted wrongfully in Mecca and corruption there spread. People came to disrespect the sacred mosque. It is even said that one of their men, named Isāf b. Baghī, and a woman named Nā'ila, daughter of Wa'il, met inside the *kaʿba* and that he committed fornication with her. And so God turned them into two rocks which the people set up near the temple as a warning to others. After a great deal of time had passed, these two rocks became the object of worship aside from God, during the period of Khuzāʿa. This will be further explained later. These became two idols set on high and named Isāf and Nā'ila.

When the misdeeds of Jurhum in the sacred land grew worse, Khuzāʿa, who had settled near the sanctuary, arose against them. They, Khuzāʿa, were of the line of ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir who had left Yemen because of what he expected would occur with the ʿArim torrent, as we have related above. It is also said that Khuzāʿa traced their descent to Ishmael's sons. God knows best.

Anyway, Khuzāʿa did join together to fight Jurhum and they engaged in battle; the descendants of Ishmael sided with neither party.

Khuzāʿa, being the tribe of Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt and Ghubshān, gained victory and ousted them from the *kaʿba*.

ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ al-Jurhumī, their leader, made off with the *kaʿba*'s two gazelles, made of gold, the cornerstone, the 'black stone' that is, as well as decorated swords and other items, and buried them all in the well *zamzam*, which he filled with earth. Then he and his people moved out, back to Yemen.

On this subject ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ composed the following:

"Her tears flowing and her eyes red and sore, in grief she said
'It's as though between al-Ḥajūn and al-Ṣafā there has never been a friend, and no evening pleasure in Mecca.'
So I told her, my heart made to flutter as though by a bird between my ribs:

'Yes indeed; we were its people but changing times and evil misfortunes destroyed us,

We were custodians of the *kaʿba* after Nābit, circling it around, our fine state clear.

We took charge of the temple after Nābit with dignity, the wealthy gaining no favour with us.

We had power and prestige, so be proud of our reign, no tribe there more proud than us.

Did you not marry a woman to Ishmael, the finest man I knew, so his descendants are from us, and we are his relatives.'

So what if the world turn against us? Life has its turns and tribulations

It was the king, the almighty ruler, who used his power to oust us; thus, O people, do the fates decree.

If the carefree sleep and I not rest, then I say, 'O enthroned one, why did Suhayl and ʿĀmir die?'

In exchange for them I got faces I dislike, tribes including Ḥimyar and Yuḥābir.

We were despised, after having been in delight, passing years thus biting us.

Tears flowed from eyes weeping for a land with a secure and sacred place and shrines,

Weeping for a place whose pigeons are left unharmed, living safe there, and sparrows too.

In it wild animals are safe and may leave it without fear – they would never be attacked."

According to Ibn Isḥāq, ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ also spoke as follows addressing Banū Bakr and Ghubshān who came to power after themselves in Mecca:

"O people, move along; your end is that one day you will not be able to move.

Urge on your mounts, release their reins before your death, and do with us what you will do.

We were people as you were; fate changed us; you will become as we became."

Ibn Hishām stated that these verses were the ones he found to be genuine. And a certain authority on poetry told me that these verses are the first poems spoken by the Arabs and that they were discovered inscribed on rocks in Yemen, their author's name not being given.

Al-Suhaylī recorded companion verses to this poetry, telling along with them a strange tale and peculiar chants. He said that Abū al-Walīd al-Azraqī, in his book *Faḍāʾil Mecca* (*The Virtues of Mecca*), added to the above-mentioned verses by ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ the following:

"Fate has turned against us and destroyed us through injustice there, our people plundering others.

Ask about the deeds of others before you, so that the path of disgrace be made clear.

Once before you we were kings over people, living resident in God's sanctuary."

The Story of Khuzāʿa and an account of ʿAmr b. Luḥayy and the worship of idols in Arab lands.

According to Ibn Isḥāq, Ghubshān of Khuzāʿa governed the *kaʿba* instead of Banū Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt; the first of these new rulers was ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith the Ghubshānī. At that time Quraysh were migrants, living in small settlements and little encampments scattered about among their people, Banū Kināna.

Khuzāʿa were so-named because they *takhazzaʿū*, separated, from the men of ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir when they came from Yemen on their way to Syria. Khuzāʿa stopped in Marr al-Dhahrān and settled there.

On this subject ʿAwn b. Ayyūb al-Anṣārī and thereafter al-Khazrajī spoke the following verses:

"When we went down into the vale of Marr Khuzāʿa 'separated' from us into small groups of people;
They occupied every valley of Tihāma, seeking protection by their solid spears and sharp-pointed swords."

Abū al-Mutahhir Ismāʿīl b. Rāfiʿ al-Anṣārī al-Awsī said:

"When we went down to the vale of Mecca Khuzāʿa gave praise to the house of the intolerant eater
Taking residence in small villages and riding off in separate groups to all settlements in high land and low.
They ousted Jurhum from the vale of Mecca, wrapping themselves in strong-backed Khuzāʿa pride."

So Khuzāʿa took control of the *kaʿba*, inheriting that rule by primogeniture until the last of them, Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya b. Salūl b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr b. Rabīʿa al-Khuzaʿī. It was his daughter Ḥubbā who got married to Quṣayy b. Kilāb; to him were born his four sons ʿAbd al-Dār, ʿAbd Manāf, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, and ʿAbd. Eventually he gained control over the *kaʿba*, as I will later explain in detail if God Almighty wills it, and in Him is all trust.

Khuzāʿa continued controlling the temple some 300 years; some say 500, and God knows best. Their period of rule was damned, because it was during their period that idols were first worshipped in Ḥijāz.

This came about because of their leader ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, God curse him; it was he who first influenced them towards idol worship. He was a man of enormous wealth. They say he gouged out the eyes of 20 camels to show that he owned 20,000 of them.

It was a custom among the Arabs that anyone who came to own 1,000 camels should gouge out the eyes of one of them. By doing this he would avert the evil eye of malicious envy from them. Al-Azraqī was one of those who related this practice.

According to al-Suhaylī, in the time of *al-ḥajj*, the pilgrimage, he probably sacrificed 10,000 animals and awarded 10,000 sacerdotal garments per year. He would feed the Arabs, preparing for them food of dates mixed with butter and honey, and give them barley wine to drink. They say that his word and deed were like law among them, due to his generosity, and to the high regard and deep respect they held for him.

Ibn Hishām states that a learned man told him that ʿAmr b. Luḥayy once left Mecca for Syria on business and reached Maʾāb in the Balqāʿ region. There at that time lived the ʿAmālīq, the sons of ʿImlāq or, as some say, ʿImlīq b. Lāwadh b. Sām b. Nūḥ. ʿAmr witnessed them worshipping idols, so he asked them why. They replied that if they asked the idols for rain it came, or for victory they won it.

ʿAmr then asked them to give him an idol he could take to Arab lands where it could be worshipped, and they gave him one named Hubal. This he brought to Mecca and set on a pedestal and ordered the people to worship and venerate it.

According to Ibn Isḥāq, people claimed that the first to worship idols were of the tribe of Ishmael. They did so because as they started to travel outside Mecca, having felt constrained and overcrowded there and seeking living-space elsewhere, they would always carry with them a stone from the sanctuary to venerate the shrine. Wherever they settled they would put down the stone and circumambulate it as they would the *kaʿba*. Eventually they took to worshipping any stone that pleased or inspired them, thus reverting to pagan ways and neglecting the religion they had followed.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection we find a statement from Abu Rajāʾ al-ʿUṭāridī as follows: "In the pre-Islamic period, if we found no rock then we would gather up a pile of dirt, bring a goat, milk it on to the pile, and then circumambulate it."

Ibn Isḥāq's narration goes on: "And they substituted another religion for that of Abraham and Ishmael, upon both of whom be peace, worshipping idols and following the false ways of the people before them."

Nevertheless they did maintain some of the practices of the era of Abraham, upon whom be peace. These included venerating the *kaʿba*, circumambulating it, going there for pilgrimage and visitation, mounting the hills of ʿArafāt and Muzdalifa, making sacrifice and invoking God's name at both pilgrimage and visitation and at the same time introducing innovations.

The tribes of Kināna and Quraysh would make the cry, "*Labbayka, Allāhumma, labbayka*! At your service, O God, at your service! At your service; you have no partner except one who is yours. You rule him, he rules not."

They would affirm His unity in their invocation and then include reference to their idols as well while asserting that He had power over them. God Almighty stated to Muḥammad (ṢAAS), "Most of them do not believe in God without associating others" (*sūrat Yūsuf*, XII, v.106). This meant, "they do not state My

unity out of knowledge of My right unless they also ascribe to me some associate of My own creation."

Al-Suhaylī and others state that the first to utter this prayer was ʿAmr b. Luḥayy and that Satan appeared before him as an old man and taught him that. ʿAmr would listen as he recited it, then say as he had. And the Arabs followed his lead in so reciting.

And it is established in al-Bukhārī's *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would say "*Qadi. Qadi*", when he heard people recite the words, "At your service, O God, you have no partner." That meant: "Enough right there!"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ādam, quoting Isrā'īl, from Abū Ḥafs, from Abū Hurayra, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "The first person to set slaves free and also to worship idols was Abū Khuzāʿa ʿAmr b. ʿAmir and I have seen him dragging his intestines in hell-fire." Aḥmad (*sic*) is unique in giving the account thus.

This account necessitates that ʿAmr b. Luḥayy was Abū Khuzāʿa, all the tribe being traced back to him, as some genealogists maintain, according to Ibn Isḥāq and others. Had we been left with only that one account, then it would be plain as it stands, even to be considered documentary. But other accounts exist which contradict it in some ways.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Yamān told him that Shuʿayb told him from al-Zuhrī that the latter heard al-Musayyab say, "*Al-baḥīra* is the camel that is not milked by anyone, since its milk is left for the idols; and *al-sā'iba* is the camel that does not carry anything since it is set aside for their gods."

Abū Hurayra stated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "I saw ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir al-Khuzāʿī dragging his insides in hell-fire; he was the first person who set loose the *al-sā'iba* camels."

Al-Bukhārī also relates it thus, and Muslim too, from a tradition from Ṣāliḥ b. Kīsān, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd and back to Abū Hurayra.

Then al-Bukhārī states that Ibn al-Hād passed it on from al-Zuhrī.

According to al-Ḥākim, al-Bukhārī meant that Ibn al-Hādd recounted it from ʿAbd al-Wahhab b. Bukht from al-Zuhrī. That is what he stated.

Aḥmad related it from ʿAmr b. Salama al-Khuzāʿī, from al-Layth b. Saʿd, from Yazīd b. al-Hād, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd back to Abū Hurayra, who said that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) state: "I saw ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir dragging his insides in hell-fire; it was he who first let loose the *sawā'ib* (pl. of *sā'iba*) and who *baḥara*, set aside the milk of, the *baḥīra* camels."

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Bukht was mentioned by neither of these authorities, though he was by al-Ḥākim. God knows best.

Aḥmad also said that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from Abū Hurayra who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said:

"I saw ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir al-Khuzāʿī dragging his insides in hell-fire, and it was he who first let loose the *sawāʾib*."

This tradition, as given, is missing a link of transmission. The correct chain would be to include al-Zuhrī as having received it from Saʿīd, as above.

Use in this tradition and the previous one of the term *al-Khuzāʿī* in the name indicates that he was not the founder of the tribe but rather named after it. Also the use in the narration of the term *Abū Khuzāʿa*, the father of Khuzāʿa, as further above, is a slip of the pen by the traditionalist for *Akhū Khuzāʿa*, brother of Khuzāʿa, or an indication that he was given the nickname Abū Khuzāʿa. Use of this last term could not be intended as informing us that he was father of the whole Khuzāʿa tribe; God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said that Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī related to him that Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān told him that he heard Abū Hurayra say that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say to Aktham b. al-Jawn al-Khuzāʿī: "O Aktham, I saw ʿAmr b. Luḥayy b. Qamaʿa b. Khindif dragging his insides in hell-fire and I never saw two men more alike than you and he." Aktham replied, "Maybe this resemblance to him is harmful to me, O Messenger of God?" He answered, "No; you are a believer while he is a disbeliever. It was he who first changed the religion of Ishmael, who set up idols, who set aside *al-baḥīra* camels' milk for the idols, established certain animals as free from burden-bearing, disallowed sacrifice of the male of twin goats, or considered certain stallion camels free from work."[20] There are no traditions to this effect in the "books," i.e. the canon.[21]

Ibn Jarīr related this same tradition in similar words from Hannād b. ʿAbda, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, back to the Prophet (ṢAAS). And this tradition too is not in the "books".

Al-Bukhārī said that Muḥammad b. Abū Yaʿqub Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Kirmānī related to him that Ḥassān b. Ibrāhīm told him, quoting Yūnus from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa that ʿĀʾisha said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I saw hell with its denizens beating one another and I saw ʿAmr dragging along his insides; it was he who first set loose the *al-sāʾiba* camels." Al-Bukhārī alone reported this *ḥadīth*.

What is meant here is that ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, God curse him, introduced certain innovations into the religion by which he changed the religion of Abraham. The Arabs imitated him in adopting these and thus strayed far off, in ways that were deplorable and atrocious.

Almighty God had expressed disapproval of these things in various verses of His unassailable Qurʾān. The Almighty stated: "And do not speak lies with what

20. See *sūrat al-Māʾida*, V, v.103.

21. He is referring to the canonical sources of law based on authenticated traditions.

your tongues describe, saying: 'This is lawful', and, 'this is unlawful', thus falsely attributing lies to God" (*sūrat al-Naḥl*, XVI, v.116). The Almighty also said, "God has not ordained the *baḥīra*, the *sā'iba*, the *waṣīla*, or the *hāmī*. But it is those who disbelieve who falsely attribute lies to God. Yet most of them do not understand" (*sūrat al-Mā'ida*, V, v.103).

I have elsewhere elaborated on all this and shown how the earlier authorities differed among themselves in explaining that. Those who wish may find it there;[22] and to God all praise and goodwill.

The Almighty also said, "And they put aside for what they know not a portion of what We have provided for them. By God, you will surely be questioned about what you have been falsely attributing" (*sūrat al-Naḥl*, XVI, v.56).

The Almighty stated as well, "And they set aside for God a portion of the crops and livestock He bestowed on them and said, 'This is for God!' by their assertion, and, 'This is for our associate gods!' So that which is for their associates does not reach God, while what was God's does reach their associates! Evil is what they judge. Likewise, these associates have deemed appropriate for many of the polytheists the killing of their children; this is to destroy them and distort their religion. Had God not wished, they would not have done so. So ignore them and what they invent. They said: 'These are animals and produce that are sacrosanct. None but whom we say shall taste them.' This they claim, and, 'These are animals whose backs are sacrosanct.' And, 'These are animals over whom God's name shall not be invoked.' These are falsehoods attributed to God and He will punish them for their inventions. And they said, 'What is within the wombs of these animals is specifically for our menfolk and forbidden for our wives', whereas if it be stillborn then they are all partners in it. God will punish them for their characterizations. He is wise, all-knowing. Lost are those who killed their children foolishly and without knowledge, and who proscribed what God has endowed them with, attributing falsehood to God. They had gone astray, and they were not rightly guided" (*sūrat al-An'ām*, VI, v.136–40).

In his *ṣaḥiḥ* collection, al-Bukhārī stated, in his chapter entitled: "The Arabs before Islam" that Abū al-Nu'mān and Abū 'Awāna both related to him on the authority of Abū Bishr, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās who said: "If it please you to know the ignorance of the Arabs before Islam, then read those verses coming after verse 130 in *sūrat al-An'ām*: 'Lost are those who killed their children foolishly and without knowledge and who proscribed what God has endowed them with, attributing falsehood to God. They had gone astray, and they were not rightly guided'" (VI, v.140).

We have given explanation for this verse and how they used to innovate with foolish and immoral laws, which their leader 'Amr b. Luḥayy, God damn him,

22. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* . . . Vol. 2, pp107–9.

had thought gave some benefit and kindness to animals. In this he was a liar and a cheat.

Yet despite this folly and error, those silly and ignorant people did follow his lead. In fact they followed him into errors even more grievous and serious than these, namely in worshipping idols along with God the Almighty and Glorious.

They thus brought changes into the true religion and straight path God had sent down to Abraham, His true companion, which is worship of God alone without associate, and proscription of polytheism.

They changed the ceremonies of the pilgrimage and the tenets of the religion without knowledge or proof or directives either strong or weak. In this they behaved similarly to those of the polytheist peoples who had preceded them.

They were like the people of Noah. These were those who first associated others with God and who worshipped idols. For this reason God sent Noah to them. He was the first messenger sent to turn people from worship of idols, as we learn from Noah's story in the Qur'ān: "And they said: 'Do not abandon your gods; do not forsake Wadd, Suwā', Yaghūth, Ya'ūq, and Nasr'; many did they lead astray. Give evil-doers increase of nothing but their error!" (*sūrat Nūḥ*, LXXI, v.23–4).

Ibn 'Abbās said that these were persons of virtue from among Noah's people; when they died people would attend their graves and eventually came to worship them. We have previously given enough information about their worship practices[23] to obviate need for its repetition here.

According to Ibn Isḥāq and others, having made these changes to the religion of Ishmael, the Arabs continued having idols. Banū Kalb b. Wabra b. Taghlib b. Ḥulwān b. 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Qudā'a had an idol named Wadd. It was set up in Dūmat al-Jandal. At a place called Ruhāṭ there was Suwā', idol of the Banū Hudhayl b. Ilyās b. Mudrika b. Maḍar. Yaghūth was the idol for Banū An'am from Ṭayyi', and for the people of Jurash from Madhḥij. It was set up at Jurash. Also there was Ya'ūq in the land of Hamdān in Yemen, used by Banū Khaywān, a tribe of Hamdān. In the land of Ḥimyar was Naṣr, belonging to a tribe called Dhū al-Kulā'.

Ibn Isḥāq goes on to report that Khawlān had in their land an idol called 'Amm Anas. They would, it is said, set aside part of their crops and livestock for division between it and God. Whatever of God's portion came into the share of 'Amm Anas they would leave for the latter, while if any set aside for 'Amm Anas went into the portion set aside for God, they would retrieve it for 'Amm Anas. It was about them that God revealed, "And they set aside for God a portion of the crops and livestock which He had bestowed upon them" (*sūrat al-An'ām*, VI, v.136).

23. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* . . . , Vol. 4, pp426, 427.

Banū Milkān b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika had an idol named Sa'd, a tall rock in open desert in their territory. One of their men took a herd of his camels to stand near by there to receive the idol's blessing, so they say. But when the camels, which were for meat and not riding, saw the idol stained with the blood of sacrifices, they shied away and scattered in all directions. Their owner became enraged and picked up a rock and threw it at the idol, saying, "May God not bless you; you caused my camels to flee from me!" Then he went off to find them and round them up. When he had done so, he spoke the verses:

> "We came to Sa'd for him to put us all together, but Sa'd scattered us; so we are not of Sa'd.
> Is Sa'd anything but a stone in the desert offering no prayer for anyone, whether misled or rightly guided."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to report that Daws had an idol belonging to 'Amr b. Ḥumama al-Dawsī. Moreover Quraysh had emplaced an idol over a well inside the *ka'ba* whose name was Hubal. As previously stated, Ibn Hishām reported it to have been the first idol set up by 'Amr b. Luḥayy, God curse him.

Ibn Isḥāq goes on to state that they adopted Isāf and Nā'ila as gods, emplaced near *zamzam*, where they would make sacrifice to them. He reports that they were a man and a woman who had sexual intercourse in the *ka'ba*, and so God transformed them into two rocks.

Ibn Isḥāq went on to state that 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm reported that 'Amra quoted 'Ā'isha as saying, "We always heard that Isāf and Nā'ila were a man and a woman of Jurhum who fornicated in the *ka'ba*, so God, Almighty and Glorious, turned them both into stone." God knows best.

And it has also been said that God did not postpone their punishment until they had fornicated there, but that He transformed them before the deed and that thereafter they were set up on the mountains of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. When it was the time of 'Amr b. Luḥayy, he placed them both at *zamzam* and people began circumambulating them.

On this subject Abū Ṭālib spoke the verse:

> "Where the Ash'arūn kneel their mounts, where the streams flow from Isāf and Nā'il."

Al-Wāqidī reported that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the destruction of Nā'ila, the day he conquered Mecca, there emerged from it a black woman with grey hair tearing at her face, lamenting and wailing loudly.

Al-Suhaylī has said that Ajā and Sulmā, which are two mountains in Hijāz, were in fact named after a man named Ajā b.'Abd al-Ḥayy who fornicated with Sulmā, daughter of Ḥām, and that they were both turned into idols in these

mountains that were named after them. He also said that between Ajā and Sulmā Ṭayyiʾ had an idol named Qals.

Ibn Isḥāq's account goes on to say that the people of each house had an idol they would worship there and that if a man were to journey he would touch the idol before mounting. This was also what he would begin by doing upon his return before he went inside to his family. When God sent Muḥammad (ṢAAS) with the message of the unity of God, Quraysh said, "He has made the gods into one god! How very strange!"

Ibn Isḥāq went on to relate that along with the *kaʿba* the Arabs venerated *tawāghīt*. These were buildings they honoured in much the same way as they did the *kaʿba*. They had custodians and priests, and offerings would be made to them just as to the *kaʿba*, along with the rituals of circumambulation and blood sacrifice. But they still recognized the precedence of the *kaʿba* over them because it was the building and mosque of Abraham, God's true companion, peace be upon him.

Quraysh and the Banū Kināna had an idol named al-ʿUzzā at Nakhla and Banū Shaybān of Sulaym were its custodians and priests; they were allies of Banū Hāshim. Khālid b. al-Walīd destroyed it when he conquered them, as we shall relate.

Al-Lāt was the idol for Thaqīf at al-Ṭāʾif and its custodians and priests were Banū Muʿattib from Thaqīf. Abū Sufyān and al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba destroyed it after the people of al-Ṭāʾif accepted Islam, as we shall relate later.

Manāt was the idol of the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj and the people of Medina who shared their religion in the coastal region, towards al-Mushallal in Qudayd. Abū Sufyān destroyed it also. Some say it was ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib who did it, as we will relate.

Dhū al-Khalaṣa was an idol of Daws, Khathʿam, and Bajīla and the Arabs in their territory of Tabāla. It was called "the southern (Yemeni) *kaʿba*", while the one in Mecca was known as the "northern (Syria, Shāmī) *kaʿba*". Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajlī destroyed it, as we will explain.

Qals was an idol of Ṭayyiʾ and those two nearby mountains, meaning Ajā and Sulmā, famous mountains referred to above.

Riʾām was a temple of Ḥimyar and the people of Yemen, as above related in the story of Tubbaʿ, one of the kings of Ḥimyar, and the story of the two rabbis when they destroyed it and killed a black dog that came from it.

Ruḍāʾ was a temple of Banū Rabīʿa b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd Ibn Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm. About it al-Mustawghir Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa b. Kaʿb spoke the verse:

> "I struck Ruḍāʾ so violently I left it a ruin in a black plain.
> And ʿAbd Allāh helped in destroying it, and with the like of ʿAbd Allāh sins are obliterated."

It is said that this al-Mustawghir lived for 330 years, he being the longest-lived of all Muḍar. It was he who spoke the lines:

"I have wearied of life and its length; I have lived for years in their hundreds;
One century was followed by two more, adding up the years from all the many months.
Is what is left anything but like what we spent? Days and nights pass and urge us on."

According to Ibn Hishām these lines should be attributed to Zuhayr b. Janāb b. Hubal.

Al-Suhaylī stated that the persons who lived longer than two or three hundred years include this Zuhayr, 'Ubayd b. Shariyya, Daghfal b. Ḥanẓala al-Nassāba, al-Rabī' b. Ḍaba' al-Fuzārī, Dhū al-Isba' al-'Adwānī and Naṣr b. Dihmān b. Ashja' b. Rayth b. Ghaṭfān. The hair of this last-mentioned blackened after it had turned white, and his back became straight after having been crooked.

Ibn Isḥāq's account continues, indicating that Dhū al-Ka'bāt was an idol of Bakr and Taghlib, the two sons of Wā'il, and Iyād at Sandād. Concerning it A'shā of Banū Qays b. Tha'laba spoke the verse:

"Between al-Khawarnaq, al-Sadīr, Bāriq, and the temple with battlements at Sandād."

The first part of this poem is as follows:

"I have learned, even if I lived longer, that one's path is that followed by the ancients.
What can I hope after the Āl Muḥarriq have left their homes and after Iyād too?
They settled at Anqara, where Tigris water flowed to them, coming from the lofty mountains,
The land of al-Khawarnaq, al-Sadīr, and Bāriq, and the house of temples of Sindād.
The winds stormed over the sites of their dwellings, as though their time were predestined,
And I see that pleasure and all things enjoyed turn to decay and end."

According to al-Suhaylī, al-Khawarnaq was a palace built by al-Nu'mān the Elder for Sābūr so that he could have his children there in it with him. It was designed by a man named Sinammār over 20 years. No finer building than it had ever been seen. Al-Nu'mān feared that Sinammār might build a similar one for others, so he cast him down from its heights and killed him. A poet therefore spoke the following lines about him:

"He recompensed me, may God give him His worst punishment, as Sinnamār was recompensed, and he was guiltless.

Except his striving on the building for twenty years with the best bricks, saffron and ceramics.

And when the building was complete and it towered like a mountain or a difficult height

He threw down Sinammār on to the top of his head; that being, by God, one of the most ignominious acts ever done."

Al-Suhaylī stated that al-Jāḥiẓ recited it in his *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (*Book of Animals*). The word *al-Sinammār* is one of the names of the moon. What is implied here is that all such houses were destroyed when Islam came. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched troops of his men to each of these palaces to destroy them, and he sent to those idols men who broke them to pieces. Ultimately nothing remained to rival the *kaʿba*, and God was worshipped alone and without associate. All this will be explained in detail in its place, if God Almighty wills it, and in Him there is trust.

An Account of ʿAdnān, Forebear of the Arabs of the Ḥijāz from whom the line goes down to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

There is no question of ʿAdnān being of the line of Ishmael, son of Abraham, upon both of whom be peace. What dispute there is relates to the number of forebears there were from ʿAdnān to Ishmael according to the various sources.

At one end of the spectrum, there is the extreme view that considers there to have been forty; this is the view of Christians and Jews who adopted it from the writings of Rakhiyā, the clerk of Armiyā (Jeremy) b. Ḥalqiyā, as we will relate.

Some authorities maintain there were thirty, others twenty, yet more fifteen, ten, nine, or seven.

It has been said that the lowest estimate given is for four, according to the account given by Mūsā b. Yaʿqūb, on the authority of ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb b. Zumʿa al-Zumaʿī from his aunt, and then from Umm Salama who stated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said that the line was: "Maʿad b. ʿAdnān b. Adad b. Zand b. al-Yarā b. Aʿrāq al-Tharā".

According to Umm Salama this Zanad was al-Hamaysaʿ, al-Yarā was Nābit, while Aʿrāq al-Tharā was Ishmael. This was implied because he was Abraham's son; for Abraham was not consumed by hell-fire, since fire does not consume moist earth, the meaning of *al-tharā*.

Al-Dārqaṭnī stated that he knew of no "Zand" except the one in this tradition, and Zand b. al-Jawn, who was Abū Dalāma the poet.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī and other Imāms stated that the time lapse between ʿAdnān and Ishmael was too great for there to have been only four, ten, or even

twenty generations between them. That, they said, was because the age of Ma'ad son of 'Adnān was twelve at the time of Bukhtunaṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar).

Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī and others related that Almighty God sent a revelation at that time to Armiyā' b. Ḥalqiyā' telling him to go to Bukhtunaṣṣar to inform him that God had given him rule over the Arabs. And God commanded Armiyā' to carry with him Ma'ad b. 'Adnān on the horse al-Burāq so that they would not bear him any rancour saying, "For I shall draw forth from his loins a noble Prophet by whom I shall seal the prophets."

Armiyā' did that, bearing Ma'ad on al-Burāq to the land of Syria where he grew up among the Jews who remained there following the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem. There he married a woman named Ma'āna, daughter of Jawshin of Banū Dibb b. Jurhum, before returning to his own land. He returned after unrest had quietened down and accord prevailed in the Arabian peninsula. Rakhiyā, Armiyā''s scribe, wrote his master's genealogy down in a document he had there which was to go into Armiyā''s library; and he similarly preserved the genealogy of Ma'ad. But God knows best.

And this is why Mālik, God bless him, did not enthuse over the attempt at tracing genealogy back to before 'Adnān.

Al-Suhaylī commented further, "We have merely discussed tracing back these lines to accord with the school of thought of those scholars who favour and do not disapprove of it, men such as Ibn Isḥāq, al-Bukhārī, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, al-Ṭabarī, and others."

As for Mālik, God have mercy on him, he expressed disapproval when asked about someone tracing his descent back to Adam and commented: "Whence comes to him knowledge of that?" When he was asked about tracing back to Ishmael, he expressed similar disapproval, asking, "Who could provide such information?" Mālik also disliked tracing the genealogy of the prophets, such as saying, "Abraham son of so-and-so". Al-Mu'ayṭī stated this in his book.

Al-Suhaylī commented also that Mālik's viewpoint was analogous to what was related of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr who is reported to have said, "We have found no one who knows the line between 'Adnān and Ishmael."

It is reported that Ibn 'Abbās said, "Between 'Adnan and Ishmael there were 30 ancestors who are unknown."

Ibn 'Abbās is also reputed to have said when he traced back lines of descent as far as 'Adnān: "The genealogists have lied. Twice or thrice." And that (scepticism)[24] is even more characteristic of Ibn Mas'ūd, whose (attitude) was like that of Ibn 'Abbās.

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb stated, "We carry back the genealogy only as far as 'Adnān."

24. Translator's interpretation.

Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr stated in his book *Al-Anbaʾ fī Maʿrifat Qabāʾil al-Ruwāh* (*Facts Concerning Knowledge of the Tribes of the Transmitters*) that Ibn Lahīʿa related from Abū al-Aswad that he heard ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr say, "We never found anyone who knew genealogy back past ʿAdnān, nor past Qaḥṭān, unless they were using conjecture."

Abū al-Aswad stated that he had heard Abū Bakr Sulaymān b. Abū Khaythama, one of the very most knowledgeable men of the poetry and the genealogy of Quraysh, say, "We never knew anyone with information going back beyond Maʿad b. ʿAdnān, whether relating to poetry or other knowledge."

Abū ʿUmar said that there was a group of the predecessors including ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, ʿAmr b. Maymūn al-Azdī, and Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quradhī who, when they recited the verse from the Qurʾān "and those after them whom no one but God knows" (*sūrat Ibrāhīm*, XIV, v.9) would comment, "The genealogists lied."

Abū ʿUmar, God have mercy on him, stated, "We hold the meaning of this to differ from their interpretation. What is implied is that regarding those who claim to enumerate Adam's descendants, no one knows them except God who created them. But as for the lines of descent of the Arabs, the scholars conversant with their history and genealogy were aware of and learned by heart about the people and the major tribes, differing in some details of that."

Abū ʿUmar continued to state that the leading scholars regarding the genealogy of ʿAdnān gave his descent as: "ʿAdnān b. Udad b. Muqawwim b. Nāḥūr b. Tayraḥ b. Yaʿrub b. Yashjub b. Nābit b. Ishmael b. Abraham, peace be upon the latter two mentioned." And this is how Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār gave it in the Prophet's biography.

Ibn Hishām stated, "ʿAdnān is said to be the son of Udd", meaning that he was ʿAdnān b. Udd b. Udad.

Thereafter Abū ʿUmar listed the remainder of the lineage back to Adam.

As for the genealogies of the other Arab tribes back to ʿAdnān, these are preserved and well known and no two people conflict about them.

The genealogy of the Prophet (ṢAAS) back to ʿAdnān is incontestably clear, as evident as the break of day. A verbatim *ḥadīth marfūʿ*[25] has been reported to support that. We will give it in the appropriate place, after discussion of the Arab tribes and reporting their genealogies and how these were accurately arranged into the lines of lofty and noble descent. All this, if God Almighty wills it, and in Him we trust and depend; there is no power and no strength except in God the Powerful, the Wise.

25. This term denotes a tradition that is traceable in ascending order of authorities back to the Prophet Muḥammad. See Glossary.

Nothing could be finer than the verses stating the Prophet's genealogy by Imām Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nāshī' in the famous poem ascribed to him as follows:

"I praised the Messenger of God, seeking by praising him a plenitude of the best of rewards for myself;

I praised a man beyond praise, unique in his qualities, far beyond others far or near,

A Prophet whose light shone high in places east, his gifts apparent to the people of places west.

The prophets brought him to us before his coming, news of him spreading on all sides.

The foretelling divines began calling his name, using it to fend off the impact of misleading ideas.

Idols were given voice declaring to God their innocence of those who told the untruths.

They spoke in clear words to the unbelievers, 'A prophet has come to you from Lu'ayy b. Ghālib.'

And evil spirits wanted to eavesdrop but shooting stars scattered them from their seats.

He led us to where we would never have found our way, so lengthy was our blindness to clear philosophies.

He brought evidences showing that they were signs from one Almighty in reward and punishment

One of which was the splitting of the moon in two, mountain tops then being covered as if by a turban by the moonbeams.

And another was the rising of water springs between his fingertips while no wells or pools were near.

By it he quenched the thirst of a large crowd; and the water flowed into rivulets in all directions, down to the plain land.

And a well brimmed over at his arrow's touch, one before too dry for a single drinker's palate.

And the udder flowed to his palm's rub, which before when squeezed for liquid had no teat to respond to a milkman's touch.

And there was eloquent utterance from the hand of a fortune-teller about plans of an enemy bent on attack.

And his being told of matters before their being, and of the after-effects to come when these did arise.

And from those signs there was revelation he brought, one that is expedient, to come with a multitude of wonders.

Thought could not conceive of it,[26] and so the like of which no eloquent man could articulate, nor did it occur to the mind of any preacher.

It encompassed all knowledge, embraced all wisdom, eluding the aim of the scheming and deceitful.

26. The reference is to the revelation of the Qur'ān.

He brought it to us, not through a trickster's tales, a scribe's pages, or an author's description.

Revelation comes to him sometimes to answer a questioner, to respond to a solution seeker, or in the exhortation of someone who is conversing;

For the bringing of proofs, the imposition of laws, the telling of narration, or the interpretation of purpose;

For the quotation of proverbs, the proving of a case, the revealing of some disbeliever, or the suspension of a liar;

In the meeting of some assembly, in the thick of some battle, or as difficult, puzzling problems occur.

So, it came down in different ways, with straight-out meaning and flowing varieties.

Its verses confirm each other, as if their meanings were scrutinized by a watchful eye.

And the inability of man to achieve such as we have described is well known by the many who attempted (to imitate it).

For father he had ʿAbd Allāh, the most noble of fathers, inheriting from him the most noble of qualities.

And from Shayba, be he praised, in whom Quraysh had pride above all others of honour and high station;

He who by whose face clouds were sought to bring rain, and whose views were followed in troubled times.

And from Hāshim, who built his lofty, honourable repute through brave exploits and his gracious generosity.

And ʿAbd Manāf, who taught his people not to exceed the bounds of their ambitions, and how to control their desires.

And Quṣayy, whose nobility of line is at such a level as to be beyond anyone's reach;

Through him God assembled the tribes after they had been split apart by the greed of thieving hands.

And Kilāb attained a fortress in the peaks of glory, beyond the reach of all, near and far alike.

And Murra, whose firmness of resolve was not dissolved by the disgrace of any fool or the evil of any sinner.

And Kaʿb, whose glory was too high for any seeker of fame to follow his footsteps; and who reached the highest rank with the least of efforts.

And Luʾayy who wiped out his enemies; thus he subdued the supercilious, the haughty, and the most victorious.

And in Ghālib was such courage that he refused for his people to be overcome by any mighty one, and repelled from them every violent enemy.

And Fihr had in Quraysh an oratory to rely upon when conflicts erupted.

And Malik was always the best of *maliks* (lords), the most honourable of companions, the most honourable of masters.

And al-Naḍr had such elevation as to outstrip all, right on up to meet the gleaming light of the stars.

By my life, Kināna displayed even before him qualities too fine for any conqueror to attain.

And before him Khuzayma established in his honour an ancient heritage from honoured kin.

And Mudrika, no man ever *yudrik* (achieved) the like of what he had. He was most virtuous and most high, beyond mere base pursuits.

And Ilyās, for him *al-yaʾs* (despair) was dictated for his enemies even before the squadrons met in battle.

And for Muḍar the total glory had always been his whenever mounted warriors had met in battle.

And Nizār achieved among his people a leadership position, so lofty as to outstrip the gaze of anyone staring hard to see.

And Maʿad was an *ʿudda* (instrument) for his allies when they feared the plots of their warring foe.

And ʿAdnān is still, if his virtue be assessed, unique and above all peer or companion.

And for Udd, virtue *taʾadda* (was discharged) emanating from his self-resolve and an inheritance passed down from grand, wise chieftains.

And in Udad there was calm judgement adorned with sagacity, for calm judgement gains from a frowning of eyebrows.[27]

And Hamaysaʿ continued to reach ever-new heights, and follow after the desired far-reaching aspirations.

And Nabt who came from the family tree of glory had built up his lofty refuge on the towering mountains.

And Qaydhār was accorded the generosity of Ḥātim, the wisdom of Luqmān and the determination of Ḥājib.

These were progeny of Ishmael, true to his vows, a man whose level of greatness could never be exceeded by others.

And God's "companion" (Abraham) who was the most noble of men ever to walk or ride upon earth.

And Tārih, whose lasting reputation for generosity had made apparent his laudable deeds.

And Nāḥūr, the *naḥḥār* (butcher) of his enemies had many memorable accomplishments those accounting cannot enumerate.

And Ashraʿ, a forest lion in battle, cutting a person to shreds with his sharp weapons.

And Arghū, a deputy to be trusted in warfare, tenacious against a mean-spirited antagonist.

And Fāligh is not left behind his people in virtue, nor does he pass beneath them in rank.

And Shālikh and Arfakhshidh and Sām, had qualities so great as to protect them from any detractor or accuser.

And Nuḥ (Noah) still retains high regard with God, who counts him among good men, well-chosen.

27. The frowning eyebrows imply deep thought or sagacity.

And Lamk, his father, stood out among the finest, brave against the mailclad warrior.

And before Lamk there was yet Mutawashlikh, who drove away his enemies with tough spears.

And Idrīs the prophet was one with status with God beyond compare with that of any ambition.

And Yārid was a man great among his people's leaders, scornful of the base, clear and precise in his purpose.

And Mihlayīl had understanding of virtues from which all unpleasant defects had been refined away.

And Qaynān of old acquired the glory of his people, gaining the summit of prestige by the stride of his riding camels.

And Anūsh devoted himself to glory and deemed it far above base desires.

And Shīth stuck to principle, a man of virtue and nobility, free of mean faults.

All of these gained from Adam's light and from his stem gathered the fruits of goodness.

And the Messenger of God was the most noble ever born; he emerged from the line of all these fine, distinguished individuals.

His male forebears matched his female ancestors, all clear of any taint of disgrace.

May there be upon him the peace of God on every day that dawn gives us light and at every sunset too."

Thus did Sheikh Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr present to us this ode, as did also our Sheikh Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī, the *ḥāfiẓ*, in his edition of the poetry of Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nāshiʾ, known as Ibn Sharshīr.

His origins were from al-Anbār. He went to Baghdad and then travelled to Egypt, where he stayed until he died in the year 293 AH. He was a *Muʿtazilī* theologian, and Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan al-ʿAshʿarī wrote about him in his text *al-Maqālāt*, in his discussion of the *Muʿtazila*.

He was an accomplished poet, to the degree that his mastery was such that he would invent verses that reversed those of others, and composed poetry to challenge other poets, devising oratorical phrases and rhetorical flourishes they could not match. Consequently some accused him of insanity and delirium.

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī referred to him as having composed an ode in monorhyme that totalled some 4,000 verses. Al-Nājim quoted these and recorded his death, as stated above.

I comment that this ode gives evidence of his virtue, eloquence, knowledge, understanding, fine memory, diction, and masterly poetic skills. These verses on the noble lineage of the Prophet (ṢAAS) are precious jewels from his great repertoire of poetry. God bless him and reward him for all his activities.

An Account of the genealogical origins of the Arabs of Ḥijāz up to ʿAdnān.

These matters are due to ʿAdnān having had two sons, Maʿad and ʿAkk.

According to al-Suhaylī, ʿAdnān also had a son named al-Ḥārith, and another named al-Madhhab. It is also stated that some include al-Daḥḥāk among his sons. However, al-Daḥḥāk is also said to have been a son of Maʿad, not ʿAdnān. It is also believed that ʿAdan, for whom the city of Aden is named, and similarly Abyan, were named after sons of ʿAdnān. That is what al-Ṭabarī related.

ʿAkk married into the Ashʿarī tribe and lived in their territory in Yemen. Their language became unified and some of the people of Yemen claimed them as their own. They give his line as ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Azd b. Yaghūth; others give the line as ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān b. al-Dhayb b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Asad. Al-Rayth is also given as an alternative to al-Dhayb. What is true is what we have stated, that they are of the line of ʿAdnān. ʿAbbās b. Mirdās spoke the verse:

"ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān, who toyed with Ghassān until they were totally driven away."

As for Maʿad, he had four sons: Nizār, Quḍāʿa, Qanaṣ, and Iyād. Quḍāʿa was Maʿad's first-born who was commonly known by the surname of Abū Quḍāʿa (father of Qudāʿa). We have earlier given a different genealogy for Quḍāʿa, but it is this one that is considered correct by Ibn Isḥāq and others. And God knows best.

As for Qanaṣ, it is said that his line died out, except that al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir who was Chosroe's governor at al-Ḥīra was one of his descendants, according to a number of past authorities. Another view is that he was from Ḥimyar, as we have indicated earlier. God knows best.

As for Nizār, to him were born Rabīʿa, Muḍar, and Anmār. Ibn Hishām indicated that Iyād was also the son of Nizār, as was spoken in the following verse:

"[A]nd braves their faces fine, descendants of Iyād b. Nizār b. Maʿad."

He stated that Iyād and Muḍar were full brothers, their mother being Sawda, daughter of ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān. And the mother of Rabīʿa and Anmār was Shuqayqa, daughter of ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān. Her name was also given as Jumʿa, daughter of ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān.

According to Ibn Isḥāq, Anmār was the father of Khathʿam and Bajīla, of the tribe of Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī. He added that they went to Yemen and stayed there.

Ibn Hishām said that the Yemenis state his line to have been Anmār b. Irāsh b. Liḥyān b. ʿAmr b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Sabaʾ.

I consider that the tradition quoted above relating to Sabaʾ substantiates this. God knows best.

They say that Muḍar was the first to use chants with camels. That is because he had a fine voice and because one day he fell off his mount and dislocated his arm. In pain he shouted, "Wāyadayāh! Wāyadayāh!" ("Oh, my hands, my hands!") and at that the camels stretched out their necks listening.

According to Ibn Isḥāq, Muḍar b. Nizār had two sons, Ilyās and ʿAylān. To Ilyās were born Mudrika, Ṭābikha and Qamaʿa; their mother was Khindif, daughter of ʿImrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍāʿa.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Mudrika's real name was ʿĀmir, and that of Ṭābikha was ʿAmr. One day they went hunting and while they were cooking their catch, their camels ran off. ʿĀmir chased after them and caught them, while his brother sat cooking. When they returned to their father and related this to him, he commented to ʿĀmir, "You are Mudrika" (the catcher), while to ʿAmr he said, "You are Ṭābikha" (the cook). As for Qamaʿa, the genealogists of Muḍar claim that Khuzāʿa was a son of ʿAmr b. Luḥayy b. Qamaʿa b. Ilyās.

In my view it is obvious that he was a descendant of theirs and not of their father, and that they were of Ḥimyar, previously mentioned. God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq said that Mudrika gave birth to Khuzayma and Hudhayl, and that their mother was a woman from Quḍāʿa tribe. To Khuzayma were born Kināna, Asad, Asada, and al-Hūn.

Kināna gave birth to al-Naḍr, Mālik, ʿAbd Manāt, and Milkān. Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī added to these four ʿĀmir, al-Ḥārith, al-Naḍīr, Ghanam, Saʿd, ʿAwf, Jarwal, al-Jarāl, and Ghazwān.

An Account of Quraysh regarding their genealogy, etymology, and merit. They are the tribe of al-Naḍr b. Kināna.

According to Ibn Isḥāq, the mother of al-Naḍr was Barra, daughter of Murr b. Udd b. Ṭābikha (Ibn Hishām adds that Ṭābikha was the son of Ilyās b. Muḍar), while the rest of his sons were of a different mother. Ibn Hishām disagrees with Ibn Isḥāq, having Barra daughter of Murr as the mother of al-Naḍr, Mālik, and Milkān. The mother of ʿAbd Manāt was Hāla, daughter of Suwayd b. al-Ghiṭrīf from Azd of Shanūʾā.

Ibn Hishām stated that al-Naḍar was Quraysh; anyone born in his line is a Qurayshite, anyone not so born is not. He also said that some state that Fihr b. Mālik was Quraysh, those of his line therefore being Qurayshite; those not of his line were non-Qurayshite.

These two statements have been handed down by more than one expert genealogist, such as Sheikh Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr and al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, Musʿab, and others.

According to Abū ʿUbayd and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, the majority's view is that Quraysh derived from al-Naḍr b. Kināna, based on a *ḥadīth* of al-Ashʿath b. Qays. And it is this authority who was an important source for Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī and Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā; he is a prime resource for the doctrine of al-Shāfiʿī, may God bless him.

Abū ʿUmar, moreover, chose Fihr b. Mālik as the originator of Quraysh, insisting that anyone today having descent from Quraysh stems from Fihr b. Mālik. He then related the choice made in his statement to the authority of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī and ʿAlī b. Kaysān, saying, "They are the source for this, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār having stated, 'The genealogists of Quraysh and others are agreed that Quraysh branched off only from Fihr b. Mālik.' The genealogists of Quraysh whom I have consulted consider those of his line to be Qurayshites, whereas those prior to him in their line are thought not from Quraysh."

Abū ʿUmar then effectively substantiated this view and defended it by pointing out that he and those of similar views were those most knowledgeable of the genealogy and history of their own people.

Al-Bukhārī related from the tradition of Kulayb b. Wā'il as follows: "I said to the nursemaid (meaning Zaynab, daughter of Abū Salama) of the Prophet (ṢAAS) 'Tell me about the Prophet (ṢAAS). Was he from Muḍar?' She replied, 'From whom else but from Muḍar of Banū al-Naḍr b. Kināna?'"

Al-Ṭabarānī said, "We were told by Ibrāhīm b. Nā'ila al-Aṣbahānī, by Ismāʿīl b. ʿAmr al-Bajalī, and by al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ from his father, from al-Jashīsh al-Kindī who said, 'A group of people from Kinda tribe came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, "You are from us," claiming kinship with him. But he responded, "No, we're Banū al-Naḍr b. Kināna; we neither contradict our mother nor refute our father."'"

Imām Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd said, "We were told by my father and by al-Kalbī on the authority of Abū Ṣāliḥ from Ibn ʿAbbās that the latter said, 'A man from Kinda, called al-Jashīsh, came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said, "O Messenger of God, we claim ʿAbd Manāf as one of us." The Prophet (ṢAAS), turned away from him. The man came back with the same comment and again was ignored. Once more he said the same. Then the Prophet (ṢAAS) stated, "We are from Banū al-Naḍr b. Kināna. We neither contradict our mother nor refute our father."'"

Al-Ashʿath commented (probably to al-Jashīsh, tr.) "Shouldn't you have stayed silent after the first time?"

This response refuted their claim, and from the tongue of his Prophet (ṢAAS). And this is strange also from this viewpoint; al-Kalbī, moreover, is a weak authority. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad said that Bahz and ʿAffān related to him as follows: "We were both told by Ḥammād b. Salama that ʿUqayl b. Abū Ṭalḥa said (ʿAffān gave his

name as ʿUqayl b. Ṭalḥa al-Salmī) on the authority of Muslim b. al-Hayṣam from al-Ashʿath b. Qays, that the latter said that he came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in a delegation from Kinda. (ʿAffān added the words 'who did not consider me their best man') and said to him, 'O Messenger of God, we claim you to be one of us.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'We are Banū al-Naḍr b. Kināna; we neither contradict our mother nor refute our father.'"

Al-Ashʿath b. Qays commented, "By God, I never hear anyone denying that Quraysh is from al-Naḍr b. Kināna without whipping him to the limit."

And thus was this related by Ibn Māja along various lines of transmission from Ḥammād b. Salama.

This line of tradition is truly fine and is authoritative in this matter. No attention is due thereafter to any opposing view. But God knows best. All praise and credit belong to God.

Jarīr b. ʿAṭiyya al-Tamīmī spoke the following verses in praising Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Marwān:

> "The mother who gave birth to Quraysh was not one as to cause doubt as to ancestry, nor was she barren;
> And no stud was of more noble stock than your father, nor was there ever an uncle more fine than Tamīm."

Ibn Hishām stated: "Here is meant the mother of al-Naḍr b. Kināna, who was Barra daughter of Murr, sister of Tamīm b. Murr."

The derivation of the word Quraysh is said to come from the word *al-taqarrush*, which means to join together after dispersal. This relates to the period of Quṣayy b. Kilāb when they were dispersed and he brought them together at the holy sanctuary, as we shall explain. Ḥudhāfa b. Ghānim al-ʿAdawī spoke the verse:

> "Your father was Quṣayy, known as 'the gatherer'; through him God gathered together the tribes from Fihr."

Some say that Quṣayy was known as Quraysh. The word meant "gathering together"; *al-taqarrush* meant *al-tajammuʿ* or "joining together", as Abū Khalda al-Yashkurī said: "Brothers who gathered (*qarrashu*) upon us faults, in our recent era and also ancient . . ."

It is also said that Quraysh were so named from *al-taqarrush*, a word meaning business and trading. This was related by Ibn Hishām, God have mercy on him.

Al-Jawharī said, "*al-qarsh* means 'earning' and 'accumulating' and the verbal form is *qarasha* in the past tense, *yaqrushu* in the present tense." Al-Farrāʾ stated that it was from this word that Quraysh was named, they being a tribe and their

originator al-Naḍr b. Kināna. All his descendants are Qurayshite back as far as Kināna's son, but not before him.

Some say the word stems from the idea of *al-taftīsh*, i.e. "search". Hishām b. al-Kalbī stated that al-Naḍr b. Kināna was named "Quraysh" because he would "*yaqrish*" for what people lacked or needed, providing that with his own wealth. *Al-taqrīsh* means *al-taftīsh* and his sons would *yaqrishunā*, i.e. "search out" pilgrims in need and donate to them what they needed to return home. And so they were named "Quraysh" because of their engaging in this *qarsh*.

Al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza made a verse to the effect that *al-taqarrush* meant *al-taftīsh*:

> "O you who speaks and 'searches' (*al-muqarrish*) for us with ʿAmr, is he allowed to live?"

It was al-Zubayr b. Bakkār who related that verse.

Quraysh was also said to be a diminutive form of *qarsh*, a sea animal. A poet once said:

> "*Quraysh* are those that inhabit the sea; for them the Quraysh were named 'Quraysh'."

Al-Bayhaqī said that Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda informed him that Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Mālīnī, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Khalīl al-Nisawī, related that Abū Kurayb told them from Waqīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ, on the authority of Hishām b. ʿUrwa on the authority of his father from Abū Rakāna al-ʿĀmirī that Muʿāwiya asked Ibn ʿAbbās, "Why were Quraysh so named?" He replied, "After a sea creature, the biggest of all, that is called *al-qarsh*. It never passes by anything, lean or fat, without eating it." "So recite me some verse about that," Muʿāwiya asked, and Ibn ʿAbbās spoke the verses of al-Jumaḥī as follows:

> "Quraysh are those that inhabit the sea; for them the Quraysh were named Quraysh,
> They eat all, lean or fat, not leaving a feather of any two-winged thing.
> Thus in the land the tribe of Quraysh eats up the land ravenously.
> Theirs is at the end of time a prophet; among them will be plenty of wounded and dead."

It is also said they were named after Quraysh b. al-Ḥārith b. Yakhlud b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna. He was the guide and the storeskeeper of Banū al-Naḍr. The Arabs would say, "The caravan of Quraysh" has come, instead of the "caravan of Banū al-Naḍr". They also say that it was his son Badr b. Quraysh who dug the well attributed to him where the great battle occurred on the day of al-Furqān ("proof", i.e. the battle of Badr) when the two armies met. God knows best.

The relative adjective derived from Quraysh is *qurashī* or *qurayshī*. Al-Jawharī said, "And the latter is the standard."

A poet spoke the verse,

"Every Qurayshite (*qurayshī*) who is honourable, quick to fill demands for generosity and honour."[28]

Muslim related in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from a tradition of Abū ʿAmr and al-Awzaʿī that Shaddād Abū ʿAmmār related to him that Wāthila b. al-Asqaʿ told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "God chose Kināna from among the sons of Ishmael, Quraysh from Kināna, Hāshim from Quraysh and myself from the descendants of Hāshim."

Abū ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Barr said, "Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib are known as the *faṣīla*, the family, of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); Banū Hāshim was his *fakhdh*, his tribal subsection; Banū ʿAbd Manāf was his *baṭn*, his tribal subdivision; Quraysh was his *ʿimāra*, his mini-tribe; Banū Kināna was his *qabīla*, his tribal confederation; and Muḍar was his *shaʿb*, his people. May God's blessings and peace be upon him always till the Day of Judgement."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Al-Naḍar b. Kināna gave birth to Mālik and Yakhlud." To these Ibn Hishām added "al-Ṣalt". The mother of them all was the daughter of Saʿd b. al-Ẓarib al-ʿAdwānī.

Kuthayyir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who is Kuthayyir ʿAzza, one of the Banū Mulayḥ b. ʿAmr of Khuzāʿa, spoke the verses:

"Is my father not al-Ṣalt, my brothers not the finest among the noblemen of Banū al-Naḍr?

You see on us as on them the same kerchiefs of mixed weave and the same Ḥaḍramī waist-wrappers

So if you are not of Banū al-Naḍr, then leave the green thorn trees at the ends of the high valleys."

Ibn Hishām said that Banū Mulayḥ b. ʿAmr were descendants of al-Ṣalt b. al-Naḍr.

According to Ibn Isḥāq, Mālik b. al-Naḍr fathered Fihr b. Mālik, his mother being Jandala, daughter of al-Hārith b. Muḍāḍ al-Aṣghar. Fihr fathered Ghālib, Muḥārib, al-Ḥārith, and Asad, their mother being Laylā, daughter of Saʿd b. Hudhayl b. Mudrika. Ibn Hishām stated that they had a sister from their father named Jandala, daughter of Fihr.

According to Ibn Isḥāq, Ghālib b. Fihr had sons named Luʾayy b. Ghālib and Taym b. Ghālib who were known as the Banū al-Adram. Their mother was Salmā, daughter of ʿAmr al-Khuzāʿī.

Ibn Hishām states there was another son, Qays b. Ghālib, whose mother was Salmā, daughter of Kaʿb b. ʿAmr al-Khuzāʿī and that she was the mother of Luʾayy and Taym.

28. Several lines of abstruse poetry illustrating Arabic grammatical concepts have been omitted from the English translation.

According to Ibn Isḥāq, Luʾayy b. Ghālib had four sons: Kaʿb, ʿĀmir, Sāma, and ʿAwf.

Ibn Hishām said he was also reputed to have had another son, al-Ḥārith, and that they made up the Jusham b. al-Ḥārith among Hizzān of Rabīʿa. And another son was Saʿd b. Luʾayy who came to be the *bunāna* among Shaybān b. Thaʿlaba. *Bunāna* was a nursemaid for them. There was also Khuzayma b. Luʾayy who formed the ʿĀʾidha among Shaybān b. Thaʿlaba.

Then Ibn Isḥāq gives the story of Sāma b. Luʾayy and how he went to ʿUmān and lived there. That was due to a quarrel between himself and his brother ʿĀmir. ʿĀmir made him afraid and so he fled to ʿUmān, dying there as a stranger. What happened was that while he was grazing his camel a snake bit its lip making it fall on its side. Then the snake bit and killed Sāma. It is said that he wrote these verses with his finger on the ground:

"Eyes, weep for Sāma b. Luʾayy, the snake has clung to Sāma.
None such as Sāma b. Luʾayy have I seen, found a dead victim of a camel.
Send a messenger to ʿĀmir and Kaʿb that my soul yearns for them.
Though my home is in ʿUmān I am a Ghālibī who emigrated but not from poverty.
Perhaps the glass you have poured, Ibn Luʾayy, fearing death, has not really been poured.
You aimed to repel death, O Ibn Luʾayy, but no one so intending has power over death,
And many a silent, plodding camel you've left prostrate after long, intense exercise."

And Ibn Hishām said that he heard that a son of Sāma went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and introduced himself as descended from Sāma b. Luʾayy. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, "The poet?" One of his Companions then said, "O Messenger of God, you seem to be referring to his line of verse,

'Perhaps the glass you've poured, Ibn Luʾayy, fearing death, has not really been poured.'

And he answered, "Yes indeed."

Al-Suhaylī recorded from others that Sāma had no children. Al-Zubayr said, "Sāma b. Luʾayy had Ghālib, al-Nābit, and al-Ḥārith." Others maintained that he had descendants in Iraq who hated ʿAlī. Among them was ʿAlī b. al-Jaʿad, who used to revile his father for having named him ʿAlī. Among the descendants of Sāma b. Luʾayy was Muḥammad b. ʿArʿara b. al-Yazīd, who was the sheikh of al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Isḥāq said, "They claim that ʿAwf b. Luʾayy travelled with a caravan from Quraysh and to the territory of Ghaṭafān b. Saʿd b. Qays b. ʿAylān. There he was delayed so the rest of his people left him behind and went off. Then Thaʿlaba b.

Saʿd, he being his brother by the genealogy of Banū Dhubyān, came along, detained him, arranged his marriage, and treated him like an intimate and a brother. His relationship became widely known among Banū Dhubyān.

They say it was Thaʿlaba who said to ʿAwf the following verse when he was delayed and left behind:

> "O Ibn Luʾayy, tether your camel with me; your people have left you and you ought not to be left."

Ibn Isḥāq continued to indicate that either Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr, or Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn told him that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had said, "If I were to claim an attachment to any Arab tribe or that they had a relationship to us, it would be to Banū Murra b. ʿAwf. We know kindred men among them and also how they treated that man." By this he meant ʿAwf b. Luʾayy.

He went on to relate that a man he did not distrust had told him that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to some men of Banū Murra: "If you want to trace back your genealogy to your kinfolk, then trace it to ʿAwf."

Ibn Isḥāq added that these people were nobles of Ghaṭafān, their leaders and élite, with good reputation locally and in all of Ghaṭafān and Qays, and that they did maintain their own genealogy. If their ancestry were referred to by others, they would say, "We neither deny nor disown it. That is the ancestry we prefer." Then they would recite their verses recalling their relationship to Luʾayy.

Ibn Isḥāq said that they practised the system of *basl*. This entailed the practice among the Arabs of considering eight months of their year as sacrosanct. The Arabs would recognize that and allow them safe-conduct in those months and they would allow them the same. Rabīʿa and Muḍar, however, to my knowledge only considered four months a year as sacred, these being Dhū al-Qaʿda, Dhū al-Ḥijja, al-Muḥarram; and concerning the fourth, Rajab, they differed. Muḍar considered that it fell between Jumādā and Shaʿbān, while Rabīʿa maintained it came between Shaʿbān and Shawwāl.

It has been established in both of the *ṣaḥīh* collections, on the authority of Abū Bakrah, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated in his *khuṭbat al-wadāʿ*, farewell address, "Time has revolved in its own fashion since the day God created the heavens and the earth, the year consisting of twelve months, four of which are sacred. Three of these are contiguous: Dhū al-Qaʿda, Dhū al-Ḥijja, and al-Muḥarram, and there is also Muḍar's month of Rajab which comes between Jumādā and Shaʿbān." Thus by saying this he expressed preference for the view of Muḍar and not for that of Rabīʿa.

God the Almighty and Glorious stated in the Qurʾān, "With God the months number twelve, so ordained by God, (since) the day he created the heavens and the earth; of these four are sacred" (*sūrat al-Tawba*, IX, v.36).

This constitutes a reply to Banū ʿAwf b. Luʾayy for their considering the sacred months eight in number. In so doing they added to God's decree, introducing therein something which was not part thereof.

His statement in the *ḥadīth* that "three are contiguous [months]" is a disapproval of the attitude of the *al-nasiʾ* people who delayed the sacred month, making it Ṣafar, rather than al-Muḥarram. Also, the phrase therein "Muḍar's month of Rajab" is a refutation of Rabīʿa's view.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Kaʿb b. Luʾayy had three sons, Murra, ʿAdī and Ḥuṣayṣ. Murra also had three, named Kilāb, Taym and Yaqaza, from three mothers.

Kilāb gave birth to two sons, Quṣayy and Zuhra; the mother of both was Fāṭima, daughter of Saʿd b. Sayal, one of the al-Jadara of Juʿthumat al-Asad from the Yemen, who were allies of Banū al-Dīl b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna. Of her father a poet spoke the verse:

"We have never seen any person, of all the people we have known, like Saʿd b. Sayal
A knight who combats with both his right hand and left; if his foe stood down from battle he would dismount
A knight luring horsemen to destruction like a kestrel with partridges."

According to al-Suhaylī, Sayal's full name was Khayr b. Jamāla and he was the first person who had swords plated with gold and silver.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that they were known as the "al-Jadara" because ʿĀmir b. ʿAmr b. Khuzayma b. Juʿthuma had married the daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ the Jurhumite. The Jurhum were at that time guardians of the House of God and built a *jidār*, a wall, around the *kaʿba*; ʿĀmir was therefore named al-Jādir and his descendants al-Jadara.

An Account of Quṣayy b. Kilāb and of his part in regaining guardianship over the kaʿba *for Quraysh by taking it from Khuzāʿa. How Quraysh gathered together at the holy place which God secured for the worshippers, after having lived scattered and fragmented in the mountains and hollows.*

What happened was that when his father died, Quṣayy's mother was married to Rabīʿa b. Ḥarām of ʿUdhra and he took her and her son to his own country. Later, when he grew up, Quṣayy came to Mecca and married Ḥubbā, daughter of the chief of Khuzāʿa, Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya.

Regarding Khuzāʿa, they say that Ḥulayl entrusted guardianship over the holy House to Quṣayy because of the large family Quṣayy had with his daughter. Ḥulayl told him, "You have more right to it than I do."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that this account was heard only from Khuzāʿa. He said that others claim that he sought the assistance of his maternal brothers, their leader being Rizāḥ b. Rabīʿa, and of the tribes of Kināna and Qudāʿa and of some men in the Mecca region from Quraysh and others. And so he ousted them (Khuzāʿa) from the House of God and he himself assumed control over it.

This all occurred because the prerogative of the pilgrims' *ijāza*[29] was held by the Sūfa. They were the tribe of al-Ghawth b. Murr b. Udd b. Ṭābikha b. Ilyās b. Muḍar. People did not throw their stones (Jimār) until they (the Sūfa) had done so, nor did they leave Minā before the Sūfa did; these prerogatives remained theirs until they died out.

Then Banū Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm inherited these rights from them by kinship. The first of them was Ṣafwān b. al-Ḥārith b. Shijna b. ʿUṭārid b. ʿAwf b. Kaʿb. b. Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm. This power resided in his people until the rise of Islam in the time of the last of them, who was Karib b. Ṣafwān.

The *ijāza*, the descent from al-Muzdalifa,[30] was the prerogative of ʿAdwān until the coming of Islam in the time of the last of them, who was Abū Sayyāra ʿAmīla b. al-Aʿzal. His name was said to have been al-ʿĀṣ, while al-Aʿzal's name was Khālid. He used to give people the permission while seated on a one-eyed ass he had, for 40 years moving forth on it at that station. He was the first person to establish the bloodwit at 100 camels, as well as the first to say the phrase, "Mt. Thabīr shines so that we may ride forth."

That is what al-Suhaylī related.

And there was ʿĀmir b. al-Ẓarib al-ʿAdwānī. In the case of all conflicts arising among the Arabs, they would come to him for adjudication and accept whatever he decided. On one occasion they asked him to resolve the matter of inheritance to a hermaphrodite. He lay awake all night reflecting on how to adjudicate this and when a slave-girl of his, Sukhayla by name, who used to pasture his sheep, saw him thus, she enquired of him, "What is wrong with you, poor thing, that you spend the night awake?" So he told her, in case she might be of help. And she replied, "Judge by where from urination comes." He commented, "Sukhayla, you've shown the way well, by God." And that was how he did decide.

Al-Suhaylī pointed out that reaching a decision by such logic constituted use of *al-istidlāl bi al-amārāt wa al-ʿalāmāt*, "inference from signs and indications", a method with a basis in the law. God stated in the Qurʾān: "And they brought his shirt with false blood upon it" (*sūrat Yūsuf*, XII, v.18) since it bore no signs of a wolf's fangs. God also stated, "If his shirt has been torn from the front, she has

29. The giving of permission to the pilgrims to descend from Mt. ʿArafāt.

30. A station midway between Minā and ʿArafāt where pilgrims spend the night of 9th Dhū al-Ḥijja on their return journey from ʿArafāt.

told the truth and he is a liar, whereas if the shirt has been torn from behind, then she lied and he is truthful" (*sūrat Yūsuf*, XII, v.26–7). And in the *ḥadīth*, there are the words, "Wait for her; if she delivers it (the baby) as comely, light-brown, and with curly locks, then indeed it is (the child) of him whom she was accused of being with."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to state that *al-nasʾ*, the postponement of sacred months, was decided by the time of Fuqaym b. ʿAdī b. ʿĀmir b. Thaʿlaba b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar. He reported that the first of the Arabs to intercalate the months was al-Qalammas, who was Ḥudhayfa b. ʿAbd b. Fuqaym b. ʿAdī. After him came his son ʿAbbād, and then Qalaʿ b. ʿAbbād, followed by Umayya b. Qalaʿ and ʿAwf b. Umayya. The last of them was Abū Thumāma Junāda b. ʿAwf b. Qalaʿ b. ʿAbbād b. Ḥudhayfa, the last named being al-Qalammas. Islam arose during Abū Thamāma's time.

When the Arabs had completed the pilgrimage they would gather around him and he would address them, specifying which months were sacred. If he wanted to establish a free period, he would declare al-Muḥarram free and substitute Ṣafar for it to accord with the number of months God had made sacred. He would state, "O God, I have made free the first of the al-Ṣafar months, and postponed the others till next year." And the Arabs would follow him in that. On this matter the following verses were spoken by ʿUmayr b. Qays, one of Banū Firās b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. Kināna; ʿUmayr was also known as Jadhl al-Ṭiʿān:

> "Maʿad have learned that my people are noble, that they have noble forebears.
> Which people have escaped our retribution and which have we not bridled?
> Are we not those who intercalate for Maʿad, deciding which free months shall be made sacred?"

Quṣayy was lord and master over his people, obeyed and revered. Eventually he gathered Quraysh together from their various locations in the Arabian peninsula and gained the help of the Arab tribes that obeyed him in making war on Khuzāʿa, in removing them from the House of God, and in handing over its guardianship to himself. They engaged in many battles with much bloodshed and then agreed upon arbitration. They appointed as arbitrator Yaʿmur b. ʿAwf b. Kaʿb b. ʿĀmir b. Layth b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna who decreed that Quṣayy was more fit for guardianship over the House than Khuzāʿa was. He ruled that all losses inflicted on Quṣayy by Khuzāʿa and Banū Bakr were an issue that should be "crushed underfoot", and that what losses Khuzāʿa and Banū Bakr had received from Quraysh, Kināna, and Quḍāʿa should be compensated by bloodwit payment. His decision meant that Quṣayy should be given free access to Mecca and the *kaʿba*. Thereat Yaʿmur was nicknamed *al-Shadhdhākh*, "the crusher".

Ibn Isḥāq further related that Quṣayy thus gained guardianship over the House and control over Mecca. He brought together to Mecca his people from their dwellings and acted as king over them and over all the Meccans as well; and they treated him as king. However, he confirmed the Arabs in their prior practices, considering that to be a duty incumbent upon himself that he ought not change. He thus confirmed Ṣafwān, ʿAdwān, *al-nasaʾa*, "the intercalators", and Murra b. ʿAwf in their previous practices, until Islam came and God destroyed all of that.

Quṣayy was the first of Banū Kaʿb who took the kingship and was obeyed as such by his people. He had rights of the *ḥijāba*, the *saqāya*, the *rifāda*, the *nadwa*, and the *liwāʾ*.[31] Thus he controlled all of Mecca's honours. He divided up Mecca among his people into quarters and he settled each family of Quraysh into their dwellings there.

And so I say, that thus right was done to those worthy of it, justice returning after having left. Quraysh settled in their dwellings, ended the aims and aspirations of Khuzāʿa, and regained their ancient and venerable house. Nevertheless, they kept what Khuzāʿa had instituted, including the worship of idols, setting them up around the *kaʿba*, making sacrifice to them, praying near them, and beseeching help and fortune from them.

Quṣayy settled the Quraysh tribes in the plains and also in the heights of Mecca and they were henceforth known respectively as the "plains Quraysh" and the "highland Quraysh".

Quṣayy b. Kilāb enjoyed total authority, including being guardian and keeper of the *kaʿba* and the awarder of battle banners. He also constructed a building to prevent violence and resolve disputes; this he named the *dār al-nadwa*, the assembly house. When a conflict became serious the chiefs of each of the tribes would meet, take counsel there, and decide the issue. All contracts and marriage agreements would be made there. And that was also the only place where a girl would first wear the *daraʿ*, the sleeved chemise, when she reached the age to do so.

The door to this building was facing the *masjid al-ḥarām*, the holy mosque. Later it became owned by Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, after belonging to Banū ʿAbd al-Dār. He sold it, during the reign of Muʿāwiya, for 100,000 dirhams. Muʿāwiya criticized him for having done so, saying, "You've sold your people's honour for 100,000."

But Ḥakīm replied, "But today nobility is measured by one's piety. I bought it, by God, before Islam for a skinful of wine and now here I've sold it for 100,000. And I swear that the money will go to charity in God's cause, so which of us had been cheated?" This was related by al-Dārquṭnī in the *Asmāʾ Rijāl al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* (*Identities of the Men in the Muwaṭṭaʾ*) (of Mālik b. Anas).

31. These terms refer, respectively, to the guardianship of the temple, the provision of water for the pilgrims, the provision of food for them, the presiding over their assemblies, and the issuance of the banners carried by them.

He had the prerogative of providing drink for the pilgrims; they drank only from his cisterns. At that time, in Mecca the holy well, *zamzam*, was obliterated, as it had been since the time of Jurhum. People had forgotten about it because of its great antiquity and they could not locate its whereabouts. According to al-Wāqidī, Quṣayy was the first person to institute lighting a fire at al-Muzdalifa to guide people coming there from ʿArafāt.

The word *al-rifāda* means providing food for the pilgrims during the pilgrimage season until they leave to return to their own countries.

Ibn Isḥāq went on to relate that Quṣayy had imposed this *rifāda* on his people, having said, "O People of Quraysh, you are God's neighbours and the inhabitants of Mecca and of the holy places. The pilgrims are God's guests and visitors to His House. They have full right to hospitality. So provide food and drink for them during the pilgrimage days, until they depart from you." And so they did. Each year they would set aside a portion of their wealth as a tribute they would pay him. He would use it to provide food for the people during the days they were at Minā. This practice was followed at his command during *al-jāhiliyya*, the pre-Islamic period, and it has passed on thereafter up to the present. It is the food the sultan provides for people at Minā each year until the pilgrimage ends.

My own comment is to add that this practice ended after the time of Ibn Isḥāq. It was then ordered that a portion of the *bayt al-māl*, the general treasury, be spent to transport food and drink for wayfarers arriving for the pilgrimage. This was a good policy for reasons too many to mention. But duty dictates that this expense should come directly from the treasury as a priority; most appropriately, it should come from the masses of the *dhimma*, the protected non-Muslims, since they do not make pilgrimage to the ancient House. It is stated in the *ḥadīth* sayings, "Regarding him who is able to make the pilgrimage but does not do so, let him die, if he wishes, a Jew or a Christian."

One of their poets said in praise of Quṣayy and his honour among his people.

> "Quṣayy was known, I swear it, as the 'gatherer'; through him God gathered together the tribes of Fihr.
>
> They filled the plain with glory and power and drove from us the satanic Banū Bakr."

Ibn Isḥāq related that when Quṣayy had finished his war, his brother Rizāḥ b. Rabīʿa left for his own country accompanied by his three paternal brothers, who were Ḥunn, Maḥmūd, and Julhuma by name. And Rizāḥ spoke the following verses in responding to Quṣayy:

> "When an envoy came from Quṣayy saying, 'Respond to your friend',
> We arose to him leading our fine horses, leaving aside the slow and overweight.
> We travelled with them by night till dawn, sheltering by day to survive.

They were speedy as sand-grouse to the water, as we answered Quṣayy's messenger.
We gathered men from al-Sirr[32] and the two Ashmadhs,[33] collecting tribesmen from each village.
What a band of horse that night, over a thousand, running free and fast,
When they passed by ʿAsjar and took the quick route from Mustanākh,
Skirting the edge of Wariqān and passing by al-ʿArj and a tribe encamped,
Overstepping the pasture, not tasting it, racing on, night-long, from Marr,
Keeping the colts near their dams to minimize their neighing.
When reaching Mecca, we destroyed the men tribe after tribe,
Switching them with our sword-blades, rendering them witless from all sides
Crushing them beneath our horses' hooves, as does the strong and mighty to the lowly.
We killed Khuzāʿa in their own home, and Bakr group by group.
We banished them from the Sovereign's land, so that they would never settle good land again,
We captured them in irons and quenched our vengeance thirst from all their tribes."

According to Ibn Isḥāq, when Rizāḥ returned home, God gave him increase. He also gave Hunn increase; they constitute the two tribes of ʿUdhra to this day.

Again according to Ibn Isḥāq, Quṣayy b. Kilāb said in that regard,

"I am the son of Banū Luʾayy, the defenders; my home is in Mecca, there was I raised,
And on to the plains, as Maʿad learned; with its lush pastures I was really content.
I would not have conquered it, had the sons of Qaydhar and al-Nābit not settled there.
Rizāḥ was my supporter and by him I came supreme; I fear no evil for as long as I shall live."

According to al-Umawī, citing al-Ashram from Abū ʿUbayda, from Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ, Rizāḥ only arrived after Quṣayy had expelled Khuzāʿa. God knows best.

Section.

When Quṣayy grew old he entrusted all the prerogatives he had enjoyed – leadership of Quraysh and its honour of governing the provision of food and drink for the pilgrims, guardianship of the House, the issuance of banners, and the summoning of assemblies – to his son ʿAbd al-Dār, who was his oldest.

He only entrusted him with all these prerogatives because the rest of his brothers, ʿAbd Manāf, ʿAbd Shams, and ʿAbd had become noblemen during

32. A valley.
33. Two mountains between Medina and the town of Khaybar.

their father's rule and had attained great power and prestige. Thus Quṣayy wished for ʿAbd al-Dār to be equal to them in prestige and so gave him alone these powers. ʿAbd al-Dār's brothers did not dispute his action. But when they all had passed away their sons came into conflict about this and said, "Quṣayy only entrusted ʿAbd al-Dār with all that to equalize him with his brothers; we are entitled to what our fathers were due."

ʿAbd al-Dār's family replied, "This is a matter that Quṣayy decided in our favour, and we have the greater right."

And so a great dispute arose among them; and Quraysh split into two factions, one giving allegiance and alliance to the family of ʿAbd al-Dār, the other to the family of ʿAbd Manāf with whom they made a formal pact. Upon making the oath they placed their hands into a deep dish containing perfume. Then they went and wiped their hands on the corners of the *kaʿba*. This was thereafter known as the "Treaty of the Perfumed".

On the ʿAbd Manāf side there were the Quraysh tribes of Banū Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzza b. Quṣayy, Banū Zuhra, Banū Taym, and Banū al-Ḥārith b. Fihr. On the side of ʿAbd al-Dār's descendants were Banū Makhzūm, Banū Sahm, Banū Jumaḥ, and Banū ʿAdī. The tribes of Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy and Muḥārib b. Fihr remained separate from the rest, not allying with either side.

Ultimately they made peace, agreeing that the prerogatives of feeding and watering the pilgrims should be held by Banū ʿAbd Manāf, while those of guardianship of the *kaʿba*, issuance of banners, and calling of assemblies were to be held by Banū ʿAbd al-Dār. This arrangement became firm and permanent.

Al-Umawī related from al-Ashram, on the authority of Abū ʿUbayda that a number of the Khuzāʿa claim that after Quṣayy had married Ḥubbā daughter of Ḥulayl, he (Ḥulayl) found the guardianship of the *kaʿba* onerous and passed it on to his daughter Ḥubbā, appointing Abū Ghubshān Salīm b. ʿAmr b. Luʾayy b. Malkān b. Quṣayy b. Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir as her trustee for it. Quṣayy purchased the guardianship of the *kaʿba* from him for a skin of wine and a young riding camel. And so there arose the saying, "A worse deal than that of Abū Ghubshān!" When Khuzāʿa saw this happen they attacked Quṣayy, who called for assistance from his brother; when he and his men arrived the issue was resolved as reported above. Ultimately Quṣayy passed on the prerogatives of protection and guardianship of the House, issuance of banners, calling of assemblies, and feeding and watering the pilgrims to his son ʿAbd al-Dār, as will be related in detail. The *ijāza*, giving permission to leave Muzdalifa, was established as a right of Banū ʿAdwān, the *nasiʾ*, the right of calendar intercalation, went to Fuqaym, while the Ṣūfa enjoyed that of *ijāza*, that is, of the *nafr*, the giving of the signal to leave Minā. All this information on the prerogatives of these people has been detailed above.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Quṣayy had four sons and two daughters, the sons being ʿAbd Manāf, ʿAbd al-Dār, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, and ʿAbd, the daughters Takhmur and Barra. The mother of all these was Ḥubbā, daughter of Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya b. Salūl b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr, al-Khuzāʿī. It was from Ḥulayl that Quṣayy b. Kilāb took control over the Sacred House.

According to Ibn Hishām, ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy had four sons, Hāshim, ʿAbd Shams, and al-Muṭṭalib, their mother being ʿĀtika daughter of Murra b. Hilāl. Another son of his was Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf, his mother being Wāqida, daughter of ʿAmr al-Māziniyya.

Ibn Hishām stated as well that ʿAbd Manāf also fathered Abū ʿAmr, Tumāḍir, Qulāba, Ḥayya, Rayṭa, Umm al-Akhtham, and Umm Sufyān.

Also according to Ibn Hishām, Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf had four (*sic*) sons and five daughters. The sons were named ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Asad, and Abū Sayfī; the daughters were Naḍla, al-Shaffāʾ, Khālida, Ḍaʿīfa, Ruqayya, and Ḥayya. The mother of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Ruqayya was Salmā, daughter of ʿAmr b. Zayd b. Labīd b. Khidāsh b. ʿĀmir b. Ghanm b. ʿAdī b. al-Najjār from Medina. Ibn Hishām also gave the names of the mothers of the remaining children.

He stated that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had ten sons and six daughters. The sons were al-ʿAbbās, Ḥamza, ʿAbd Allāh, Abū Ṭālib (whose name was ʿAbd Manāf and not ʿUmrān), al-Zubayr, al-Ḥārith, who was the first-born of his father who was therefore accorded his name, Jahl (whom some name as Ḥajl), who was nicknamed *al-Ghaydaq*, "the liberal", for his generosity, al-Muqawwim, Ḍirār, and Abū Lahab (whose name was ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā). His daughters' names were Ṣafiyya, Umm Ḥakīm al-Bayḍāʾ, ʿĀtika, Umayma, ʿArwā, and Barra. And Ibn Hishām also gave the names of their mothers. He stated that the mother of ʿAbd Allāh, Abū Ṭālib, al-Zubayr and all the girls except Ṣafiyya was Fāṭima, daughter of ʿAmr b. ʿĀʾidh b. ʿUmrān b. Makhzūm b. Yaqẓa b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Maʿad b. ʿAdnān.

He said further that ʿAbd Allāh fathered Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the lord of all Adam's children. His mother was Āmina daughter of Wahb b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy. He then gave mention of all her maternal forebears.

Ibn Hishām concluded that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was the most noble of Adam's children in worthiness and descent from both his father and his mother.

Previously recounted is the following statement of al-Awzāʿī on the authority of Shaddād Abū ʿAmmār from Wāthila b. al-Asqaʿ: "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'God chose Kināna from Ishmael's progeny and Quraysh from Kināna, Hāshim from Quraysh, and myself from Hāshim.'" Muslim recounted this tradition.

There will follow hereafter an account of the noble birth of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and of the events and circumstances surrounding it. And in recounting his honoured ancestry there will be other useful information not here given, if God Almighty so wills it, and in Him is all trust and reliance.

An Account of a variety of events that occurred in the jāhiliyya.

It has already been recounted how Jurhum assumed control over the House from Banū Ismā'īl out of envy for them because they were the children of their daughters. And similarly how it was that Khuzā'a fell upon Jurhum and took over the House from them, and how ultimately its guardianship fell to Quṣayy and his sons, continuing in their hands until God sent his Messenger (ṢAAS) and how those prerogatives became established as they were.

Section: Information about a group of men famous in the jāhiliyya.

An Account of Khālid b. Sinān the 'Absite who lived in the inter-prophet period and who some allege was a prophet. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī stated that Aḥmad b. Zuhayr al-Tasaturrī related, quoting Yaḥyā b. al-Mu'allā b. Manṣūr al-Rāzī, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Ṣalt, quoting Qays b. al-Rabī', from Sālim al-Afṭas, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, and from Ibn 'Abbās as follows, "The daughter of Khālid b. Sinān came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he smoothed out his robe for her (to sit on), saying, 'Here's the daughter of a prophet whose people squandered him.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār reported it from Yaḥyā b. al-Mu'alī b. Manṣūr, from Muḥammad b. al-Ṣalt, from Qays, from Sālim, from Sa'īd, from Ibn 'Abbās, as follows, "Someone made reference to Khālid b. Sinān in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who commented, 'That was a prophet whose people squandered him.'"

Al-Bazzār then said, "And we have no direct reference of this *ḥadīth* to the Prophet other than in this form. Qays b. al-Rabī' was highly respected, though he was not regarded as having been a good memorizer. He had a son who would add extraneous material into the traditions he related. But God knows best." Al-Bazzār stated, "This *ḥadīth* was also related by al-Thawrī from Sālim al-Afṭas, transmitted forward indirectly from Sa'īd b. Jubayr."

The *ḥafiẓ* Abū Ya'lā al-Mawṣilī stated that al-Mu'allā b. Mahdī al-Mawṣilī related to him, as did Abū 'Awāna, from Abū Yūnis, from 'Akrama and down to Ibn 'Abbās, that a man from 'Abs called Khālid b. Sinān said to his people, "I

shall put out from you the fire of al-Ḥarratayn!" But one of his people responded, "O Khālid, you have only ever told us the truth; what have you to do with the fire of al-Ḥarratayn you claim you will extinguish?"

So Khālid went forth accompanied by some of his people, including ʿUmāra b. Ziyād, until they reached where the fire emerged from a fissure in the mountain. Khālid then drew a line at which he made them sit, saying, "If I am delayed, do not call for me by my name." As the fire spurted out, it looked like sorrel-red horses following one another. Khālid approached it and began beating it with his stick saying, "Badā, badā, badā kullu hudā; the son of the goatherdswoman claimed I won't come out from it bearing my clothes in my hand." Then he went inside the fissure with the fire. When he had been gone a long time, ʿUmāra b. Ziyād said to Khālid's people, "By God, if he were alive he would have come out to you by now!" Some said, "Call out to him by name."

The account continued, indicating that others replied, "He forbade us to call him by his name." But some did so and he emerged carrying his head, complaining, "Didn't I forbid you to call me by name? By God, you've killed me, so bury me! And if some donkeys pass, one of which is bobtailed, then exhume me and you'll find me alive."

They did bury him and some donkeys did pass by, one of them being bobtailed. So some wanted to exhume him as he had told them to do but ʿUmāra argued, "No don't exhume him. By God, Muḍar won't go around saying that we dig up our dead!" Khālid had also told them, "In my wife's possession there are two tablets into which you must look if you should have difficulties; if you do so you will find a response to your questions. But do not let a menstruating woman touch them." They therefore went to his wife and asked her about these tablets and she brought them out. However, she was in menstruation, and so whatever knowledge was in them had gone.

Abū Yūnus stated that Sammāk b. Ḥarb responded that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was asked about Khālid and he replied, "That was a prophet whose people squandered him."

Abū Yūnus also reported that Sammāk b. Ḥarb said that the son of Khālid b. Sinān came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) who told him, "Welcome to my brother's son!" This comment is traced back to Ibn ʿAbbās who makes no reference to his being a prophet. The accounts that do so cannot use this comment as a proof that he was a prophet. What is most probable is that he was a pious man with certain qualities and gifts. This is because if he had indeed lived in the inter-prophet period, it was firmly established as incontrovertible in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "The closest of men to Jesus son of Mary is myself, for there came no prophet between him and me." And if Khālid had lived earlier, he could not have been a prophet,

because God Almighty stated, "that you may warn a people to whom no warner had come before you" (*sūrat al-Sajda*, XXXII, v.3).

A number of scholars have stated that God Almighty sent no prophet to the Arabs after Ishmael except Muḥammad (ṢAAS), the Seal of the Prophets mentioned by Abraham, God's true follower, who built the venerated *ka'ba* which God made the direction of prayer as a law for all the earth's people; and the other prophets announced to their peoples his coming, right on up to the last of them to do so, namely Jesus son of Mary, upon whom be peace.

And in this same way may be refuted the reports of al-Suhaylī and others concerning the dispatch to the Arabs of another prophet named Shu'ayb b. Dhī Muhdhim b. Shu'ayb b. Ṣafwān, lord of Madyan. Also the story that Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān was sent to the Arabs and that since both he and Shu'ayb had been disowned, God imposed Bukhtunaṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar) over the Arabs who suffered from him killing and captivity similar to those endured by the Israelites; all this occurred in the time of Ma'ad b. 'Adnān.

What is evident is that these people were all good men advocating righteousness. But God knows best. We have previously given mention of 'Amr b. Luḥayy b. Qam'a b. Khindif in the account of Khuzā'a following Jurhum.

An Account of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī, a good and generous man of the jāhiliyya *period.*

He was Ḥātim b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. al-Ḥashraj b. Imru' al-Qays b. 'Adī b. Aḥzam b. Abū Aḥzam, the name of the last being Harūma b. Rabī'a b. Jarwal b. Tha'l b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth b. Ṭayyi' Abū Saffāna al-Ṭā'ī. Ḥātim was the father of 'Adī b. Ḥātim *al-ṣaḥābī*, "the Companion of the Prophet". He was a generous man much praised in the *jāhiliyya* period, as was his son after the coming of Islam.

Ḥātim was a man of such distinction and generosity that many extraordinary events and strange accounts are associated with him. However, by these deeds he did not seek the grace of God or the hereafter but was motivated by desire for fame and recognition.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated in his compilation of traditions that Muḥammad b. Mu'ammar related to him, as did 'Ubayd b. Wāqid the Qaysite, as did Abū Naṣr who was al-Nājī, from ' Abd Allāh b. Dinār, from Ibn 'Umar that Ḥātim was referred to in the presence of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he commented, "That man wanted something, and he attained it."

This is a curious tradition. Al-Dārquṭnī said that 'Ubayd b. Wāqid was unique in transmitting it, on the authority of Abū Naṣr al-Nājī, whose name is said to have been Ḥammād.

According to Ibn ʿAsākir, Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim made a distinction between Abū Naṣr al-Nājī and Abū Naṣr Ḥammād and that he was not named "al-Nājī". Yet several accounts related by the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir refer to an "Abū Naṣr Shayba al-Nājī". But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal) stated that Yazīd b. Ismāʿīl related to him, as did Sufyān, from Sammāk b. Ḥarb, from Marī b. Qaṭarī, from ʿAdī b. Ḥātim who stated that he said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); "My father was very generous to his kinsfolk and very active on their behalf; does he get something for that, some reward?" He responded, "Your father had sought something, and he attained it."

This tradition was similarly reported by Abū Yaʿlā, from al-Qawārīrī, from Ghandar, from Shuʿba, from Sammāk, in the form: "He responded, 'Your father had wanted something, and he got it.'" By this he meant reputation. Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī related it thus, from ʿAlī b. al-Jaʿd from Shuʿba.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* tradition compendium it has been established that the three kinds of people by whom the fires of hell are fed include the man who spends his money (on others) so that he will be considered generous. His pay-off is in having that said of him on earth. So, too, is it with the scholar and the warrior. And in another tradition in the *ṣaḥīḥ* it tells how people asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about ʿAbd Allāh b. Judʿān b. ʿAmr b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murra, saying, "He was hospitable, freed slaves, and gave to charity; did that benefit him?" He responded, "But he never once said, 'O God, forgive me my sins on Judgement Day.'" This man was also one of those who were famous for their generosity, who gave food in years of famine and times of destitution.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-ʿUmānī, that Abū Saʿīd ʿUbayd b. Kathīr b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Kūfī related to him, as did Ḍirār b. Ṣurd, and ʿĀṣim b. Ḥamīd, from Abū Ḥamza al-Thamālī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jandab, from Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakhʿī who said that ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib exclaimed, "Glory be to God! How many a man acts pious for gain! How strange is someone who is approached by his Muslim brother in need yet does not see his way to doing good. For even if he did not hope for reward or fear punishment he ought to make haste in acting with nobility for it is such deeds that lead to success."

A man thereupon arose to ask him, "O Commander of the Believers, I pledge you my father and my mother, did you hear that from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" ʿAli replied, "Yes. And I've a tale even better than that. When Ṭāʾī's women were brought in as captives, one of them was red-haired, cherry-lipped, smooth-skinned, slender-necked, fine-nosed, with a straight figure, raised head, full ankles, plump legs, rounded thighs, slim waist, slender sides and well-shaped body. I was much struck by her when I saw her and said I would request

the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to award her to me in my portion of the booty. But when she spoke I forgot her beauty for the eloquence I heard. She said, 'O Muḥammad, will you not release me and spare me the malicious gloating of the Arab tribes, for I am the daughter of the leader of my people. My father was guardian of our sacred objects, he relieved the distressed, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, gave generous hospitality, provided the best of food, spread peace abroad and never refused the request of the needy. I am the daughter of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, 'O girl, all that truly describes the believers. Had your father been a believer, we would certainly have been merciful to him. Release her, for her father was a man who loved to perform good deeds, and God Almighty loves good deeds.'

"At that Abū Burda b. Niyār arose and said, 'O Messenger of God, does God really love good deeds?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'By him in whose hand is my soul, no one will enter heaven except by good deeds.'"

Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Dunyā stated that ʿUmar b. Bakr related to him, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭā'ī (his name being al-Qāsim b. ʿAdī) from ʿUthmān; from ʿArakī b. Ḥulays al-Ṭā'ī, from his father, from his grandfather (who was the brother of ʿAdī b. Ḥātim from his mother's side), that someone said to al-Nawār, wife of Ḥātim, "Tell us about Ḥātim."

She replied, "Everything about him was wonderful. Once we were afflicted with a year of utter desolation when the earth quaked, the skies filled with dust and wet nurses were too drained to suckle their children. The camels had become completely emaciated, their bones showing through, and not producing a drop of milk. And our money was all dried up.

"One interminable, cold night, with the small children writhing from hunger (their names were ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAdī and Saffāna), he said, 'By God, we don't have anything to pacify them with.' So he arose to one of the boys and lifted him up, while I went over to the girl to pacify her. And, by God, they only quietened down after a good part of the night had elapsed. After that we went to the other boy and rocked him until he became quiet, or almost so.

"Then we spread out a frayed Syrian rug we had and laid out the children on it, with me and him sleeping in the one room with the children in between us. Then he approached me, soothing me so I would sleep. I knew what he wanted, so I pretended to sleep. He asked, 'How are you? Have you fallen asleep?' I said nothing and he commented, 'I see that she has fallen asleep, but I'm not sleepy.'

"When the night became pitch black, the stars having almost disappeared and there was neither sound nor movement astir, the side of our tent was lifted. He called out, 'Who is there?' The person went away. At daybreak, or thereabouts, he again said, 'Who is there?' and a woman replied, 'It is your neighbour

so-and-so, Abū ʿAdī; I have no one to turn to but you. I'm coming to you from my children who are moaning like wolves from their hunger. 'Bring them to me quickly,' he told her."

Al-Nawār went on, "I jumped up and exclaimed, 'What are you doing? Lie down! Your children are writhing from hunger and you've no means to soothe them, so what can you do for her and her children?' He responded, 'Be silent; by God, I will satisfy you, if God wills it.'"

She went on, "So in she came, carrying two children and with four others walking at her side, as though she were an ostrich surrounded by her chicks. Then he went over to his horse, thrust his spear in its upper chest and struck his flint and lit a fire. Next he brought a long knife and skinned the horse after which he handed the knife to the woman saying, 'After you.' Then he said, 'Now send your children.' And she did so. Then he said (to al-Nawār) 'You, evil woman, would you eat something before a poor man's children!'

"He then went all round to each one of them until they had all got up and approached the horse. Then he wrapped himself up in his cloak and stretched out to one side watching us. And, by God, he did not taste one bite himself, even though he was the most of all in need. And by next morning there was nothing of the horse left but bones and hooves!"

Al-Dārquṭnī stated that *Qāḍī* (judge) Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Muḥāmilī related to him, as did ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Saʿd, as did ʿUthaym b. Thawāba b. Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī from his father, from his grandfather, that Ḥātim's wife said to Ḥātim, "O Abū Saffāna, I desire that you and I eat alone together, with no one else there." So he gave her instructions, and she moved her tent a *parasang*, a couple of miles, away from the rest. He ordered food and it was prepared, and the tent curtains were let down for him and for her. When the food was cooked, he took off his head-covering, then spoke these verses,

> "Do not you cook my pot with your curtains hiding it; for me, then, what you cook is forbidden.
>
> But at that hill light the fire with heavy wood if you do light it, not with quick kindling wood."

The narrator continued, "Then he drew aside the curtains, brought out the food and invited in the people. He and they then ate. She told him, 'You haven't fulfilled what you said.' And he responded, 'I couldn't bring myself to do it. My spirit was too noble to bring blame on me for this, when before I have always been generous.' He then spoke the following:

> 'I oppose the miser's spirit till I overcome it and leave alone that of the generous man, not battling it.
>
> My neighbour woman has no complaint of me except that I do not visit her when her husband is away.

My goodness shall attain her, and her husband will return to her, while her veils have not fallen short for her.'"

Ḥātim's verse includes the following:

"If I spent the night drinking and drinking in order to get drunk, may I never quench my thirst!
If I spent the night deceiving my neighbour to cheat with his wife, hiding by the dark, may I never be unseen!
Would I disgrace my neighbour woman and betray my neighbour?
By God, that I'll never do so long as I live."

And also:

"It never harmed my neighbour next to whom I live that his door had no curtain;
I look down when my neighbour's wife appears, until the women's quarters hide her again."

He also recited:

"It's not of my nature to curse a cousin or to reject someone's request,
And many an envious word I've heard for no wrongdoing on my part and said, 'Let it pass and spare me.'
They blamed it on my account but it never blemished me; my forehead never sweated for it.
The two-faced finds me free but does not imitate me when he leaves.
I overcome his evil and turn from him, preserving my repute and my faith."

And also he composed:

"Ask, O Umm Mālik, the wretched and cold if, when he comes to me between my fire and larder,
I smile on him. He is the first person served; on him I lavish charity, denying him not."

He also said:

"If you give your stomach its request, and your sexual desire too, they'll both together reach the utmost blame."

The judge Abū al-Faraj al-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyyā' al-Jarīrī said that al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-Kawkabī related to him, as did Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Mubarrid that al-Thawrī told him, from Abū ʿUbayda, that when the following verses of al-Mutalammis reached Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī,

"One of little wealth you can repair and he survive, but not the man of much corruption.
And preserving wealth is better than exhausting it and wandering abroad without provisions",

he said, "What's wrong with him, may God cut his tongue! Is he advising people to be miserly? Should he not have said,

'Generosity will not exhaust one's wealth before its going, nor stinginess increase the miser's wealth.

So don't seek wealth through living miserly; for every day there's a blessing that comes anew.

Do you not see that wealth comes and goes, and that He who gives to you is not far away.'"

The judge Abū al-Faraj commented, "He (Ḥātim) spoke well with those words, 'He who gives to you is not far away,' and if he had been a Muslim, good would have been hoped for him in the hereafter. For God stated in the Qurʾān, "Ask of God from His bounty" (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*, IV, v.32) and also, "If my servants ask you about me (then say) that I am nigh and that I answer the call of those who pray to me" (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.186).

And from al-Waḍḍāh b. Maʿbad al-Ṭāʾī comes the account that Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī presented himself at the court of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, who received and honoured him. Then upon his departure he gave him two camels loaded with gold and silver, as well as valued produce of his land. So off went Ḥātim, to be met by bedouins of the Ṭayyiʾ tribe as he approached home. They addressed him thus, "O Ḥātim, you've just come from the king, whereas we have come from our people in poverty!" Ḥātim responded, "Come and take what I have, and distribute it amongst you." They rushed forward to do so, taking and distributing the gifts of al-Nuʿmān. Then his maidservant, Ṭarīfa, came out to Ḥātim and said, "Both be pious and keep some for yourself; these people won't leave you a dinar or a dirham, a sheep or a camel." Ḥātim responded by speaking the verses,

"Ṭarīfa said: 'You keep us no dirhams, though we are neither wasteful nor overburdened with them.'

If what we have is used up, then God will provide for us from someone else and it is not we who will provide for ourselves.

No sooner does the dirham get acquainted with our rags than it passes on over and leaves again.

If our dirhams were once to assemble together, they'd compete with one another for ways to give charity."

Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh said that Ḥātim was once asked whether any other Arab was more generous than he and he replied, "All the Arabs are more generous than me!" Ḥātim then went on to relate that once he overnighted with a young Arab, an orphan, who had 100 sheep. So he slaughtered for him one ewe and when he brought it in and offered him its brain, Ḥātim commented, "What delicious brain!" Thereupon the young Arab kept on bringing him more and more of it until he told him he had had enough. Next morning Ḥātim found out that the young Arab had killed all 100 of the sheep and had nothing at all left for

himself! Ḥātim was asked what he did then, and he replied, "However could I thank him enough if I were to do all in the world for him? But in any case, I did give him 100 of my very best camels."

Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Kharā'iṭī stated in his book *Makārim al-Akhlāq* (*Acts of Nobility of Character*), that al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl al-Rab'ī related to him, as did Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, as did Ḥammād al-Rāwiyya and some elderly men of Ṭayyi', that it is said that 'Anṭara, daughter of 'Afīf b. 'Amr b. Imru' al-Qays, the mother of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī, could never hold on to anything due to her munificent generosity. Her brothers would restrain her but she ignored them. Since she was a woman of wealth they ultimately imprisoned her inside a house for a year, even feeding her there to make her change her behaviour. After a year they released her, believing she had reformed, and paid her over a portion of her money and told her to enjoy it. But a woman from Hawāzin who used to visit her came and asked her for money and she responded, "Take this money, for, by God, I've so suffered hunger myself, I'll spare no effort not to deny anyone who asks of me." Then she spoke the following verses,

> "By my life, I have been so bitten before by hunger, that I'll spare no efforts never to deny the hungry,
>
> So say now to this man blaming me, 'Spare me, and if you don't then chew on your own fingers!'
>
> What can you tell your sister except your blame or the reproach of those who are misers.
>
> What you witness today is only my nature, and how, O brother, should I abandon my nature?"

Al-Haytham b. 'Adī stated, on the authority of Malḥān b. 'Arakī b. 'Adī b. Ḥātim, on the authority of his father and his grandfather that he witnessed Ḥātim's excessive generosity and that Ḥātim had said to him, "Now, son, I pride myself on three qualities – I've never exposed a woman neighbour to suspicion, never given my trust and not fulfilled it, and no one has ever come to harm from me."

Abū Bakr al-Kharā'iṭī said, "'Alī b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-'Adawī, quoting Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī, on the authority of Abū Miskīn (otherwise known as Ja'far b. al-Muḥarrir b. al-Walīd) from al-Muḥarrir Mawlā Abū Hurayra, as follows: 'A party of men from the 'Abd al-Qays tribe passed the grave of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī and came near by. One of them, Abū al-Khaybarī by name, went over and began running his foot over his grave, saying, "O Abū Ja'd[34] give us hospitality!" One of his companions exclaimed, "What are you doing, talking to a decomposed corpse!" After darkness had fallen they went to sleep, but the man who had addressed Ḥātim awoke in a fright and began shouting, "Everyone, look to your mounts; Ḥātim came to me while I slept and spoke verses I've memorized that went:

34. Nickname of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī.

'O Abū al-Khaybarī, you're a man who brings disgrace and dishonour to the tribe.
You brought your companions to seek hospitality at a grave whose corpse had perished.
Do you wish to blame me when you stay here, while around you is the Ṭāyyi' tribe and their generosity?
We're ones to satisfy our guests, and delay the milking of their camels when they come to us.'"'[35]

"He (Abū Hurayra) went on: 'And then, to their surprise, the camel of the man who had spoken to the grave began hobbling on three legs. So they killed it and cooked and ate it, saying: "By God, Ḥātim hosted us both alive and dead!"

" 'Next morning they mounted their friend behind another rider and set off and were surprised to see a man waving to them as he approached on a camel, leading another behind him. "Which of you is Abū al-Khaybarī?" he asked. Abū al-Khaybarī identified himself and the man explained, "Ḥātim came to me in my sleep and told me he had hosted your companions with your camel, and so he asked me to bring you this mount. Take it!" And he gave it to him.' "

An Account of some matters relating to ʿAbd Allāh b. Judʿān.

His genealogy was ʿAbd Allāh, son of Judʿān, son of ʿAmr, son of Kaʿb, son of Saʿd, son of Taym, son of Murrah, lord of the Banū Taym. He was the nephew of the father of Abū Bakr *al-Ṣiddīq*, "the trusting", God bless him.

He was a noble knight during the era before Islam, one of those who gave generously to the needy.

At first he was poor and deprived, mean and sinful, so that his people, tribe, kinsfolk, and family all hated him, even his father too.

One day he went off into the outskirts of Mecca, aimless and miserable, and noticed a fissure in a mountain. He thought there might be something there that would harm him, so he approached it, so that he might die and so be relieved from his sufferings.

When he drew near it, he saw a serpent coming out towards him, darting at him. He tried to avoid it, jumping away, but it was no use. But when it was upon him, he saw it to be of gold, its eyes of sapphire. So he destroyed it, picked it up, and went into the cave. To his amazement, there he found the graves of some of the kings of Jurhum, including that of al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ, who had long ago disappeared without trace. On their heads he found plaques of gold giving the dates of their death and the periods of their reigns. All about them were large quantities of jewels, pearls, gold, and silver. Of these he took what he wanted and left, after having marked the entry to the cave. When he reached his people

35. So that the guests can keep the milk of their camels for themselves.

he made gifts to them so that they loved him and then he became their leader. He would feed the people and when he ran out of valuables he would go off to the cave, get more and return. Of those who reported this were ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Hishām in his book *al-Tījān* (*The Crowns*), and Aḥmad b. ʿAmmār in the work entitled *Rayy al-ʿĀṭish wa Uns al-Wāḥish* (*Quenching the Thirsty and Comforting the Lonely*). He had a watering trough from which mounted riders would feed; the trough was so large that a boy fell in and drowned.

Ibn Qutayba and others reported that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I used to shelter in the shade of ʿAbd Allāh b. Judʿān's watering trough during the sweltering heat of midday."

In a *ḥadīth* relating to the death of Abū Jahl, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to his Companions, "Look for him among the dead; you will recognize him by a scar on his knee. I was competing with him among the crowd at a feast given by Ibn Judʿān. I knocked him over and he fell against his knee which broke, the damage still being visible there on it." And they did find him just so.

People report that he used to feed people with dates and barley and with milk to drink until he heard the verses of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt:

> "I've seen doers and their deeds, and found their noblest to be Banū al-Dayyān.
> Wheat mixed with honey is their food, not what Banū Judʿān entertain us with."

So Ibn Judʿān sent off 2,000 camels to Syria, and they returned bearing wheat, honey and butter. Then he had a man call out each night from the *kaʿba* roof, "You're all to come to Ibn Judʿān's trough." Whereupon Umayya spoke the following:

> "He has one energetic fellow summoning (people) in Mecca, while another calls out from above its *kaʿba*
> To come to large wooden platters filled with ears of wheat mixed with honey."

Yet despite all this, it is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* tradition collection of Muslim (b. al-Hadjdjāj) that ʿĀ'isha said: "O Messenger of God, Ibn Judʿān used to donate food to eat and was hospitable to guests; will that benefit him on Judgement Day?" He replied, "No; he never once said: 'O my Lord, forgive me my sins on Judgement Day.'"

An Account of Imruʾ al-Qays b. Ḥujr al-Kindī, author of one of the muʿallaqāt *odes.*

His ode is the most magnificent and best known of them all, and it begins:

> "Halt here, both of you, and let us lament memory of a loved one and a dwelling . . ."

Al-Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, as did Abū al-Jahm al-Wāsiṭī, from al-Zuhrī, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said: "Imruʾ al-Qays will be the company commander of the poets on their way to hell-fire!"

A large number of transmitters related this tradition from Hushaym, including Bishr b. al-Ḥakam, al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafa, ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārūn, the Commander of the faithful al-Maʾmūn, brother of al-Amīn, and Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn. Ibn ʿAdī considered the transmission chain to be through ʿAbd al-Razzāq from al-Zuhrī, but this would then be discontinuous and bad from another direction, through Abū Hurayra; and it would not be a reliable tradition except from the first chain of transmission.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir gave the genealogy of Imruʾ al-Qays as having been the son of Ḥujr, son of al-Ḥārith, son of ʿAmr, son of Ḥujr, the *ākil al-mirār*,[36] son of ʿAmr, son of Muʿāwiya, son of al-Ḥārith, son of Yaʿrub, son of Thawr, son of Murtaʿ, son of Muʿāwiya b. Kinda. He was also known as Abū Yazīd, Abū Wahb, and Abū al-Ḥārith al-Kindī. He lived in the regions of Damascus and mentioned a number of these in his poetry, as for example in the lines:

"Halt here, both of you, and let us lament memory of a loved one and a dwelling at the winding ridges between al-Dakhūl and Ḥawmal,

Tūḍiḥ and al-Miqrāt; its traces have not been erased by the interweaving winds from south and north."

These are well-known places in Ḥūrān.[37]

He then related, on a chain of authorities through Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī that Farwa b. Saʿīd b. ʿAfīf b. Maʿdī Karib related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, that while he and others were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) along came a delegation from Yemen. They said, "O Messenger of God, God gave us life by two verses from the poetry of Imruʾ al-Qays." He replied, "How so?" They explained, "We were making our way to visit you but lost our way *en route*, spending three days unable to get water. So we split up at the base of an acacia and a mimosa so that we each could die in the shade of a tree. When we were at our last gasp, there was a man speeding on his camel. When one of our men saw him, he spoke the following verses, the rider hearing them:

'And when she (the wild ass) says that the water was her desire but that the white of her veins was bloody[38]

She made for the well at Ḍārij, its green slime shading it, overflowing.'[39]

36. One who ate the bitter desert plant *Centaurea calcitrapa*.

37. Ḥūrān is a plateau south of Damascus in Syria.

38. He implies that though the animal was thirsty, it was afraid that hunters might shoot it and that its veins would bleed.

39. Ḍārij was near where the ʿAbd tribe dwelt. The verse suggests that the animal headed for that well to be able to hide from hunters in the thick underbush.

"So the rider asked, 'Whose verses are those?' He saw our state of exhaustion. We answered, 'Imru' al-Qays b. Ḥujr.' Then he said, 'By God, he did not lie; this is Ḍārij, where you are now.' So we looked, and there was the water about 50 arm's-lengths away. We slowly made our way to it on our mounts and found it just as Imru' al-Qays had said, with 'green-slime shading it'.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'That's a man who is remembered on earth but forgotten in the next world, honoured in the former but ignored in the latter. In his hands he will carry the banner of the poets, leading them to hell-fire.'"

Al-Kalbī reported that Imru' al-Qays advanced with his banners flying intending to battle Banū Asad after they had killed his father and passed by Tabāla. There was the shrine of Dhū al-Khalaṣa, an idol at which the Arabs would seek divine support. Imru' al-Qays asked for prophecy and the arrow for negation came out. This then happened a second and a third time. At that he broke the arrows and struck them against the face of Dhū al-Khalaṣa, exclaiming: "You'd bite your father's penis! If your father were the man murdered, you'd not impede me!" He then launched a raid against Banū Asad and engaged them in swift battle.

And al-Kalbī commented that (from then on) until the arrival of Islam, support from Dhū al-Khalaṣa was not sought.

Some say that Imru' al-Qays gave praise to the Byzantine emperor and asked his support and assistance in certain wars but did not receive encouragement from him. Consequently Imru' al-Qays spoke verses against him, and it is said that the emperor gave him poison to drink and so killed him. Death came to him when he was beside the grave of a woman on a mountain called ʿAsīb and it was there he wrote the verses:

> "Oh neighbour, the shrine is near and I rest where a mountain cleft is established.
> Oh neighbour, we are strangers here and all strangers are of a common kin."

They say that the seven *muʿallaqāt*, the select, displayed odes, were hung up on the *kaʿba*. That was because when one of the Arabs composed an ode he would exhibit it to Quraysh. If they approved of it they would hang it on the *kaʿba* in recognition of its worth. It is from this practice that the seven odes were gathered. The first of these, as previously noted, was by Imru' al-Qays b. Ḥujr the Kindite, as previously mentioned. It begins:

> "Halt here, both of you, and let us lament memory of a loved one and a dwelling at the winding ridges between al-Dakhūl and Ḥawmal."

The second ode was by al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, whose given name was Ziyād b. Muʿāwiya . He is also said to have been Ziyād b. ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiya, who was the son of Ḍabbāb b. Jābir b. Yarbūʿ b. Ghayẓ b. Murra b.ʿAwf b. Saʿd

b. Dhubyān b. Baghīḍ. His ode begins:

"Oh abode of Mayya at al-ʿAlyāʾ, the mountain top; your people have gone for so long and earlier generations dwelt there."

The third ode was by Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā, also named Rabīʿa b. Riyāḥ al-Muzanī. It begins:

"Are there still some voiceless remnants of Umm ʿAwfa's dwelling at the plain of al-Darrāj and al-Mutathallam?"

The fourth was composed by Ṭarafa b. al-ʿAbd b. Sufyān b. Saʿd b. Mālik b. Ḍubayʿa b. Qays b. Thaʿlaba, the son of ʿUkāba b. Ṣaʿb b.ʿAlī b. Bakr b. Wāʾil. It opens:

"On the rocky ground of Thahmad, there are traces still of Khawla, visible like the shadow of an old tattoo on the back of a hand."

The fifth ode was by ʿAntara b. Shaddād b. Muʿāwiya b. Qurād b. Makhzum b. Rabīʿa b. Mālik b. Ghālib, the son of Quṭayʿa, the son of ʿAbs the ʿAbsite. It begins:

"Have the poets left anything unsaid, or have you recognized the abode after using imagination?"

The sixth was by ʿAlqama b.ʿAbda b. al-Nuʿmān b. Qays, a member of Banū Tamīm. It opens:

"Though your heart is burdened with care, there is joy in beautiful women; soon after youth comes time for greyness."

The seventh ode – and there are some who do not affirm it to have been one of the *muʿallaqāt*, as, for example al-Asmaʿī and others – is by Labīd, the son of Rabīʿa b. Mālik b. Jaʿfar b. Kilāb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Muʿāwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Manṣūr b. ʿIkrima b. Khaṣafa b. Qays b.ʿAylān b. Muḍar. It begins:

"The place where she dwelt at Minā; its water-troughs and its mountains have been deserted."

As for the ode of unknown authorship, according to Abū ʿUbayda, al-Asmaʿī, al-Mubarrid and others, it reads:

"Is there any reply for one who asks at the ruins; or has it ever been accustomed to speak?"

It is a lengthy poem and has many fine lines.

SOME INFORMATION ABOUT UMAYYA B. ABŪ AL-ṢALT AL-THAQAFĪ; HE WAS A PRE-ISLAMIC POET WHO LIVED ON TO THE TIME OF ISLAM.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir said that his name was Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt, ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Rabīʿa b. ʿAwf, the son of ʿUqda b. ʿIzza b. ʿAwf b. Thaqīf b. Munabbih b. Bakr b. Hawāzin, known as Abū ʿUthmān and some say Abū al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafī.

He was a pre-Islamic poet who went to Damascus before Islam. It is said that he was a righteous man and initially a man of the faith, but he turned away from it, and that God was referring to him in the words: "Tell them of him to whom we brought our signs, but he passed them by; so Satan followed him, and he went astray" (*sūrat al-Aʿrāf*, VII, v.175).

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār said that Ruqayya daughter of ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf gave birth to Umayya the poet, the son of Abū al-Ṣalt, whose name was Rabīʿa b. Wahb b. ʿIlāj b. Abū Salama b. Thaqīf.

Others said that his father was a famous poet of Ṭāʾif, and that Umayya was their best poet.

ʿAbd al-Razzāq said that al-Thawrī stated that Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit reported to him that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr said that by God's words: "Tell them of him to whom we brought our signs but he passed them by; so Satan followed him and he went astray", Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt was implied.

And thus did Abū Bakr b. Mardawayh, from Abū Bakr al-Shāfiʿī, from Muʿādh b. al-Muthannā, from Musaddad, from Abū ʿAwāna, from ʿAbd al-Mālik b.ʿUmayr, from Nāfiʿ b. ʿĀṣim b. Masʿūd. He said that he was in a circle in which was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr. One person there quoted the verse in the Qurʾān chapter *al-Aʿrāf*: "Tell them of him to whom we brought our signs but he passed them by." So he asked, "Do you know who he is?" Someone said: "Ṣayfī b. al-Rāhib." Someone else said, "No, he is Balʿam, an Israelite." "Incorrect," he replied. Someone asked, "Who, then?" "Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt," he answered.

Abū Ṣāliḥ and al-Kalbī said the same, and Qatāda reported it from several others.

Al-Ṭabrānī said that ʿAlī b.ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Shabīb al-Rabʿī, quoting Muḥammad b. Maslama b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī, quoting Ismāʿīl, the son of al-Ṭurayḥ b. Ismāʿīl al-Thaqafī, that his father told him on the authority of his father, from Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, from Muʿāwiya b. Abū Sufyān from his father, saying: "I and Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt went on business to Syria and whenever we stopped anywhere for the night Umayya would take out a sacred book he had and would read it to us. This went on until we stopped at a Christian village. So its people came to him, honoured him and gave him presents, and he went off with them to their houses.

"Late in the morning he came back, threw off his two garments and took out two black ones he had and dressed in them. He then asked me: 'Abū Sufyān, do you have access to any Christian scholar well versed in the Bible you could ask a question?' I replied, 'I've no interest in that; if such a person were to tell me something I wanted, I'd not trust him. And if he told me something I disliked, I'd certainly be very angry with him.'"

He went on, "So he went away and a Christian sheikh disputed with him. Then Umayya came in to me and said: 'What prevents you from going to this sheikh?' I replied that I was not of his religion, but Umayya responded, 'So what? You'd hear and see wonderful things from him.' Then he said: 'You're of Thaqīf, aren't you?' 'No,' I replied, 'but I am of Quraysh.' 'Well,' he asked, 'so what prevents you from going to the sheikh? He likes you, I swear it, and he'd counsel you.'

"Umayya then left and remained with them till he returned to us later that night; he undressed and lay down on his bed. But I swear he was restless!

"Next morning he was sad and depressed, his 'evening drink dropping on his morning draught' (as the saying goes) not speaking to us, nor we to him. Eventually he said, 'Won't you ride?' I responded: 'You want to leave then?' He replied, 'Yes.'

"So we rode away and travelled for two nights. Then on the third night he said: 'Wouldn't you like to talk, Abū Sufyān?' I replied, 'There's something you want to tell? I swear, I never saw anything like the way you came back from your friend.'

"'Well that's something you've nothing to do with; but it's to do with something that scared me about my *munqalab* (hereafter).'

"'Do you have a *munqalab* then?' I asked.

"'Yes, by God,' he replied, 'I'm to die then be brought back to life.'

"'Want to take my wager?' I asked.

"'What about?'

"'That you'll not be brought back nor be called to account.'

"He laughed, then said, 'Oh but yes, by God, Abū Sufyān; we certainly will be brought back, and then called to account so that one group can enter heaven and another hell-fire.'

"'And which group are you in according to what your friend told you?'

"'He has no knowledge of that, either in my case or his own.'

"We journeyed on for two more nights, with him wondering at me and me laughing at him, until we reached the Damascus valley. There we sold our goods, remaining there two months.

"Then we again journeyed on until we reached a Christian village, where we made a stop. When they saw him they came to him, gave him gifts and he went with them to their houses. He came back in the afternoon, put on his two garments

and went to them. He returned later that night, threw off his clothes and fell on his bed. But I swear he did not sleep a wink.

"Next morning he was sad and depressed, not talking to us nor we to him. Then he said, 'Wouldn't you like to move on?'

"'Why yes,' I responded. So we travelled on several nights, with him still depressed. Eventually he spoke, asking, 'Abū Sufyān, would you like to travel on in advance of our companions?'

"'Would you like that?' I responded.

"'Yes,' he replied.

"So off we went and travelled one hour's distance ahead of our companions. Then he said: 'Let's go to a rock.'

"'What do you want,' I asked him and he replied, 'Tell me about 'Utba b. Rabī'a; does he avoid doing wrong or evil?'

"'Certainly, by God.'

"'Is he held in esteem by high and low, a central figure in the tribe?'

"'Yes.'

"'Do you know any man of Quraysh more noble than him?'

"'No, by God, I know of no one.'

"'Is he financially needy?' he asked.

"'On the contrary, he's a man of great wealth.'

"'How old is he?'

"'He's over a hundred,' I replied.

"'So nobility, age, and wealth have brought him contempt.'

"'Why should all that bring him contempt? No, by God, they benefit him.'

"'Just so; would you like to rest here?' he then asked.

"'I would,' I replied.

"So we rested till our fatigue passed. Then we travelled on till we alighted at the next rest station where we stayed. When it was night he spoke to me: 'Abū Sufyān.'

"'What do you want?' I asked.

"'Would you like to proceed as yesterday?'

"'Would you?' I asked.

"'Yes,' he replied.

"So on we went on two long-necked camels until we were ahead. He said: 'Let's go to a rock and talk again about 'Utba b. Rabī'a.'

"'Let's talk of him again,' I replied.

"'Does he avoid wrongdoing and evil and do good and order good be done?' he asked.

"'Yes, by God, all that he does.'

"'Is he wealthy?'

"'Yes, he's wealthy.'

"'Do you know of any man of Quraysh more central than him?'

"'No, no one.'

"'How old is he?' he asked.

"'He is over a hundred.'

"'So his age, nobility, and wealth have brought him contempt?'

"'Certainly not, by God; if you have something to say, then do so.'

"'No,' he replied, 'Just remember what I said, whatever results from it.'

"Then he went on: 'What so affected me was going to that scholar and asking him some things and then saying to him, "Tell me about the prophet who is expected."

"'He replied that he was an Arab; I responded that I knew that, and asked him from what group of Arabs.

"'He said: "He is from the people of a house to which the Arabs make pilgrimage."

"'I said, "We have a house to which the Arabs make pilgrimage."

"'He replied: "He is one of your brothers from Quraysh."

"'This had an impact on me, by God, like nothing ever had before, and the success of this world and the next left my grasp. I had wanted to be him. I asked him then:

"'"If so it will be, describe him to me."

"'"He is a man young when he entered old age; he started out avoiding wrongdoing and evil, doing good and ordering it. He is poor, respected by high and low and has a central position in the tribe. Most of his army are of angels."

"'"What is the sign of that?" I asked and he replied:

"'"After the death of Jesus son of Mary, peace be upon him, Syria suffered 80 earthquakes, each causing a disaster. One overall quake is left which will bring several disasters."'"

Abū Sufyān went on: "I responded: 'But, by God, that's silly; if God sent a messenger he would only take him away in age and honour.'

"Umayya spoke up, 'But by him whose name you invoked, that's how it is, Abū Sufyān. He is reiterating that the Christian's statement is true. Shall we rest here?'

"'Yes, I'd like that,' I responded."

He went on: "So there we stayed until our fatigue left us and we travelled on till we were a two-stage or two-nights' distance from Mecca. Then a rider caught us up from behind; we questioned him and he said: 'After you left, the people of Syria suffered an earthquake that devastated them and caused them heavy losses.'"

Abū Sufyān went on: "Then Umayya approached me and asked: 'So what do you think about what the Christian said, Abū Sufyān?'

"I replied: 'By God, it's my considered view that what your friend told you was right.'"

Abū Sufyān continued: "So we arrived at Mecca where I settled my current affairs, then left for Yemen on business, staying there five months before returning to Mecca.

"While there at my house people come to greet me and ask me about their goods. Eventually Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh came to me; Hind was there with me playing with her children. He greeted me, welcomed me back and asked me about my journey and accommodations, but he did not enquire about his goods. Then he rose. I commented to Hind, 'By God, that surprises me! Every one of Quraysh who had goods with me asked me about them, but this man did not ask about his.'

"Hind asked: 'Don't you know what's going on with him?'

"Apprehensive, I asked her what, and she replied: 'He claims to be a messenger from God.'

"She dumbfounded me. I recalled what the Christian had said, and I shivered. Hind asked me what was the matter and I came to myself and said: 'This is crazy! He is too smart to say that.'

"'On the contrary,' she explained, 'he really is saying that and promulgating that. He also has followers in his religion.'

"'This is crazy,' I repeated."

Abū Sufyān continued: "I then went outside and while performing a ritual circumambulation of the *ka'ba* I met up with him. I said to him: 'Your goods totalled up to so-and-so and there were profits. Send someone to receive them; I won't be taking out the cut I charge my own people.'

"But he refused that, saying: 'Then I won't accept them.' I went on: 'Then send someone to take them and I will subtract the cut I get from my people.' So he did send for his goods and received them, while I had from him what I would take from others."

Abū Sufyān went on: "Soon thereafter I left for Yemen. Then I went to Ṭā'if, where I stayed with Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt. He said he wanted to ask me something, and I enquired what. He said: 'Do you remember what the Christian said?'

"I replied: 'I do remember and it has come about.'

"'Who is he then?' he asked.

"'He is Muḥammad b.'Abd Allāh,' I replied.

"'The son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib?'

"'Yes, the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.' Then I related to him what Hind had said.

"'Well, God alone knows!' he exclaimed, and began sweating profusely.

"Then he said: 'By God, Abū Sufyān, perhaps it is him! The description certainly fits him. And if he has appeared while I'm alive, I'll seek from God success from him in absolution.'

"I then went off to Yemen and soon heard there of his appearance as a prophet. So I went forth until I reached Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt in al-Ṭā'īf and asked: 'Oh Abū ʿUthmān, you must have heard about about what's going on with the man.'

"'It has come to pass, by my life.'

"'So how do you stand with him, Abū ʿUthmān?'

"He replied, 'I wasn't one to believe in any prophet coming from any tribe other than Thaqīf.' "

Abū Sufyān continued: "I went on again to Mecca which didn't take long since it was not far, and I found that his companions were being beaten and reviled.

"So I began asking myself: 'Where are his hosts of angels?' And I was assailed by the jealousies that enter people."

This (previous) anecdote was also reported by the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī in the book *al-Dalā'il* (*The Signs*) from a *ḥadīth* via Ismāʿīl b. Ṭurayḥ. But the sequence given by al-Ṭabrānī we have quoted is fuller and lengthier. But God knows best.

Al-Ṭabrānī stated that Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Nufayl related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Shabīb, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhrī, quoting Mujāshiʿ b. ʿAmr al-Asadī, quoting Layth b. Saʿd, from Abū al-Aswad Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from Muʿāwiya b. Abū Sufyān, from Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, who said that: "Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt had been (with me) at Ghāzza or Īliyā' and while we were returning home Umayya asked me: 'Abū Sufyān, would you like to go on in advance of our companions so that we can talk?'

"'Yes,' I agreed.

"So we did."

"Then he asked: 'What about ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa?'

"'Honoured by high and low.'

"'And does he avoid sin and evil deeds?'

"'Yes.'

"'Is he aged and of noble birth?'

"'Both aged and of noble birth.'

"'Nobility and age have brought him contempt!'

"'You lie; his increase in age brought him only increase in honour.'

"'Abū Sufyān, that's a word I've never heard anyone say to me since I reached awareness; don't rush to judgement before I tell you.'

"'Well then do so,' I responded.

"'In my books I would find reference to a prophet who would be sent from this area of ours and I thought – indeed I had no doubt – that I would be him. But when I enquired of scholars, he was to be of Banū ʿAbd Manāf. So I looked

into Banū ʿAbd Manāf and the only person I found worthy of such a mission was ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa. And when you told me of his age, I knew that it was not him, since he had passed the age of 40 and had not received revelation.'"

Abū Sufyān went on: "So destiny struck its blow and revelation came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And I left in a party of Quraysh on a business trip to Yemen, so I passed by Umayya and commented mockingly: 'Well Umayya, the prophet you were describing has emerged.'

"'Indeed he is true, you should follow him,' he replied.

"'But what prevents you from following him?' I enquired.

"'Nothing but the embarrassment before the women of Thaqīf. I have been telling them that I was him, then they would see me a follower of a young man of Banū ʿAbd Manāf!'

"Then Umayya continued: 'It's to me as though, Abū Sufyān, you've defied him then have been bound fast like a billy goat and taken to him for whatever judgement he might want.'"

ʿAbd al-Razzāq said that Maʿmar related to him, from al-Kalbī, as follows: "Umayya was once lying down with two of his daughters present when one of them got scared and screamed to him. 'What's wrong?' he asked her. She replied: 'I saw two eagles rip off the roof of the house. Then one of them swooped down on you and split open your belly while the other perched on top of the house. The latter asked: "Is he aware?" "Yes," was the response. "Is he pure?" the eagle asked again. "No," came the answer.'

"He then said: 'This was good expected of your father; but he did it not.'"

This was also told from another source in another way. Isḥāq b. Bishr said, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib and ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib that al-Fāriʿa, sister of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt, went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after the conquest of Mecca. She was a person of reason, intellect, and beauty, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was much impressed by her. One day he asked her: "Fāriʿa, do you know any of your brother's poetry?" "Yes indeed; and even more remarkable than that is what I've seen."

She went on: "My brother was on a journey and after he left he appeared to me, and came and lay on my bed while I was stripping hair off a piece of hide I held. Suddenly two white birds – or what seemed like two white birds – appeared. One alighted at the high window while the other came in and descended on to him. The latter then made a split between his chest and his pubic region, put its hand inside him, drew forth his heart, placed it on its palm then sniffed it. The other bird then asked: 'Is he aware?' 'Yes, he's aware,' the second replied. 'Is he pure?' it asked again. 'He declined,' answered the second. Then it replaced his heart where it belonged and the wound was healed in the twinkling of an eye. Then the two birds were both gone.

"When I had seen that I went over to him and stirred him, saying: 'Do you feel anything?' He answered, 'No, except for some weakness in my body.'

"I had been alarmed at what I had seen and he asked, 'Why do I see you upset?'

"So I told him what had happened, and he responded: 'Goodness was wanted of me but was averted from me.' He then spoke the verses:

'My cares' distresses flowed on, blinding my eyes, my tears preceding,
From the certainty that had come to me, and I had been brought no disavowal conveyed by anyone who spoke (to me),
Will I be one of those blazed by fire surrounding them like a tent (by its smoke and flames)
Or will I dwell in the paradise promised the guiltless, its cushions piled high?
The two positions are not equal there, nor are actions equal in kind,
They are two groups, one who enter paradise, its gardens enfolding them,
And another group sent to hell, its installations paining them;
These hearts were long accustomed, whenever tending to good, to have barriers set up against them,
And these were diverted to misfortune away from the pursuit of paradise by a world which God will erase.
A slave who called for his soul and censured it, knowing that God, the acutely aware, is clearly watching,
What gives the spirit a desire for life? Even though it lives a while, death overtakes it.
One fleeing his fate will one day soon unexpectedly agree to it,
If you don't die exultant you will die decrepit; death has a cup and man must taste it.' "

She went on: "Then he continued on his journey, but only a little thereafter he was borne along in his bier. When news of it came to me I went to him and found him laid out in his burial winding-sheet. When I drew near him he emitted a deep sigh and stared; he looked up to the ceiling and raised his voice, saying:

"'*Labbaykumā*! *Labbaykumā*! At your service, at your service both of you; here I am before you both, not with money to ransom me nor with a clan to protect me.'

"He then lost consciousness, having emitted a deep sigh. So I said, 'The man has expired!'

"But he stared up to the ceiling and raised his voice, saying: 'At your service, at your service both; here am I before you both. Not innocent to seek forgiveness, nor with kinsfolk to achieve victory.'

"Then he lost consciousness, but suddenly emitted a deep sigh, stared up to the ceiling and said: 'At your service, at your service both, here am I before you both, blessed by good fortune but destroyed by wrongdoing.'

"Then he lost consciousness, but suddenly emitted a deep sigh and said, 'At your service, at your service you both, here I am before you both.

"'If, O Lord, you forgive, forgive *en masse*; what slave of yours has no pain.'

"Then he lost consciousness but soon emitted a deep sigh, and said: 'Each life, though it may last very long, is moving on but once till when it ceases.

"'Would that I were, before what appeared to me, shepherding goats in the mountain heights.'"

She went on: "And then he died. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me: 'O Fāri'a, your brother is like him to whom God brought his signs but he passed them by . . .' (to the end of the verse)" (*sūrat al-A'rāf*, VII, v.175).

Al-Khaṭābī spoke of the strangeness of this *ḥadīth*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir related of al-Zuhrī that he said, "Umayya b. Abū al Ṣalt spoke the verse:

> 'Is there not a messenger to us from us who can inform us what is the distance of our ultimate goal from the beginning of our course.'"

Al-Zuhrī went on: "Then Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt left for Bahrain and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) claimed prophecy. Umayya resided eight years in Bahrain then went to Ṭā'if, where he asked people, 'What is Muḥammad son of 'Abd Allāh saying?'

"They replied: 'He claims that he is a prophet; he is the one you were wishing for.'"

He continued: "So Umayya left for Mecca where he met him and asked: 'O son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, what is this you are saying?' He replied: 'I say that I am the Messenger of God, and that there is no God but Him.' Umayya said, 'I would like to speak with you; give me an appointment tomorrow.' 'Certainly, you have an appointment tomorrow,' came the reply. Umayya then asked: 'Would you like me to come alone or with a group of my friends?' 'Whichever you prefer,' responded the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 'Then I will come with a group, and so you too come with a group,' concluded Umayya.

"So early morning Umayya appeared with a group from Quraysh while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came with a number of his Companions. They all sat down in the shade of the *ka'ba*. Umayya began by making an address, then spoke some rhyming prose, and recited some poetry. When he had finished the poetry, he said: 'Answer me then, son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.' At that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the words, 'In the name of God the beneficent, the merciful, Yā Sīn. By the Qur'ān full of wisdom.' (*sūrat Yā Sīn*, XXXVI, v.1–2). When he had finished the chapter, Umayya arose suddenly and walked off, dragging his feet. The Quraysh men followed him, asking, 'Well, what do you have to say, Umayya?' 'I bear witness', replied Umayya, 'that he is right.' 'Will you follow him?' they asked. 'Until I look into his case,' he replied."

He continued: "Umayya went off to Syria and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for Medina. Then, following the deaths of the people at the battle of Badr, Umayya returned from Syria and stayed at Badr. He travelled on to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Someone asked Umayya: 'O Abū al-Ṣalt, what do you want?' 'I want Muḥammad,' he replied. 'What will you do?' he was asked. He replied, 'I believe in him and I will throw him the keys of this affair.' Someone asked him: 'Do you know who is in the burial pit?' 'No,' he answered. He was told: 'In it are ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa and Shayba b. Rabīʿa, your maternal uncle's sons, along with his mother Rabīʿa, daughter of ʿAbd Shams.'"

He went on: "So Umayya mutilated the ears of his riding camel and cut off its tail,[40] then stood over the pit and spoke the verses:

'What is in Badr – Mt. ʿAqanqal but chiefs and noble lords ...'

(up to the end of the ode, which we will give in full in relating the history of the battle of Badr, if God wills it.)

"He then returned to Mecca and Ṭāʾif and left Islam."

The source then related the story of the two birds and that of his death as we have given. At his death he spoke the verses:

"Each life, though it may last very long, is moving on but once till when it ceases.

Would that I were before what appeared to me, shepherding goats in the mountain heights,

So keep death before your vision and beware the destruction of fate, for fate has its evil demons

Their claws attaining lions, wild bulls, and the young child with red eyes[41] at a lighthouse,

And the mountain vultures, the fleeing gazelles, and the young ostrich, mixed in flock, thin."

He means in these verses that wild animals in the deserts do not escape death, nor do vultures living on mountain tops; death does not leave alone the young for their youth, nor the old for their age. Al-Khaṭābī and others have spoken of the rarity of these accounts.

Al-Suhaylī mentioned in his book *al-Taʿrīf wa al-Iʿlām* (*Identifying and Informing*) that Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt was the first who said, "bismika Allahumma", i.e. "in your name, O God". And concerning that he told a strange tale, as follows. He says that they were among a group of Quraysh who went away on a journey. They included Ḥarb b. Umayya, the father of Abū Sufyān. On their way they came across a snake and killed it. But that evening a spirit woman came to them and berated them for killing that snake. With her she had a

40. Presumably actions denoting his mourning for his relatives.

41. Presumably from weeping.

staff which she struck on the ground so hard that it completely stampeded their camels and they scattered in all directions. So off they went and chased them till they had them back. When they were all gathered, she again appeared, struck her staff on the ground and stampeded the camels. So off they went to search for them but having failed they asked Umayya, "By God, do you have any way out of our problem?" He replied, "No, by God, but I'll look into it." So they travelled on into that region hoping to find someone whom they could ask for some solution to their trouble. Eventually they saw a light ahead in the distance. When they arrived there they found an old man lighting a fire at the door of his tent. But he was in fact an evil spirit who was extremely tiny and ugly. They greeted him and he asked them what they wanted. (When they told him) he said: "When she comes to you, say: 'In your name, O God' and she will flee." So when the travellers had assembled their camels and she came for the third or fourth time, Umayya looked her in the face and said: "In your name, O God." She promptly fled in disarray. But the evil spirits attacked Ḥarb b. Umayya and killed him with that snake. His companions buried him there far from home or friend. On that subject the spirits spoke the verse:

"The grave of Ḥarb is in a wasteland and there is no grave near that of Ḥarb."

Some people say that Umayya sometimes understood the languages of the animals. When passing some bird in his travel he would tell his companions, "This one says so-and-so." But they would say they did not know whether he spoke the truth. But once they passed by a flock of sheep from which an ewe and her kid had been separated. She turned to it and bleated, as though urging it to hurry. Umayya asked his companions whether they knew what it said and they replied that they did not. He explained: "She's saying, 'Let's hurry along so the wolf won't come and eat you up like one did your brother last year.'" The group moved quickly on and asked the shepherd whether a wolf had eaten a sheep in that area the previous year. He replied in the affirmative! One day, moreover, Umayya passed by a mule carrying a woman and raising its head to her and grumbling. Umayya said: "The mule is telling the woman that there's a needle in the saddle which she mounted on him." So they took the woman off, untied the saddle, and discovered there was a needle as he had said.

Ibn al-Sikkīt recounted that Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt was drinking when a crow cawed. Umayya said, "May you have dust twice in your mouth!" His companions asked Umayya what it was saying and he replied that it had said: "You'll drink that cup in your hand then die." At that point the crow cawed again and Umayya reported: "It says: 'The proof is that I'm going to fly down to this garbage pile, eat some and a bone is going to stick in my throat so I will die.'" At that the crow swooped down to the garbage pile, ate something, a bone lodged in its throat and it died!

Umayya said, "Well, he spoke the truth in this about himself but I'm going to see whether he was right about me or not." He then drank that cup in his hand, keeled over, and died!

The following anecdote is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection in a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Mahdī from al-Thawrī from ʿAbd al-Mālik b. ʿUmayr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said: "The truest word spoken by a poet is the verse of Labīd:[42]

'Is not all vain except God.'

"And Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt almost became a Muslim."

The Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Zakariyā' b. Isḥāq, from Ibrāhīm b. Maysara, that he heard ʿAmr b. al-Sharīd say that al-Sharīd stated, "I was riding on the same camel as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he asked me, 'Do you know any of the verses of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt?' 'Why yes,' I replied. 'So recite them,' he asked. I then did recite a line and he went on asking for more, with me reciting till I had spoken a hundred lines for him. At that point the Prophet (ṢAAS) remained silent as did I."

This anecdote is similarly told by Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna from Abū Tamīm b. Maysara. In another line we have it from ʿAmr b. al-Sharīd from his father al-Sharīd b. Suwayd al-Thaqafī from the Prophet (ṢAAS). In some accounts the Messenger of God's words were, "If he had almost become a Muslim."

Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd stated that Ibrāhīm b. Saʿīd al-Jawharī related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Ḥātim b. Abū Ṣufra, from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from ʿAmr b. Nāfiʿ, from al-Sharīd al-Hamdānī (whose uncles were of Thaqīf) that he said, "We went off with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the 'farewell pilgrimage'. While I was walking along one day I sensed the tread of a camel behind me and it was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He said: 'Al-Sharīd?' I replied, 'Yes.' Then he asked, 'Can't I give you a ride?' 'Why certainly,' I accepted. I was not tired but wanted the *baraka*, the blessing, of riding with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). So he made his camel kneel and carried me, asking: 'Do you know any verses of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt?' I replied in the affirmative and he asked me to recite them, which I did. 'I think he spoke a hundred verses,' he commented. Then he added, 'God has knowledge about Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt.'"

Ibn Saʿīd then stated, "This is a strange *ḥadīth*; and in what is related is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said of Umayya: 'His poetry believed but his heart disbelieved.' God alone knows."

Imām Aḥmad stated: "ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad – who was Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba – related to us, quoting ʿAbda b. Sulaymān, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq,

42. A poet mentioned earlier as one of the authors of the famous *muʿallaqāt* odes.

from Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) declared Umayya to be truthful in a piece of his poetry which says:

'As a man with a bull beneath his right foot, and an eagle for the other, and a lion in waiting;
And the sun appears at the end of each night, its colour red in the morning and turning rosy;
It is reluctant to arise for us, in its gentleness, unless tortured or else flogged.'"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said (of this verse): "He spoke the truth."

In an account of Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, he (the Prophet) said, "The sun never rises until it is urged up by 70,000 angels saying: 'Come on up! Come on up!' And it replies: 'I will not rise above any people who worship me to the exclusion of God.' When just about to rise a devil comes to the sun intending to divert it, but it rises between the devil's horns and burns him. And when the sun gathers itself for its setting it directs itself to God, the Almighty and Glorious. So a devil comes to it wishing to divert it from its obeisance but it sets between his horns and burns him."

Ibn ʿAsākir gives this anecdote at greater length.

In his poem on the throne-bearers, Umayya recited:

"And there's many a bearer of one of the supports of his throne, who, were it not for the God of creation, would be fatigued and slow-moving,
Standing on their feet, weary beneath it, their jugular veins trembling from the severity of their fear."

These verses were transmitted by Ibn ʿAsākir.

It is reported from al-Aṣmaʿī that he would recite the following verses of Umayya:

"Glorify God, for He is worthy of glory; our Lord in heaven has been mighty.
There in his great edifice that existed prior to man, above the heavens, where he laid down his throne.
Longer it is than sight can see, before it you see *al-malāʾik* (the angels) bow down."

According to al-Aṣmaʿī, the word *al-malāʾik* (in the last line quoted), is the plural of *malak*, angel, while the word *al-ṣūr* (translated as "those bowing down") is the plural of *aṣwar*, meaning "bending the neck". These are they who bear the throne.

The following verses praising ʿAbd Allāh b. Judʿān of Taym are also from the poetry of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt:

"Should I make mention of my need or is your sensitivity enough for me; your nature is goodness
And your knowledge of rights; you are of lofty status; refinement, high esteem, and majesty are yours.

You are a generous man whose fine character no morning or evening time can change.

You compete with the wind by your nobility and generosity when cold winter nights prevent the dog from staying outside (the tent).[43]

Your land is one of all nobility built by Banū Taym, and you are its sky.

Any man who one day praises you has in offering praise in itself reward enough."

Umayya offered him other verses of praise in his poetry.

This man ʿAbd Allāh b. Judʿān was a much praised, very noble, and famous man. He had a platter from which a rider could eat while on his mount, since it was so large and piled with food. He would fill it with the finest wheat mixed with butter and honey. He used to pay to free slaves and help the unfortunate. ʿA'isha asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) whether all that would ultimately benefit him. But he replied: "He never once said the words: 'O Lord, forgive me my sins on Judgement Day!'"

Other fine lines of his poetry include:

"They do not plough the earth with wooden branches, when requests are made of them, as if seeking an excuse.[44]

Rather, when asked they uncover their faces and you see them cheerful with the finest of colouring.

And if the needy stay amidst their dwelling, they make him again a master of neighing horses and slaves,

And whatever dangerous enterprise to which you invite them, they block out the sun's rays with their knights."

This ends the biographical notice relating to Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt.

BAḤĪRĀ THE MONK.

It was he who perceived prophethood in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he was with his uncle Abū Ṭālib and went to Syria in a company of merchants of Mecca. He was at that time 12 years of age. (Baḥīrā) saw a cloud shading him apart from the rest, so he made food for them and invited them to be his guests, as we will relate in the biography.

Al-Tirmidhī related an account which we discussed in detail therein. The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir recounted various testimonies and evidences relating to the biography of Baḥīrā, but did not recount what al-Tirmidhī told; and that is strange.

Ibn ʿAsākir reported that Baḥīrā lived in a village called al-Kafr situated some six miles from Baṣra. That is the place known as "Baḥīrā's monastery". And it is

43. Barking dogs and fires lit outside the tent in the desert were signals for passers-by that a tribe was encamped, and that guests were welcome to stop and rest, and enjoy hospitality there.

44. That is, by pretending to be too busy.

also said that he lived in a village called Manfaʿa in the plain of Balqāʾ, beyond Zayrā. But God knows best.

An Account of Quss b. Sāʿida al-Iyādī.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Sahl al-Kharāʾiṭī said in his book *Hawātif al-Jān* (*The Calls of the Spirits*) that Dāwūd al-Qanṭarī related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Mashriqī, from Abū al-Ḥārith al-Warrāq, from Thawr b. Yazīd, from Mūriq al-ʿIjlī, from ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit that the latter said that when the delegation from the tribe of Iyād came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) he asked: "O members of the Iyād delegation, what happened to Quss b. Sāʿida al-Iyādī?" They replied, "He died, O Messenger of God." He commented, "Well, I once witnessed him at the ʿUkāẓ festival mounted on a red camel speaking words of strange and wonderful eloquence that I find I don't recall." A bedouin from the far back of the group came up to him and said: "I remember it, O Messenger of God," and the Prophet (ṢAAS) was pleased at this. "Yes", the man went on, "he was at the ʿUkāẓ festival on a red camel and saying, 'O people gather around, for all those who have passed away are gone. And things to come will come. Gloomy nights. Castle-filled skies. Seas that rage. Splendorous stars. Towering mountains. Flowing streams. In the heavens there is notice; on earth there is warning. How is it I see people pass away and do not return? Were they content to stay and did so? Or were they left and fell asleep? Quss swears by an oath beyond reproach, that God has a religion more pleasing than the one you follow.' Then he recited as follows:

> 'In those who first passed away in ages gone there are signs for us,
> Since I saw ways leading to death which had no beginnings,
> And I saw my people passing towards them, young and old alike,
> Not anyone who has passed on will come to you, nor will any of those who stay remain behind;
> I have become sure that I will inevitably pass on to where the people have gone.'"

This chain of authorities as given is strange. Al-Ṭabarānī related it from another line, stating in his book *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr* (*The Great Encyclopedia*) that Muḥammad b. al-Sarrī b. Mahrān b. al-Nāqid al-Baghdādī related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ḥassān al-Sahmī, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj, from Mujālid, from al-Shaʿbī, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that he said: "The delegation from ʿAbd al-Qays came to see the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he asked them, 'Which of you knows al-Quss b. Sāʿida al-Iyādī?' They replied, 'We all knew him, O Messenger of God.' 'Well, what's he done?' he asked. 'He died,' they told him. He went on: 'I'll never forget him at the ʿUkāẓ festival in the sacred month. He was on a red camel addressing the people in the words, "O people, gather, listen

and take note. Those who live die. Those who die pass away. And what is to come will come. In heaven there is notice and on earth there is warning. A resting-place is put down and a roof is raised up. Stars move to and fro and seas do not empty. And Quss swore a true oath that if there be contentment in the matter, then discontent will follow! God has a religion more beloved by Him than that in which you engage. How is it I see people pass away and do not return? Were they content to stay and did so? Or were they left and fell asleep?" Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Can anyone among you recite his poetry?' One of them responded:

> 'In those who first passed away in ages gone there are signs for us.
> Since I never saw ways leading to death which had no beginnings,
> And I saw my people moving towards them, young and old alike,
> The past will never return for me, nor will any of those who stay remain behind.
> I have become sure I will inevitably pass on to where the people have gone.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī thus transmitted it in his book, *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) in a line from Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Sahmī. And thus did we relate it in the fragment collected by al-Ustādh Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. Darstawayh relating to Quss. He stated: "ʿAbd al-Karīm b. al-Haytham, the man from Dayr ʿĀqūl, related it to us from Saʿīd b. Shabīb, from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj Abū Ibrāhīm al-Wāsiṭī, a resident of Baghdad, known as *ṣāḥib al-harīsa* ('master of the beef and bulgar dish'). And he was called a liar by Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and al-Dārquṭnī. Also, more than one, including Ibn ʿAdī, accused him of fabricating the *ḥadīth*."

Al-Bazzār and Abū Nuʿaym related it from the account of this Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj. And Ibn Darstawayh and Abū Nuʿaym recounted it by way of al-Kalbī, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās. And this chain is preferable to that preceding it. In this account it is Abū Bakr who tells the story in its entirety, both its poetry and prose, before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

And the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym related it from a *ḥadīth* of Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Isḥāq al-Khatmī. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī related to us, quoting Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, quoting Wahb b. Jarīr, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab from Ibn ʿAbbās as follows: "A delegation from Bakr b. Wāʾil came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he asked them, 'What did your ally do whose name was Quss b. Sāʿida al-Iyādī?'" Then he recounted the anecdote at length.

Sheikh Aḥmad b. Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥajjār, the authority on lines of transmission and travel, recounted to us, on the basis of *ijāza*[45] if not *samāʿa*[46] that Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī al-Hamdānī told him the following tradition by *ijāza*, quoting the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū

45. Having heard it from a secondary source.
46. Having heard it himself from a named authority.

Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Salafī, who told this account as having himself heard it directly. He stated that he read it from his Sheikh, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dhahabī. Also Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abū Bakr al-Khallāl recounted it as one the latter had himself heard directly. He also said that he heard it directly from Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī, and also directly from al-Salafī. Also, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rāzī informed us, quoting Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿIsā al-Saʿdī, quoting Abū al-Qāsim ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Muqrī', and it was also related to him by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. Darstawayh, the grammarian, by Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Saʿdī, the *qāḍī,* judge, of Fāris (Persia) by Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. Sayf b. Yaḥyā b. Dirham al-Ṭā'ī who was a man from Ḥarrān, by Abū ʿAmr Saʿīd b. Yarbuʿ, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. Abū Tālib was also told by some of our scholars on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, that the last mentioned said: "Al-Jārūd b. al-Muʿallā b. Ḥanash b. Muʿallā al-ʿAbdī was a Christian of great learning in the interpretation and analysis of the holy texts, an expert on the history and sayings of the Persians, well versed in philosophy and medicine, a man of evident good manners and culture, fine in appearance and of great wealth. He went to see the Prophet (ṢAAS) as a member of a delegation of men of sound judgement, maturity, eloquence, and scholarship from the tribe of ʿAbd Qays. When he approached the Prophet (ṢAAS) he stood before him, gestured towards him and spoke the verses:

'O Prophet of the right guidance, men have come to you through deserts and mirages,
Crossing down the flat open lands towards you, not counting fatigue for you as fatigue at all.
All the short-legged beasts greatly urged along in speed by our young she-camels,
The fine horses racing over the land, bolting with their mailclad warriors like stars, glinting,
Seeking to avert the suffering of an awful day, one of terror, pain, and great distress,
A day when all mankind will be brought together, a day separating out all who strayed in disobedience,
Moving towards a light from God, a proof, a favour and a grace to be attained,
God distinguished you with all good, O son of Āmina, through her; when (for others) good only comes and goes.
So, give your blessings in abundance, O proof of God, unlike the blessings of a false (prophet).'

"When he finished, the Prophet (ṢAAS) invited him to sit down close to himself and said, 'O Jārūd, both you and your people are late in coming.'

"Al-Jārūd responded, 'By my father and my mother, anyone late coming to you is indeed unfortunate, that being the greatest of faults, the worst of sins. But

I'm not one of those who saw you or heard of you, aggressed against you, and followed someone other than you. I now follow a religion of which you have knowledge. But I have come to you and here I am, abandoning it for your religion. Will that not have faults, sins, and misdeeds forgiven and please the Lord?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I will guarantee you that! So sincerely express your belief in the unity (i.e. monotheism) and give up the religion of Christianity.'

"Al-Jārūd replied: 'By my father and my mother, extend your hand, for I bear witness that there is no God but God alone and that He has no associate; and I testify that you are Muḥammad, His slave and His Messenger.'

"And so he accepted Islam, as did some of his people.

"And the Prophet (ṢAAS) was pleased at their accepting Islam and treated them with such honour and generosity as to make them very happy and delighted.

"Then the Messenger of God went over to them and asked, 'Does any one of you know Quss b. Sāʿida al-Iyādī?'

"Al-Jārūd replied: 'By my father and mother, we all know him. And I am one who knows a lot about him. Quss, O Messenger of God, was a fine Arab knight. He lived 600 years, of which he spent five lifetimes living in the wastelands and deserts, crying out the glory of God like Jesus did. He settled nowhere, had no home to shelter him and no neighbour to appreciate him. He dressed in hair-cloth and outdid the fasting ascetics. He never tired of his monastic ways, on his journeys living off ostrich eggs and befriending lions, enjoying the darkness, observing and considering, thinking and experiencing.

"'He therefore became one whose wisdom was legion, awe-inspiring things being discovered through him, and he attained the leadership of the disciples of Christ in reputation.

"'He was the first Arab to acknowledge God and to accept His unity. He devoted himself firmly to God, becoming fully convinced of life after death and of judgement. He warned of the evil of refusal and enjoined action before it was too late. He reminded of death and spoke of his acceptance of fate without either anger or pleasure. He visited graves and preached of resurrection day. He spoke verses in elegy. He gave thought to the fates and informed about the heavens and about nature. He talked of the stars and discussed the water. He described the seas and informed of ancient relics. He orated while riding and exhorted with perseverance. He admonished against grief and against an excess of anger. He wrote many sermons and made mention of all things terrible. He spoke compellingly in his orations, gave explanation in his writings, expressed fear of time, cautioned against weakness, exalted God's power, avoided any blasphemy, expressed yearning for the pure faith, and called for immersion in religious life and thought.

"'He is the person who said on the day of the *ʿUkāẓ* festival:

"East and west, orphans and groups, peace and war, dry and moist, brackish water or sweet, suns and moons, winds and rains, nights and days, females and males, lands and seas, seeds and plants, fathers and mothers, united and scattered, signs followed by signs, light and dark, abundance and nothingness, a Lord and idols, mankind has gone astray, the raising of a child, the burial of a dead one, the cultivation of a harvest, rich and poor, benefactor and evil-doer, woe to the indolent, let the worker improve his labour, and let the hopeful lose his hope. Nay; on the contrary He is one God, neither given birth nor a father. He both repeats and does for the first time. He makes to die and brings to life. He created male and female, Lord of the first life and of the after life.

"Moreover, O tribe of Iyād, where now are Thamūd and ʿĀd? Where are the fathers and their forefathers? Where now are those (who were) ill and those who visited them? To each is his appointed time. Quss swears by the Lord of mankind, and the one who flattens the smooth ground, you will be gathered individually, on assembly day, when horns will be blown and drums be beaten, when the earth will shine, and the preacher exhort and the despairing withdraw and the observer gazes out; woe to him who turns away from the truth most evident, and the shining light, and the great Judgement Day, on the day of separating, and the scales of justice, when He who decrees decides, and the apostle gives testimony, and the allies are far off, and the faults are apparent, and so one group goes to paradise, and one group to hell-fire."

"'It is he who spoke the verses:

"The heart passionately recalled and reflected: nights within which there are days.
And bucketsful pouring from storm clouds that burst forth with water, there being fire in their insides,
Their light blinded the eye and violent thunder was cast in east and west;
There are lofty castles possessed of wealth while others are empty and uninhabited.
There are unshakable mountains towering, and seas whose waters abound,
There are stars which flash in the dark of night which we see every day are revolved,
And then there is a sun urged on by moon of night, each pursuing the other and in motion.
There are the young, the hoary, and the old, all of them one day to meet above.
And there is plenty beyond the surmise of those whose mind is not perplexed.
All these I mentioned are signs of God for the souls of good guidance and wisdom."'"

Al-Ḥasan went on: "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said: 'Whatever else I may forget, I will never forget him (Quss) at the ʿUkāẓ festival, standing up on a red camel and addressing the people: 'Gather around and listen, and having heard, be aware, benefit! And speak, and if you speak, tell the truth! He who lives dies, he who dies is gone, and all that is coming will come, rain and plants, the living and the dead, dark nights and skies with zodiac signs, and stars that

shine, and seas that rage, and light and shade, and nights and days, and innocence and sins. There is knowledge in the heavens and lessons on earth such as to amaze even the perspicacious. There is a ground laid out, a roof raised up, stars that set, seas that do not empty, destinies drawing near, a treacherous fate, as sharp as a surgeon's knife and as accurate as a precise scale. Quss swears an oath, neither insincere nor sinning thereby, that if there be any pleasure in this mattter, then there will surely be discontent.' Then he said, 'O people, God has a religion which is more pleasing to him than this religion of yours you engage in. And this is its time, its epoch.' Then he said, 'How is it I see people go but not return? Were they content to stay and did so? Or were they left and fell asleep?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then turned to some of his Companions and said, 'Which one of you can recite his verses to us?' Abū Bakr, the truthful, replied, 'By my father and my mother, I witnessed him on that day when he spoke the verses:

> "In those who went first in ages past are clear proofs for us.
> Since I saw ways leading to death which had no beginnings.
> And I saw my people moving towards them, young and old alike.
> The past will never come back to me, nor will any of those who stay remain behind;
> I have become sure that I will inevitably pass on to where the people have gone."'

"Then a tall, broad-shouldered, venerable old sheikh of ʿAbd Qays approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'By my father and my mother, I saw something remarkable from Quss.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'What was it you saw, O brother from ʿAbd Qays?'

"He explained: 'In my youth some camels I owned wandered off, so I hurried and followed their trail into rocky desert land where there were thorny twigs, wastelands of dead tree roots and palm trunks, waterlily ponds, and ostrich tracks and nests. While I passed along the trails in these high and low wastes, I came to a hilly area whose upper slopes were thick with thorn trees, their branches hanging low, their first fruits like seeds of pepper and heads of chamomile. Suddenly there was a bubbling spring, a green meadow, and a lofty tree. And there too was Quss b. Sāʿida at the base of that tree, standing with a stick in his hand. I approached him and said, "Good morning to you!" "Good morning to you likewise" he replied. There were many lions going down to drink at the water-hole. Whenever one tried to drink from the hole before another he would strike it with his stick and say: "Be patient! Wait till the one before you drinks!" I was absolutely amazed at that. He looked across at me and said, "Don't be afraid." Then I saw two graves with a mosque between them. I asked him, "What are these graves?" He replied, "They're the graves of two brothers who

used to pray to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, at this spot. I remain here between their two graves, praying to God until I join them." I asked him, "But wouldn't it be better for you to join your people and enjoy their well-being and explain to them what it is they do that is evil?"

"'"May your death make your mother grieve! Don't you know how Ishmael's sons abandoned the faith of their father and followed rival gods and venerated idols?"

"'Then he approached the graves and spoke the following verses:

"O my two friends, arise; long have you lain. I urge you not to prolong your slumber;
I see sleep between your skin and your bones, as though he who gives a drug to drink has given it to you.
Is it from your long sleep that you do not respond to him who calls you, as though he who gives a drug to drink has given it to you?
Do you not know that I am in Najrān alone, with no friend there but for you two?
Living at your graves, not leaving night after night until your response is heard.
I weep for you throughout my life, and what had the heartbroken gained that we wept for you both?
If a soul were to be a ransom for the soul of another, I would strive to have my soul become ransom for you both
As if death were the closest goal for my soul when death had come to you in your two graves."'"

Al-Ḥasan went on: "So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'God have mercy on Quss! He will be resurrected as a whole nation by himself on Judgement Day.'"

This tradition is very strange in this regard; and it is *mursal*.[47] However, al-Ḥasan did hear it from al-Jārūd. God knows best!

Al-Bayhaqī related it, quoting the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir, from another route, from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Qurashī al-Akhbārī, as follows: "My father related to us, quoting ʿAlī b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, from ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, may God be pleased with them both, as follows: 'Al-Jārūd b. ʿAbd Allāh came forward and recalled almost the same anecdote, at length, with much additional prose and poetry. In that account there is the story of the man whose camels went astray and he went to find them. The man recited, "So I stayed the night in a valley where I was scared for my life, having only my sword to rely on, watching the stars, peering into the blackness, until the night had gone its term and morning was almost breathing; I then heard someone speak aloud the verses:

'O you lying down in the pitch black of night, God has sent a prophet in the sacred sanctuary,

47. That is, its authority chain extends back to a successor rather than a Companion of the Prophet.

From Hāshim, a people of trust and honour, illuminating all most gloomy, dark and impenetrable.'"

"'The man continued, "I turned but saw no one and heard nothing else. So I then spoke the following:

'O you who speaks in darkest night, welcome indeed to you, a phantom who visited us!

Explain, may God give you guidance, in tone of words, what it is you urge that can be gained?'

"'"I then heard a clearing of the throat and a voice saying, 'The light has appeared; and falsehood has been defeated. For God has sent Muḥammad with righteousness, the master of the red mount, and the crown and the helmet, he of the shining visage, and the full eyebrows, and the eyes of marked contrast between the white of the cornea and the black of the iris, the man responsible for the words of the "shahāda", or testimony of the faith: "*lā ilāha illā Allāh*","there is no God but God". That person is Muḥammad, the one sent to the black and the white, to the people of the village and the people of the deserts.'" Then he recited the words:

"Praise be to God who did not create nature in vain;
He did not once leave us forsaken after Jesus, nor was He uncaring.
He sent among us Aḥmad, the best Prophet ever dispatched.
May God bless him whenever parties of men hurried (to seek audience with) him."'"

The same source attributes the following verses to Quss b. Sāʿida:

"O announcer of death and of the grave, in the tomb there are men in rags which are remnants of their clothing.

Leave them, for one day they will be called; and they, if they do waken from their sleep, will stay awake.

Until they revert to some state other than theirs, to a new creation similar to what they were before.

Some will be naked, some in their clothes, some of which will be new, some quickly frayed and tattered."

Also, al-Bayhaqī related it from Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Asbahānī who said that Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Fardakh al-Akhmīmī of Mecca related it to him, quoting al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mahdī, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī, quoting Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Abū Ḥamza al-Thamālī, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās. The latter related the anecdote and the recitation and said that they found at his head a sheet on which were the verses:

"O announcer of death and of the dead, in the tomb there are men in rags which are remnants of their clothing,

Leave then, for one day they will be called, just as those who have fainted away at thunder will be aroused from their sleep.

Some will be naked and others will be dead in their clothes, some of which are bluish and shabby."

So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "By Him who sent me with the truth, Quss did believe in Judgement Day!"

The origins of this tradition are well known; these other lines of transmission despite their weakness, are helpful in affirming the origin of the anecdote.

Abū Muḥammad b. Darstawayh commented upon the strangeness of what occured in this *ḥadīth*; most of it is obvious, if God Almighty wishes it so. We have drawn attention in our marginal commentary to what is extremely strange about it.

Al-Bayhaqī said that Abū Sa'd Sa'īd b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Shu'aythī informed him that Abū 'Amr b. Abū Ṭāhir al-Muḥammadabādhī related to him verbally that Abū Lubāba Muḥammad b. al-Mahdī al-Abyurdī related to him, quoting his father, quoting Sa'īd b. Hubayra, quoting al-Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān from his father, all from Anas b. Mālik, who said: "A delegation from Iyād went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he asked: 'What did Quss b. Sā'ida do?' They replied: 'He died.' He commented, 'Well, I heard some words from him I no longer recall.' Some of those present told him they remembered them, so he asked them to tell them. One of them responded, 'He stood up at the 'Ukāẓ festival and said, "O people, listen, hear, and take note. All those who live die. And all those who die pass away. And all that is to come will come. Dark nights. Skies with zodiac signs. Stars that shine. Seas that rage. Mountains tower above. Rivers flow. In heaven there is notice and on earth there is warning. I see people die and not return. Were they content to stay and did so? Or were they left and fell asleep? Quss swears an oath by God, not sinning thereby, that God has a religion which is more pleasing to Him than that you engage in." Then he recited the verses:

"In those who went first in ages past are clear proofs for us.
Since I saw ways leading to death for people which had no beginnings,
And I saw my people moving towards them, young and old alike.
I have become sure that I will inevitably pass on to where the people have gone."'"

Al-Bayhaqī then traces it back by other routes that we have referred to heretofore. After all of this, he then stated: "That *ḥadīth* was narrated from al-Kalbī from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn 'Abbās, with additions and deletions. It is also related via another way and with an incomplete line of transmission from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. It is also related in abbreviated form in a *ḥadīth* from Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and Abū Hurayra." And I comment: also from 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, as given above, and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, as related by Abū Nu'aym in his book

al-Dalāʾil (*The Signs*), from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Wāsiṭī, from Abū al-Walīd Ṭarīf, son of ʿUbayd Allāh the *mawlā* (freedman) of Abū Ṭālib of al-Mawṣil from Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥammānī, from Abū Muʿāwiya, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū al-Ḍuhā, from Masrūq, from Ibn Masʿūd, and he related it. And Abū Nuʿaym also related the *ḥadīth* of the aforementioned ʿUbāda and Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ.

Then al-Bayhaqī stated, "And since the *ḥadīth* is related from other routes, even if some of them are weak, it shows that it did have an origin. But God knows best."

An Account of Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, God be pleased with him.

He was Zayd b.ʿAmr b. Nufayl b.ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Riyāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Qurṛ b. Razāḥ b. ʿAdī b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy al-Qurashī al-ʿAdawī.

Al-Khaṭṭāb, father of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, was both his uncle and brother from his mother. That was because ʿAmr b. Nufayl had had a child by his father's wife after his father. She had had his brother al-Khaṭṭāb by Nufayl. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq told us of this.

Zayd b. ʿAmr gave up the worship of idols and abandoned their religion; he would only eat what had been slaughtered in the name of God alone.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated on the authority of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as follows: "Hishām b. ʿUrwa related to me, from his father, that Asmāʾ, daughter of Abū Bakr, said: 'I saw Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl leaning his back against the *kaʿba* saying, "O tribe of Quraysh, by Him in whose hand is Zayd's soul, not one of you apart from myself follows the religion of Abraham." Moreover, he would say, "O God, if only I knew the way most favoured by you, I would worship you by it, but I do not know." Also he would bow in prayer while on his mount.'"

Abū Usāma too related this, from Hishām, and added, "He would pray towards the *kaʿba* and say, 'My God is the God of Abraham, and my religion is that of Abraham.' He would give life back to girls about to be killed at birth, telling a man wishing to kill his daughter, 'Don't kill her. Give her to me to look after. When she grows up, you can take her back or if you wish give her up.'"

Al-Nasāʾī derived this account through Abū Usāma; and al-Bukhārī commented upon it saying, "And al-Layth said: 'Hishām b. ʿUrwa wrote to me about it from his father.'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated on the authority of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, as follows, "There was a group of Quraysh who consisted of Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Riʾāb b. Yaʿmur b. Ṣabra b. Murra b. Kabīr b. Ghunm b. Dūdān b. Asad b. Khuzayma, whose mother was Umayya

daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and whose sister was Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh whom the Prophet (ṢAAS) married after his *mawlā*, his freedman, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, as we will relate hereafter. These men were present among Quraysh when they were before an idol of theirs to which they would make sacrifice at one of their feast days. As they all gathered, this group of men met apart and agreed that they would make a secret pact of friendship with one another. One of them said, 'By God, you know that your people are doing nothing; they have strayed from the religion of Abraham and gone against it. Why worship some idol incapable of doing harm or good? Seek out for yourselves!'

"So they left, seeking and searching throughout the land to find the *ḥanifiyya*, the religion of Abraham.

"As for Waraqa b. Nawfal, he became a Christian and became learned in Christianity, seeking out its scriptures from its adherents until he acquired a great knowledge from those who follow the Bible.

"None of this group was a man more honourable in deed nor more dedicated than Zayd b.ʿAmr b. Nufayl. He gave up the idols and abandoned all the religions, of the Jews, the Christians, and all the sects except the *ḥanifiyya*, the religion of Abraham. He spoke of the unity of God alone and cast aside the gods beneath Him. He ate none of the meat his people slaughtered, and warned them of the judgement they would suffer from the practices they followed."

He went on: "Al-Khaṭṭāb so persecuted him that eventually Zayd left him by going to the heights of Mecca. So al-Khaṭṭāb assigned a group of young Quraysh thugs to watch him and told them not to let him enter Mecca. He never did so except without their knowledge, and when they found out they harmed him and evicted him violently, hating that he should spoil their religion for them or get others to join him in his own practice."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated that he heard someone he trusted give a report about Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl to the effect that he would criticize Quraysh for the slaughter of their beasts, saying, "Sheep were created by God and He brings down from the skies the water that makes vegetation grow for them from the earth, so why do you slaughter them in the name of gods other than God, denying all that and venerating them?"

Yūnus said, on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq: "Zayd b.ʿAmr b. Nufayl had determined to leave Mecca and travel across the land seeking the *ḥanafiyya*, the religion of Abraham. His wife Ṣafiyya, daughter of al-Ḥadramī, whenever she saw him preparing to make the departure he wished, would warn al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl.

"Zayd did leave for Syria, enquiring and seeking the religion of Abraham among the people of the first holy book. They say he went on doing this until he covered al-Mawṣil and all Mesopotamia, finally reaching Syria and travelling throughout it. Eventually he came upon a monk in a church in the region of

al-Balqā' who had, as they claim, much learning in Christianity. Zayd asked him about the *ḥanifiyya*, the religion of Abraham, and the monk replied, 'You are asking about a religion you'll not find anyone today to instruct you in. Those who had knowledge and familiarity with it have faded away and gone. But the emergence of a prophet draws near, his time having come.' Now Zayd had examined Judaism and Christianity, but had not been content with anything in them, and so he left quickly for Mecca after what the monk had told him. But when he was in Lakhm territory he was attacked and killed. Waraqa spoke the following verses eulogizing him:

'You followed the proper course and did right, O son of ʿAmr; and indeed you have avoided the ovens of hell,

By your worshipping a Lord unlike any other and by your abandoning the idols of tyrants as they are,

Man may indeed be reached by God's mercy, even though he be seventy valleys beneath the earth.' "

Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba said, "Aḥmad b. Ṭāriq al-Wābishī related to us, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿAṭiyya, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar, from Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, that the latter worshipped God before the coming of Islam. He once came to a Jew and told him he wanted him to induct him into his religion. The Jew replied, 'I will not accept you in my religion until you experience your share of God's anger.' Zayd replied, 'It is from the anger of God that I am fleeing.'

"Zayd went on further till he came to a Christian, telling him he would like to engage with him in his religion. The Christian replied, 'I'll not accept you in my religion until you experience your share of false guidance.' Zayd replied, 'It is from false guidance that I flee.' The Christian then told him: 'I will show you the way to a religion in which, if you follow it, you will be rightly guided.' 'What religion is that?' asked Zayd. 'The religion of Abraham,' he replied. So Zayd said, 'O God, I swear to you that I will follow the religion of Abraham; in it I shall live and die.'

"When Zayd's story was referred to the Prophet (ṢAAS) he stated, 'He will be as a nation all by himself on Judgement Day.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba, on the authority of Sālim from Ibn ʿUmar, related approximately the same.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated: "ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sayf al-Qurashī related to us, from Ismāʿīl, from Mujālid from al-Shaʿbī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb as follows: 'Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl said, "I examined Judaism and Christianity and disliked them both. I travelled in Syria and the neighbouring lands and eventually came to a monk in a cell. I told him of my alienation from my own people and of my dislike for the worship of idols,

Judaism, and Christianity. He told me, 'I see you desire the religion of Abraham, O brother from the people of Mecca. You are searching for a religion that today no one adheres to, the religion of your father Abraham. He was a *ḥanif*, neither a Jew nor a Christian. He prayed and prostrated himself in the direction of that house which is in your land. So you must go to your own country. God will send from your people in your land one who will bring the religion of Abraham, the *ḥanifiyya*; he is the most noble of creation in God's sight.'" ? "

Yūnus stated that Ibn Isḥāq said, "A member of the family of Zayd b.ʿAmr b. Nufayl related to me the following, 'Zayd used to say when he entered the *kaʿba*, "Here I am before you, really and truly, in worship, verity and submission. I turn in submission quoting Abraham, facing the *kaʿba*." He would stand as he would say, "O my God, I am submissive to you, fearful, and humble. Whatever painful task you impose, I will perform it. It is faith I desire, not vanity. He who journeys in the heat is not as one who naps in the afternoon."'"

Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī stated, "Al-Masʿūdī related to us, from Nufayl b. Hishām b. Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl al-ʿAdawī, on the authority of his father, from his grandfather, that Zayd b. ʿAmr and Waraqa b. Nawfal went off seeking religion and finally met a monk at al-Mawṣil. The monk asked Zayd, 'Where have you travelled from, O camel master?' 'From Abraham's building,' he replied. 'What are you seeking?' then asked the monk. 'I am seeking the religion,' replied Zayd. The monk responded, 'Go back; it is soon to appear in your land.'

"Zayd went on: 'Now Waraqa did adopt Christianity; but in my case, although I intended to become Christian he (the monk) would not accept me.' So Zayd returned home and spoke the words: 'Here I am before You, in truth, in worship and in submission. It is faith I desire, not vanity. Is he who journeys in the heat as one who naps in the afternoon? I believe in what Abraham believed in.' He also said, 'O my God, I am submissive to You, fearful, and humble. Whatever painful task You impose, I will perform it.' Then he would bow down and prostrate himself in prayer."

The account continues, "His son, by whom I mean Saʿīd b. Zayd, one of the *ʿashra*,[48] the ten, God bless him, said, 'O Messenger of God, my father was as you have seen and heard; seek forgiveness for him.' He replied, 'Yes; he will be raised up on Judgement Day as a nation, by himself.'"

It continues: "And Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Zayd came to the Messenger of God when the latter was in the company of Zayd b. Ḥāritha; the two men were eating from a dining-table set out for them. They invited Zayd b. ʿAmr to eat with them, but he replied, 'I am not one who eats what has been slaughtered on sacrificial stones.'"

48. *Al-ʿashra al-mubashshara* (the promised ten) denotes ten persons variously reported in non-canonical traditions as having been assured places in paradise. They include: Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Talḥa, Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, and Sāʿid b. Zayd, along with the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated, "Muḥammad b. ʿAmr related to us, Abū Bakr b. Abū Sabra related to me, from Mūsā b. Maysara, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, from Ḥajar b. Abū Ihāb, as follows, 'I saw Zayd b.ʿAmr while I was at the idol named Bawāna, just after he had returned from Syria. He was observing the sun; when it set he approached the *kaʿba* and performed the prayer of two prostrations. Then he said, "This is the *qibla*, the prayer site, to which Abraham and Ishmael directed themselves. I do not worship a stone, nor pray to it, nor eat what was sarificed to it, nor will I seek the judgement of divining arrows. Yet I will pray towards this house till I die."

"'He would also perform the pilgrimage and station himself on Mt. ʿArafāt. He would also make the prayer call saying, "*Labbayk*! At Your service; there is no partner to You, nor any peer." Then he would leave ʿArafāt, walking and praying, saying, "*Labbayk*! At Your service, in worship and submission."'"

Al-Wāqidi stated, "'ʿAlī b. ʿIsā al-Ḥakamī related to me, from his father, from ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa as follows, 'I heard Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl say, "I await the coming of a prophet from the progeny of Ishmael, then from the tribe of ʿAbd al Muṭṭalib. I do not see myself living to his time. But I have faith in him, assert his truthfulness, and testify that he is a prophet. If you live on a long time and see him, then tell him of my greetings to him. I will inform you of his qualities so that he will not be unknown to you." I replied, "Do so then."

" 'He continued, "He will be a man neither tall nor short with neither much nor little hair. Redness is never absent from his eye. He bears the mark of prophethood between his shoulders. His name is to be Aḥmad and this country will be the place of his birth and his mission. Then his people will expel him from it and will disapprove of his message until he will emigrate to Yathrib; and so his authority will appear. Take care that you are not deceived about him, for I have travelled all over seeking the religion of Abraham. And those of the Jews, Christians, and Magians to whom I made enquiry answered, 'That religion is behind you.' And they would describe him as I have described him to you and say, 'There is no prophet but him.'"'

"ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa stated, 'And when I became a Muslim I informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of the words of Zayd b.ʿAmr and did pass on his greetings to him. He returned such greeting to him and prayed for mercy for him, saying, 'I have seen him in paradise in long, flowing robes.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection in his account on Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr related to him that Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān related to us, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, that Sālim related, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) met Zayd b.ʿAmr b. Nufayl in the lowlands of Baldaḥ, before revelation descended upon the Prophet. A meal was set out for the Prophet (ṢAAS) but he, Zayd, refused to eat of it. Then Zayd said, "I'm not going to eat from what you slaughter on your sacrificial stones; and I will only

eat what has had the name of God spoken over it." Zayd b. 'Amr would criticize Quraysh for the animal sacrifices they made, saying, "Sheep are created by God; He sends rain down from the skies and makes things grow for them from the earth. But then you slaughter them in the name of gods other than Him, denying all of that and venerating them!"

Mūsā b. 'Uqba said that Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh related to him (indicating that he would not acknowledge what he related except that he spoke of it on the authority of Ibn 'Umar) that Zayd b.'Amr b. Nufayl left for Syria enquiring after the religion he would follow and met a learned Jew whom he asked about his religion. Zayd said, "I'm inclined towards adopting your religion, so tell me of it." The man replied, "You will not be in our religion until you receive your share of God's anger." Zayd replied, "But it's only God's anger from which I flee; I bear none of God's anger, nor could I. Can you then direct me to something else?" He replied, "I don't know of anything – except for you to be a *ḥanīf*." "What", asked Zayd, "is a *ḥanīf*?" "The religion of Abraham, peace be upon him; he was neither a Jew nor a Christian and worshipped none but God."

So Zayd left and met a Christian scholar to whom he spoke as before. But the Christian replied, "You will not be of our religion until you take your share of the curses of God." Zayd replied, "But it's only from the curses of God that I flee. I do not at all ever bear the curses of God or His anger, nor could I. So would you direct me to something else?" "I don't know of anything, except for you to be a *ḥanīf*," the Christian answered. "What is a *ḥanīf*?" Zayd asked. "It is the religion of Abraham," the Christian answered; "he was neither a Jew nor a Christian and worshipped none but God."

Having considered their statement about Abraham, Zayd went outside and when he was in open country, he raised his hands and said, "O God, I testify that I follow the religion of Abraham."

Al-Bukhārī went on: "And al-Layth said, 'Hishām b. 'Urwa wrote to me, on the authority of his father, and that of Asmā' daughter of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with them both; he quotes her as having said, "I saw Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl standing leaning his back against the *ka'ba*, saying, 'O tribe of Quraysh, by God, none of you is in Abraham's religion except me.' And he used to give life back to a girl about to be killed at birth, saying to the man who wished to kill his daughter, 'Don't kill her; I will take care of providing for her.' Then he would take her away, and when she grew up he would tell her father, 'If you like, I'll either return her to you or provide for her.'"'" This brings to an end al-Bukhārī's account of Zayd.

This last anecdote was corroborated by the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir in a line of authority from Abū Bakr b. Abū Dāwūd from 'Īsā b. Ḥammād, from al-Layth, from Hishām, from his father back to Asma', and his account is similar.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād said that on a line of authority from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, Asmāʾ said: "I heard Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl say, as he was resting his back against the *kaʿba*: 'O tribe of Quraysh, beware of adultery; it bequeaths poverty.'"

Here in his account Ibn ʿAsākir gave several very strange anecdotes, some of which are extremely implausible. Then he related from a variety of lines back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as having said: "He will be raised up on Judgement Day as a nation all by himself." These accounts include the one by Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba in which he indicated that Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb al-Ṣaffār and Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawī related to him, from Mujālid, from al-Shaʿbi, from Jābir, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl having approached the *qibla* before the coming of Islam and saying, "My God is the God of Abraham, and my religion that of Abraham" and then making the prayer prostrations. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "That man will be gathered (on Judgement Day) as a nation all by himself between me and Jesus son of Mary." The chain of authorities for this is very good.

Al-Wāqidī stated that Mūsā b. Shayba related to him, from Khārija b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb. b. Mālik, who said, "I heard Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab make reference to Zayd b.ʿAmr b. Nufayl with the words, 'He died while Quraysh were building the *kaʿba*, five years before the divine inspiration descended upon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And death came to him while he spoke the words, "I follow the religion of Abraham."' His son Saʿīd b. Zayd became a Muslim and a follower of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Once ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Saʿīd b. Zayd approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him about Zayd b.ʿAmr b. Nufayl and he responded, 'May God give him forgiveness and grant him mercy. He died following the religion of Abraham.' And after that day Muslims never failed to pray for forgivenesss and mercy for him whenever they mentioned his name. And then Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab himself spoke the words, 'May God grant him mercy and forgiveness.'"

Muḥammad b. Saʿd quoted al-Wāqidī as having said, "Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā al-Saʿdī related to me that he heard his father say, 'Zayd b.ʿAmr b. Nufayl died in Mecca and he was buried at the foot of Mt. Ḥirāʾ.'"

We, however, stated previously that he died in the land of al-Balqāʾ in Syria, when he was attacked by some men of the tribe of Lakhm who killed him at a place called Mayfaʿa. But God knows best.

Al-Bāghandī said, giving a line of authorities through Abū Saʿīd al-Ashajj, Abū Muʿāwiya, Hishām and his father, that ʿĀʾisha said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'I entered paradise and saw that Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl had two fine, lofty trees.'"

Among the verses of Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, God have mercy on him, are the lines:

"To God I give my praise and homage, expressing a lasting joy that time will not fade.

To the Sovereign Lord all high, above whom there is none, a God to whom no other Lord can draw close."

It is also said that these lines are of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt. But God knows best.

Among his verses affirming the oneness of God are the lines related by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, among others:

"I turn my face in submission to Him to whom the earth bearing heavy rocks submits;

He laid it down and when it settled He made it firm and level, then raised up the mountains above it.

I turn my face in submission to Him to whom the clouds bearing sweet cool water submit,

When they are drawn along to a place, they obey, and pour water down copiously upon it.

I turn my face in submission to Him to whom the wind, changing direction hither and yon, submits."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said, "I heard from Hishām b.'Urwa that, according to his father, Zayd b.'Amr spoke the verses:

"Is it one Lord or one thousand I'm to worship according to your calculations?

I have abandoned al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā together; thus do all those who are firm and determined.

It is not al-'Uzzā I worship, nor her daughters, nor do I visit the two idols of the 'Amr tribe.

Nor do I worship Ghanm, though he was our Lord when I had little wisdom.

I was perplexed – and at night many things are strange that a sensible man understands well by day –

That God erased many men who lived in wickedness,

Yet gave long life to others through the faith of a people so that from them a young child could multiply,

And though a man may falter, one day he may be cured, as a green tree branch will leaf again,

But I worship the All-merciful, my lord, that the compassionate Lord may forgive my sins.

So preserve your fear of God your Lord; while you preserve it you will not be lost.

You will see that the abode of the innocent is paradise, and that there is a burning hell-fire for disbelievers,

Shame while alive and when they die they will suffer terrible torture."

This is the complete text of this poem as given by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī related it from Mus'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, from al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Uthmān, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād.

Hishām b. ʿUrwa stated, from his father, that Asmāʾ, daughter of Abū Bakr, said, "Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl spoke the following verses:

'I have abandoned all spirits and demons; thus do all those who are firm and determined;
It is not al-ʿUzzā I worship, nor her daughters, nor do I revere the two idols of the Ṭasam tribe.
Nor do I worship Ghanm, though he was our lord when I had little wisdom,
Is it one lord or a thousand I'm to worship according to your calculations?
Do you not know that God erased many men who lived in wickedness,
And gave long life to others through the faith of a people so that from them a young boy could grow up.
And though a man may falter, one day he may be cured, as a green tree branch will leaf again.'"

Waraqa b. Nawfal spoke the following poetry:

"You followed the proper course and did right, O son of ʿAmr, but indeed you have avoided the hot ovens of hell,
For your worship of a Lord unlike any other and for your abandoning as they are the spirits of the mountains,
I say that when I descend into some eerie place: have pity, do not let enemies appear before me.
Have pity! For you are the hope of the spirits; and you are my God, our Lord, and my hope.
Let the mercy of his Lord attain a man, even if he be seventy valleys down beneath the earth.
I worship a Lord who responds, and I will not be seen worshipping someone who does not ever hear anyone calling.
I say as I pray in every church: 'Blessed be You; I have indeed prayed much in Your name.'"

It has been stated earlier that Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl left for Syria along with Waraqa b. Nawfal, ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith, and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh. All became Christians except Zayd, who adopted no religion but remained in his natural state of the worship of God alone and without partner, following as best he could the religion of Abraham, as we have mentioned.

As for Waraqa b. Nawfal, his story will be told in discussion of the beginnings of the divine mission.

As for ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith, he remained in Syria until he died there while with Caesar. His story is very strange and was related by al-Umawī. In brief it is as follows. When he approached Caesar and complained to him of the treatment he had received from his own people, Caesar wrote for him to Ibn Jafna, the king of the Arabs of Syria, to the effect that he should provide an army to go with him to make war against Quraysh. He did decide to do so, but the

bedouins wrote to him advising him against that action because of what they saw to be the greatness of Mecca, and also how God had treated the army that had come with the elephants. So Ibn Jafna invested him with a tunic dyed with poison and he was killed by it. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl eulogized him in poetry recorded by al-Umawī which we have left out for brevity's sake.

His death occurred some three years before the mission of Islam. But God, All-glorious and Almighty is He, knows best.

An Account of some of the events that occurred in the time of the fatra,[49] *including the building of the* kaʿba.

It has been said that it was Adam who first built it. Such a statement comes down in a *ḥadīth* that is *marfūʿ*[50] and came on the authority of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr ; Ibn Lahīʿa is one of its chain of authorities and he is an authority considered *ḍaʿīf*, weak.

The most credible of statements is that Abraham, *al-Khalīl*, "the true friend", peace be upon him, was the first who built it, as reported above. Simāk b. Ḥarb so related, from Khālid b. ʿArʿara back to ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib who said, "Then it collapsed, was rebuilt by *al-ʿamāliqa*, 'the giants', fell down and was built again by Jurhum; thereafter it collapsed and was rebuilt by Quraysh."

Here I will recount its being built by Quraysh; this occurred some five, or as some say fifteen, years before the coming of Islam. Al-Zuhrī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had by then attained puberty." Material related to all that will come in its proper place, if God wills it, and in Him there is trust.

An Account of Kaʿb b. Luʾayy.

Abū Nuʿaym related in a line from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaṣan b. Zabala, from Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa al-Taymī, from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith back to Abū Salama who said, "Kaʿb b. Luʾayy would gather his people on Friday, a day Quraysh used to name *al-ʿarūba*, and he would address them as follows: 'And moreover you must listen, learn, understand, and know. Tranquil night, sunlit day; the earth is flat, the skies erected, the mountains bulwarks, the stars markers. The first are as the last, the female and the male, the couple, and whatever excites, all heads for decay. So respect your ties of relationship and preserve your kinship,

49. *Al-fatra* is a word given in Arabic to mean the period or the interval between two prophets. Here it refers to the interval between the life of Jesus and that of Muḥammad.

50. A tradition related by a Companion of the Prophet and reporting the latter's words or actions.

and make your wealth multiply. For did you ever see return someone who expired, or a dead person revived? The (eternal) abode is before you and thought is not what you express. Embellish and venerate your sanctuary and preserve it well; for to it glorious tidings will come. And from it will emerge a noble prophet.'

"Then he would say,

'Daytime and night, every day has a happening; the same to us whether by day time or night.

They both bring events when they arrive and their coverings over us bring many blessings.

The Prophet Muḥammad will come unexpectedly, and bring such news; believable indeed is their bearer.'

"Then he would say, 'By God, were I but part of them, by hearing and sight, by hand and foot, I would vigorously rise up like a camel, and charge into it like a stallion.'

"Then he would say, 'Would that I could witness the impact of his mission, when the tribe seeks the truth without vigour.'"

Between the death of Kaʿb b. Luʾayy and the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) there was a period of 560 years.

An Account of the re-digging of the well zamzam *by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, its whereabouts having been lost from the period when Jurhum filled and levelled it, up to his own time.*

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was sleeping in the sacred enclosure when he received a vision ordering him to dig up *zamzam*.

"ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the first to begin digging it, according to what was related to me by Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb al-Miṣrī from Marthad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yazanī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dhurayr al-Ghāfiqī, namely, that the last mentioned heard ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him, telling how ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had been ordered to dig *zamzam*. ʿAlī reported ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib as saying: 'I was sleeping in the sanctuary when a vision came to me and said, "Dig *ṭība*!" "But what's *ṭība*?" I asked. But it vanished.

"'Next day when I again went to my bed and slept, he came again and said, "Dig *barra*!" "But what's *barra*?" I asked. But it vanished.

"'Next day when I again went to my bed and slept, he came again and said, "Dig *al-maḍnūna*!" "But what's *al-maḍnūna*?" I asked. But it vanished.

"'Next day when I again went to my bed and slept, he came again and said, "Dig *zamzam*!" "But what's *zamzam*?" I asked. "It will never fail or dry up; it

will water the grand pilgrim. It lies between the dung and the blood, near the nest of the crow with the white leg and the ants' nest."'

"The matter having been clarified and he having been directed to its location, and knowing that he had been spoken to in truth, he took up his pick-axe next day and went off in the company of his son al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, his only son at that time. So he dug down for it and when the coping stone appeared to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib he let out a cry of praise for God. Quraysh therefore knew that he had achieved his purpose so they came and told him, 'O ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, that is the well of our father Ishmael; we have a right to it, so make us partners in it with yourself.' 'I will do no such thing; I was specifically assigned to this without you; I was given it from among you all,' he replied. They asked again, 'Treat us fairly; we'll not leave you alone till we share with you in it.' ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib replied, 'Then appoint someone of your choice for me to ask to adjudicate the matter with you.' 'The woman diviner of the Banū Saʿd b. Hudhaym,' they suggested. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib agreed; the woman lived in the uplands of Syria.

"So ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib mounted up with a company of men of the Banū Ummaya, along with members of each tribe of Quraysh and they all left. The earth at that time was waterless and having travelled some distance ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and his friends had used up their water. They were so thirsty that they became convinced they were doomed. They therefore asked the other party for water, but they refused, saying, 'We're in a waterless desert and we fear for ourselves a similar plight that afflicts you.' ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib then said, 'I think each man should dig a grave for himself with the strength he has remaining, so that when anyone dies his friends can put him in the hole and cover him up, and so on till there is only one man left. Better the loss (without burial) of one than that of a whole company.' 'What you instruct is good,' they agreed.

"So each man dug himself a hole, and they sat down to await death from thirst. But then ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib told his companions, 'By God, our casting ourselves down by our own hands like this for death without searching the land and exerting ourselves is truly weakness; God may well provide us water somewhere in this land. Mount up!' So they did so. But when ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib urged his mount up, a spring of sweet water burst up from beneath its hoof! ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib made exclamations of God's greatness, as did his companions; he and they dismounted, drank, and filled their water flasks. Then ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib called the Quraysh tribesmen who had been watching all this, saying, 'Come on over to the spring. God has given us water.' So they came and drank, all filling their flasks. They then said, 'Judgement has been made, by God, in your favour against us! We won't ever dispute with you over *zamzam*. He who gave you this water in this desert is also He who gave you *zamzam*. So return to your drawing of water, it being your right.'

"So he and they all went back without consulting the diviner. And Quraysh gave ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib free access to *zamzam*."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "And that is the account I heard on the authority of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib concerning *zamzam*."

He also said, "I heard someone relate a tradition that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was told, when ordered to dig *zamzam*:

'Then pray for abundant water without impurities to quench God's pilgrims at all the sacred sites.

'There's nothing to fear so long as it provides.'

"Having been told so, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib went to Quraysh and said to them, 'You should know that I have been ordered to dig *zamzam*.' They asked, 'And was it explained to you where it lies?' When he responded in the negative, they told him, 'Then go back to your bed where you had your vision. For if it in truth came from God, it will be made clear to you, whereas if it came from Satan, it will not reappear to you.' ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib did return and slept and did receive a visitation, being told: 'Dig *zamzam*. You will not regret if you do dig it. It is an inheritance from your most mighty Father. It will never fail or dry up. It will water the grand pilgrim. Like fleeing ostriches, it will never be divided. A truth-sayer vows it to a benefactor. It will be an inheritance and a secure contract. It is not as some things you might have known. And it lies between the dung and the blood.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "It is claimed that when this was said to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, he asked, 'Then where is it?' He was then told that it was near the ants' nest where the crow would peck the next day. But God knows whether that was so.

"Next day ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib went with his son al-Ḥārith, his only son at that time (al-Umawī added: 'along with his servant Aṣram') and found the ants' nest and the crow pecking near by, between the two idols Isāf and Nāʾila, at which Quraysh would make sacrifice. So he brought his pick-axe to dig where he had been told. But Quraysh stood in his way saying, 'By God, we'll not allow you to dig down between our two idols to which we make sacrifice.' ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib addressed his son al-Ḥārith, 'Protect me so I can dig, for by God I shall carry on and do what I was ordered.' When Quraysh realized that he would not back down, they made way for him to dig and left him alone. He had not been digging for long before the coping stone appeared and he acclaimed the greatness of God, knowing that truth had been spoken to him. Persisting in the digging, he found there two golden gazelles that Jurhum had buried, along with some white metal swords and some breast-plates.

"Quraysh then addressed him, 'O ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, we have a right to share in this.' 'No,' he replied, 'but let us decide what is equitable between us. Let us use divinatory arrows over it.' 'What shall we do then?' they asked. He replied, 'I will make two arrows for the *kaʿba*, two for myself, and two for you. Whoever

has his arrows come out for something, that he shall have. Whoever has his arrows left behind gets nothing.' They agreed that this was fair. So he made two yellow arrows for the *ka'ba*, two black ones for himself, and two white ones for them. Then he gave the arrows to the diviner at the site of the idol Hubal, who was to cast them. And Hubal was the largest of their idols; that was why Abū Sufyān said at the battle of Uḥud, 'Arise, O Hubal!', referring to that idol. So 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said a prayer to God."

Yūnus b. Bukayr recounted, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib began saying:

"O God, You are the much-praised King; my Lord; You are the one who initiates and repeats,
The one who is firmly holding the rocky mountain; from You comes all that is new or that is old.
If You wish, You give inspiration as You want, to find the place of the ornaments and the steel.
So make clear today what You wish; I have made a vow to Him who decides
Give it, O my Lord, to me, and I'll not go back."

"The diviner cast the arrows and the two yellow ones went towards the gazelles, giving them to the *ka'ba*, the two black ones came out for the swords and armour, making them for 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, but the two arrows for Quraysh remained behind. So 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib hammered down the two swords into a door for the *ka'ba* into which he incorporated the two golden gazelles. This was, so they say, the first decoration of gold the *ka'ba* had."

Thereafter 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib took charge of providing water from *zamzam* to the pilgrims. And Ibn Isḥāq and others relate that Mecca had many wells in it prior to the appearance of *zamzam* at the time of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Ibn Isḥāq, moreover, enumerated and named them, and told their whereabouts in and around Mecca as well as those who dug them. His account of this concludes, "*Zamzam* overshadowed all the other wells, their customers preferring to go to it, because of its proximity to the holy mosque, the superiority of its water over the rest, and its having been the well of Ishmael, son of Abraham. The 'Abd Manāf tribe expressed because of it a superiority over all Quraysh as well as all the other Arabs."

It is established in the *ṣaḥiḥ* collection of Muslim in the material relating to the adoption of Islam by Abū Dharr, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said the following about *zamzam*: "It is the taste supreme. It is the cure of disease."

The Imām Aḥmad (Ibn Hanbal) said, "'Abd Allāh b. al-Walīd related to us, on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'mil, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The water of *zamzam* is for what is drunk from it.'"

Ibn Māja related this also, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʾmil. They spoke it and gave its wording as: "The water of *zamzam* is for what is drunk to it." Suwayd b. Saʿīd related it from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Mawālī, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, from Jābir, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) who said, "The water of *zamzam* is for what is drunk to it." However, Suwayd b. Saʿīd is a weak link. The tradition as preserved from Ibn al-Mubārak from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʾmil is as given above. Al-Ḥākim related it from Ibn ʿAbbās in the form "The water of *zamzam* is for what is drunk to it." And this is questionable. But God knows best.

Similarly, Ibn Māja and al-Ḥākim relate that Ibn ʿAbbās said to a man, "When you drink from *zamzam* face the *kaʿba* and repeat the name of God. Then breathe deeply three times and drink from it until you are full. When finished, give praise to God. For the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The evidence of the differences between us and the hypocrites is that they do not drink to the fill from the water of *zamzam*.'"

And it is related from ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib that he said, "O God, I do not allow a person to wash with it; it is for people to drink *ḥillun*, 'freely available', *wa*, 'and', *ballun*, 'allowed'."[51]

Some learned scholars report this from al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib but in fact it came from ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib himself, for it was he who restored *zamzam* as stated above. But God knows best.

Al-Umawī wrote in his *Maghāzī* work as follows: "Abū ʿUbayd related to us, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd informed us, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarmala, that the last mentioned said that he heard Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab relate that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim remarked when he dug *zamzam*, 'I do not allow a person to wash with it; it is freely available and allowed for a person to drink it.' To that purpose he had two basins for it, one for drinking, the other for the prayer ablution. At that point he said, 'I do not allow a person to wash with it, deeming it inappropriate for the mosque to be washed in.'"

According to Abū ʿUbayd, al-Asmaʿī stated that his saying *wa ballun* is an *itbāʿ*,[52] "corroboration of the preceding word", *ḥillun*. But Abū ʿUbayd objected that an *itbāʿ* cannot occur with the *waw* of conjunction (*wa* meaning "and") but it is used because, as Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān had indicated, *ballun* in the language of Ḥimyar means *mubāḥ*, i.e. "allowed".

Abū ʿUbayd then said, "Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh related to us, from ʿĀsim b. Abū al-Nujūd, that he heard Zirr (say) that he heard al-ʿAbbās state, 'I do not allow a person to wash in it.'" And ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to us, as did

51. Discussion of these words *ḥillun wa ballun* follows in the text. Also, another meaning of the word *ballun* is "for wetting".

52. In Arabic grammar *itbāʿ* is intensification by repetition of a word with its initial consonant changed.

Sufyān, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlqama, that the last mentioned heard Ibn ʿAbbās say the same."

And this tradition relating back to both of them is true; it has them so saying in their own era with the purpose of informing and establishing what ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had specified when he dug it; thus it does not contradict the preceding account. But God knows best.

The rights to providing water for the pilgrims remained with ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib as long as he lived, thereafter passing to his son Abū Ṭālib for a period. Then it so happened that he became impoverished for a while and went into debt to his brother al-ʿAbbās for 10,000 from one year to the next. Abū Ṭālib spent the money on matters relating to watering the pilgrims, and when the next year arrived he had nothing left. So he asked his brother for a loan of 14,000 to the following year, at which time, he promised, he would repay the total debt. But al-ʿAbbās agreed only on condition that if Abū Ṭālib did not repay it, control of the well would transfer to himself. To this Abū Ṭālib agreed.

When the next year arrived Abū Ṭālib had nothing to give to al-ʿAbbās and so he relinquished control of the well to him. Thereafter it went to ʿAbd Allāh, al-ʿAbbās' son, then to ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, to Dāwūd b. ʿAlī, to Sulaymān b. ʿAlī and to ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī. Then al-Manṣūr took it over and entrusted its control to his *mawlā*, his freed slave, Abū Ruzayn. Al-Umawī gave this account.

An Account of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's vow to sacrifice one of his sons.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It is claimed that when ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib received such opposition from Quraysh over the digging of *zamzam*, he vowed that if ten sons were born to him who grew up and protected him, he would sacrifice one of them for God at the *kaʿba*.

"Eventually he had ten sons grown up whom he knew would give him protection. Their names were al-Ḥārith, al-Zubayr, Ḥajl, Ḍirār, al-Muqawwim, Abū Lahab, al-ʿAbbās, Ḥamza, Abū Ṭālib, and ʿAbd Allāh. He assembled them and told them of his vow and asked them to honour his pledge to God, Almighty and All-glorious is He. They obeyed, and asked him what he wanted them to do. He asked each of them to take an arrow, write his name on it and return to him.

"They did so and he went with them inside the *kaʿba* to the site of their god Hubal where there was the well in which offerings to the *kaʿba* would be placed. There, near Hubal, were seven arrows which they would use for divining a judgement over some matter of consequence, a question of blood-money, kinship, or the like. They would come to Hubal to seek a resolution, accepting whatever they were ordered to do or to refrain from."

The outcome was that when ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib came to seek judgement with the arrows from Hubal, the one with the name of his son ʿAbd Allāh came forth. He was his youngest boy and the one he loved most, but ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib took his son ʿAbd Allāh by the hand, drew out his knife, and went up to Isāf and Nāʾila[53] to sacrifice him. At this Quraysh left their meeting-places and asked him what he intended to do. When he replied that he was going to sacrifice ʿAbd Allāh, they, along with ʿAbd Allāh's brothers, said, "By God, do not sacrifice him without seeking forgiveness for him; if you do this men will keep bringing their sons to sacrifice and how could that go on?"

Yūnus b. Bukayr related from Ibn Isḥāq that al-ʿAbbās was the one who drew ʿAbd Allāh out from beneath his father's foot when he had placed it on him to sacrifice him. And it is said that he scarred his face so badly that it remained visible there till he died.

Thereafter Quraysh advised that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib should go to the Hijāz where there was a woman diviner who had an attendant spirit, and that he should consult her. "That", they said, "is the best you can do. If she then orders you to sacrifice him, do so; but if she tells you to do something that provides you a way out, then accept it."

So they left for Medina, where they found that the diviner whose name was Sajāḥ, as Yunus b. Bukayr reported from Ibn Isḥāq, was at Khaybar. They rode off again and went to her and sought her advice, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib telling her of the whole problem regarding him and his son. She told them: "Leave me today, until my attendant spirit comes and I can ask him."

They left her and ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib prayed to God. Next day they went back to her and she informed them that she had had a message. "How much is the blood-money you prescribe?" she asked. "Ten camels," they told her, that being then the case. "Then go back to your land and present your man as an offering and do the same with ten camels. Then cast arrows to decide between him and them. If the divining arrow points to him then add to the number of camels until your god is satisfied; if it points to the camels, then sacrifice them in his place. That way you will please your god and save your man."

So they went back to Mecca and, when they had agreed to do as she had said, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib said prayers to God. Then they offered up ʿAbd Allāh and the ten camels as sacrifice and cast the arrow. It came out against ʿAbd Allāh so they added ten more camels and tried once more. Again it came out against him and they added ten more, then kept on doing so until the camels reached one hundred in number. When they next cast the arrow it came out for the camels. At that point the men of Quraysh told ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who was standing near Hubal praying to God, "It's all over! Your God is pleased, O ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib." It is

53. Two idols referred to earlier.

claimed that he then replied, "No, not until I cast the arrows three times." So they did cast three times, the arrow always indicating the camels, which were slaughtered and left there for anyone to take without hindrance. And Ibn Hishām reported "And it is said, for any wild beast to take as well."

It is otherwise related that when the number of camels reached 100 the arrow was still against ʿAbd Allāh, so they added another 100, making 200, and the same thing happened. Likewise it did with 300. It was then that the arrow came out against the camels, whereupon ʿAbd al Muṭṭalib slaughtered them. But the first account is the true one. Though God knows best.

Ibn Jarīr related, from Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, from Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus b. Yazīd, from al-Zuhrī from Qabīṣa b. Dhuʾayb that Ibn ʿAbbās was asked for advice by a woman who had vowed to sacrifice her son at the *kaʿba*. He told her to sacrifice 100 camels instead and related to her the above account about ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. She then asked ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar but he gave her no legal decision, simply refraining from doing so. The problem then reached Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who was the governor of Medina. He said, "Neither of them gave a correct decision." He then ordered the woman to perform whatever acts of charity she could, forbidding her from sacrificing her son and not ordering her to slaughter any camels. And the people accepted Marwān's judgement in the matter. But God knows best.

An Account of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's marriage of his son ʿAbd Allāh to Āmina bint Wahb al-Zuhriyya.

Ibn Isḥāq stated: "ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib then left, holding his son ʿAbd Allāh by the hand. They passed, it is claimed, a woman of Banū Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy who was named Umm Qattāl; she was the sister of Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy and had been there at the *kaʿba* . She stared into the face of ʿAbd Allāh and asked him where he was going. 'With my father,' he replied. 'If you will have me now,' she said, 'you can have the like number of camels that were sacrificed for you!' 'But I am with my father, and I may not oppose him or leave him,' he answered."

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib took him further on till they reached Wahb b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr who was at that time leader of Banū Zuhra in both age and honour. He agreed to marry to ʿAbd Allāh his daughter Āmina, who was then the woman most highly regarded among his people.

It is claimed that ʿAbd Allāh consummated the marriage then and there, and that she conceived the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Afterwards he left her and passed again by the woman who had made a proposition to him. He asked her,

"How come you're not making me the offer today you did yesterday?" She replied, "The light you bore yesterday has left you, and I need you no more." She had heard from her brother Waraqa b. Nawfal who had become a Christian and studied the Scriptures, that there was to be a prophet come to that nation, and she wanted him to be born to her. So God made him of the finest and most noble lineage, as the Almighty put it, in the Qurʾān, "And God knows best where to place His prophethood" (*sūrat al-Anʿam*, VI, v.124). We will relate the birth itself in detail.

And among the verses spoken by Umm Qattāl expressing her disappointment at her failure to get what she had wanted are the following lines related by al-Bayhaqī from Yūnus b. Bukayr from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, God be pleased with him:

> "And so on to Banū Zuhra, where they were, and to Āmina who bore a boy
> She sees *al-Mahdī*, the right-guided, when he mounted her, and a light that had preceded him ahead . . ."

and so on to the lines:

> "All creation, all mankind, were hoping for him to lead the people as an Imām, rightly guided.
> God shaped him from a light, making it pure, its glow taking the gloom from us.
> That is the work of your lord who singled him out, whether he would move ahead one day or stay
> He guides the people of Mecca after faithlessness, enjoining thereafter the fast."

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Kharāʾiṭī said that ʿAlī b. Ḥarb related to him, as did Muḥammad b. ʿUmāra al-Qurashī, as did Muslim b. Khālid al-Zanjī, as did Ibn Jurayj from ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Ribāḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās that the latter said, "When ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib went off with his son ʿAbd Allāh to arrange his marriage, he passed by a woman diviner of the Tibāla people who had adopted the Jewish faith and read the Scriptures, her name being Fāṭima daughter of Murr al-Khathʿamiyya. She saw the light of prophethood on ʿAbd Allāh's face and said, 'Young man, would you like to have me now and let me give you 100 camels?' ʿAbd Allāh replied with the verse,

> 'I'd rather die than do the forbidden, and staying here is not allowed, I clearly see.
> So how could we do what you desire?'"

Then ʿAbd Allāh passed on with his father who married him to Amīna daughter of Wahb b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhra; and he stayed three nights with her. Then he had an urge to accept the woman's offer so he went to her. "Well, what did you do after (seeing) me?" she asked. And he told her. She then said: "By God, I'm not a woman of doubtful morals; but I did see a light in your face, and I wanted it to be in me. But God refused to put it anywhere other than He wished." Then Fāṭima spoke the following verses:

"I saw a sign shine forth, glistening like raindrops in dark storm clouds,
Which appeared to me as a light illuminating all around it, as the full moon shines forth.
And I hoped to attain it, a source of pride I could capture, but not everyone who strikes his flint lights fire,
For God is what a Zuhriyya woman took, though your two garments are what she seized; but she did not know that."

She also spoke the verses:

"O Banū Hāshim, it came off from your brother to Umayna (Āmina) as they were passionately consummating their marriage,
As the lamp when it dies down leaves behind its wicks, stained with oil,
Not all the wealth a man holds is achieved by resoluteness, nor is what escapes him always from lassitude.
So be moderate in pursuing what you want; good luck and misfortune contending together should suffice you,
Suffice you either a hand tight closed or a hand laid open, fingers stretched.
When Umayna (Āmina) got from him what she had, she received from him an honour, never to come again."

And Imām Abū Nu'aym, the *ḥāfiẓ*, in his book *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*), related on a chain from Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhrī, from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umrān, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, from Ibn 'Awn, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama, from Ibn 'Abbās as follows: "'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went to Yemen on a winter's journey and stayed with a Jewish high priest. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, 'And one of the monks – by that he meant a scholar of the Scriptures – said to me, "O 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, would you allow me to look at a certain part of you?" "Yes, if it be nothing shameful," I replied. Then the man opened up one of my nostrils and looked inside it, and did the same with the other one, saying, "I swear that in one of your hands you will have power and in the other prophethood. But we find that to be in the Banū Zuhra, so how can that be?" I replied that I did not know. The man then asked, "Do you have a *shā'a*?" I asked him what he meant by this word *shā'a* and he replied, a wife. I replied that I did not at that time and he said, "Well, when you go back marry someone from them (i.e. Banū Zuhra)."'

"So when 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib did return home he married Hāla, daughter of Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra, and she gave birth to Ḥamza and Ṣafiyya. Then 'Abd Allāh son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib married Āmina daughter of Wahb and she gave birth to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"When 'Abd Allāh married Amīna, the men of Quraysh commented, 'He won out', i.e. 'Abd Allāh beat out or defeated his father 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib."

THE BOOK OF THE LIFE OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

An Account of his life story, his battles and raids, the delegations to him, and his natural qualities, his virtues, and the features distinguishing him.

CHAPTER: AN ACCOUNT OF HIS NOBLE ANCESTRY AND THE EXCELLENCE OF HIS HIGH LINEAGE.

God Almighty's words were: "God knows best where to place His prophethood" (*sūrat al-Anʿām*, VI, v.124).

When Heraclius, the Roman emperor, asked Abū Sufyān questions relating to the qualities of the Prophet (ṢAAS), he wanted to know how good his lineage was in his people. Abū Sufyān replied, "He does indeed have good lineage in us." Heraclius commented, "Thus are the messengers given their missions within the ancestry of their own people." He meant from among peoples with the highest reputation and the most numerous tribal connections. May God's blessing be upon them all.

He was the best of Adam's sons, their pride on earth and the hereafter. He was known as the father of al-Qāsim and of Ibrāhīm, as Muḥammad, as Aḥmad, as *al-Māḥī*, "the Abolisher", the one by whom disbelief was abolished, as *al-ʿĀqib*, "the Ultimate" after whom no prophet would follow, as *al-Ḥāshir*, "the Gatherer", i.e. he at whose feet the people would gather, as *al-Muqaffī*, "the Tracker", as *nabī al-Raḥma*, "the Prophet of Mercy", as *nabī al-Tawba*, "the Prophet of Repentance", as *nabī al-Malḥama*, "the Prophet of the Fierce Battle", as *khātim al-nabīyyīn*, "the Seal of the Prophets", as *al-fātiḥ*, "the Conqueror", as *Ṭāhā*, as *Yāsīn*, and as *ʿAbd Allāh*, "God's Servant".

According to al-Bayhaqī some authorities added more names to these. He said, "In the Qurʾān, God named him *rasūl*, 'messenger', *nabī*, 'prophet', *ummī*, 'unlettered', *shāhid*, 'witness-giver', *mubashshir*, 'bringer of good tidings', *nadhīr*, 'admonisher', *dāʿī ilā Allāh bi idhnihi*, 'he who calls to God with His permission', *sirāj munīr*, 'illuminating lamp', *raʾūf raḥīm*, 'kind and compassionate', and *mudhakkir*, 'reminder'. And God made him mercy, a blessing, and a guide."

We will give the accounts relating to the names attributed to him (ṢAAS) in a chapter we will include after the completion of the biography. For on this subject many traditions have come down, responsibility for gathering them having been assumed by two of the great *ḥuffāẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī and Abū al-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir. Some people have written works specifically on these names, some

going so far as to gather as many as 1,000. But the great legal scholar Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī al-Mālikī, who interpreted the words of al-Tirmidhī in his book *ʿĀriḍat al-Aḥwadhī* (*The Expert's Clear Review*), gives 64 such names. But God knows best.

He was the son of ʿAbd Allāh who was in turn the youngest son of his father ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; ʿAbd Allāh was the man who lay down to be sacrificed but was ransomed by 100 camels, as previously explained.

Al-Zuhrī said, "And ʿAbd Allāh was the most handsome man in Quraysh. He was brother to al-Ḥārith, al-Zubayr, Ḥamza, Ḍarār, Abū Ṭālib, whose own given name was ʿAbd Manāf, Abū Lahab, whose given name was ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, al-Muqawwim, whose given name was ʿAbd al-Kaʿba, though some say these were two men, Ḥajl, whose given name was al-Mughīra, al-Ghaydāq, a man of great generosity whose given name was Nawfal, though some say that was Ḥajl. These, then, were the paternal uncles of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

"His aunts numbered six; they were Arwā, Barra, Umayma, Ṣafiyya, ʿĀtika, and Umm Ḥakīm, she being al-Bayḍāʾ, 'the white woman'. We will talk of all of these later, if God wills it.

"All of these were children of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, whose own name was Shayba, 'grey', so known because of his grey hair; alternatively his name Shayba, meant 'the one praised for his generosity'. However, he was known as ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib because when his father Hāshim had passed through Medina on a trading mission to Syria, he had stayed at the house of ʿAmr b. Zayd b. Labīd b. Ḥarām b. Khidāsh b. Khindaf b. ʿAdī b. al-Najjār al-Khazrajī al-Najjārī who was the leader of his tribe. Hāshim was much taken with ʿAmr's daughter Salmā and asked her father to engage her in marriage. He did so but on condition that she should remain there with him. Some say that the condition was that she should only give birth there with him in Medina. When Hāshim returned from Syria he consummated marriage with her and took her with him to Mecca. When he next went away on business she was pregnant and he took her with him, leaving her in Medina. Hāshim then went off to Syria but died at Ghazza . When Salmā gave birth to her child she named him Shayba. He remained there with his maternal uncles of the Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār for seven years.

"Then his uncle al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf came and secretly took him away from his mother and returned with him to Mecca. When people there saw them both on his mount they asked him who the boy was and he replied, 'My *ʿAbd*, my servant!' Then they all came up and welcomed the boy, addressing him consequently as ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, i.e. al-Muṭṭalib's servant, and the name stuck to him.

"He rose to a great position of leadership among Quraysh, becoming their most honoured chief. They united behind him and in him rested the rights of *al-saqāya* and *al-rifāda*,[54] as had been the case with al-Muṭṭalib. It was al-Muṭṭalib who dug out the well *zamzam*, which had been covered up since the Jurhum era. He was the first to decorate the *kaʿba* with gold, overlaying its doors with those two golden gazelles he found in *zamzam* along with the two white-metal swords."

According to Ibn Hishām, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was brother to Asad, Naḍla, Abū Ṣayfī, Ḥayya, Khālida, Ruqayya, al-Shaffāʾ and Daʿīfa. All these were children of Hāshim. His real name was ʿAmr, but he was called Hāshim, i.e. "the crusher", because he would crush bread with meat and broth for his people during years of famine, as Maṭrūd b. Kaʿb al-Khuzāʿi said in his ode; the poem is alternatively attributed to al-Zabaʿrā Wālid ʿAbd Allāh. The verses are:

> "ʿAmr is he who crushed the bread and meat for his people, the people of Mecca suffering drought and hunger.
>
> He received charge of both expeditions, the winter caravan and that of the summers."

This related to his having been the first to institute the two expeditions, of winter and of summer; he was the oldest of his father's children. Ibn Jarīr related that he was the twin brother of ʿAbd Shams, and that Hāshim came forth with his leg attached to his twin brother's head, which was only separated after blood had flowed between them. People said that that signified wars between their progeny; and so there occurred the confrontation between Banū al-ʿAbbās and Banū Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams in the year 133 AH.

Their third brother, al-Muṭṭalib, was his father's youngest boy; their mother was ʿĀtika, daughter of Murra, son of Hilāl.

The fourth of the siblings was Nawfal, born to another mother named Wāqida daughter of ʿAmr of the tribe of Māzin. These brothers ruled their people after their father; they were known as *al-mujīrūn*, "the protectors". That is because they negotiated safe conduct for their people of Quraysh with the kings of the neighbouring lands so that they could enter them for trading. Hāshim won safe passage from the rulers of Syria, Byzantium, and Ghassān; ʿAbd Shams won the same from the Great Negus, the emperor of Abyssinia; Nawfal gained it for them from the Chosroes, while al-Muṭṭalib received it from the kings of Ḥimyar.

It was of them that a poet composed the lines,

> "O you, man, changing your luggage, have you not dismounted at the family of ʿAbd Manāf?"

54. The provision of water and food to the pilgrims.

Hāshim enjoyed the rights of feeding and watering the pilgrims following his father, and it is to him as well as to his brother al-Muṭṭalib, that his kinsfolk claimed relationship. The two men were as one during both the pre- and post-Islamic periods, never differing. They (and their progeny) all together constituted one multi-sided tribe. But the progeny of their brothers ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal separated out. That is why Abū Ṭālib stated in his ode:

> "God requited us Abd Shams and Nawfal as a punishment for evil, immediate, not delayed."

No family from one father is known who were so far removed from one another in their deaths as they were. Hāshim died in Ghazza in Syria, ʿAbd Shams died in Mecca, Nawfal in Salmān in Iraq, while al-Muṭṭalib, known as "the moon" for his fine looks, died in Radman on the way to Yemen. These, then are the four famous brothers, Hāshim, ʿAbd Shams, Nawfal, and al-Muṭṭalib.

They did have a fifth brother who was not famous. He was known as Abū ʿAmr, his own name being ʿAbd, from the name ʿAbd Quṣayy. People called him ʿAbd b. Quṣayy; he died childless. This is what al-Zubayr b. Bakkār and others said. They also had six sisters whose names were Tamāḍur, Ḥayya, Rīṭa, Qilāba, Umm al-Akhtham, and Umm Sufyān.

All these, then, were children of ʿAbd Manāf. Manāf was the name of an idol, and the original name of ʿAbd Manāf was "al-Mughīra". He took the leadership during his father's time, and his nobility was unexcelled. He was the brother of ʿAbd al-Dār who was his father's eldest son. To him he delegated various appointments, as told above. There were also ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, ʿAbd, Barra, and Takhmur, the mother of them all being Ḥubbā, daughter of Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya b. Salūl b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr the Khuzāʿī. Her father was the last of the kings of Khuzāʿa who were the guardians of the *kaʿba*. All were descendants of Quṣayy, whose given name was Zayd. He was known as Quṣayy because his mother had married Rabīʿa b. Ḥarām b. ʿUdhra after his father; Rabīʿa travelled with her to his own land while her son was still young, and Quṣayy was so named because of this, i.e. "little stranger". He later, when fully grown, returned to Mecca and united Quraysh into one, having gathered them together from all parts of the land. He removed Khuzāʿa's power from the House (the *kaʿba*) and expelled them from Mecca, thus restoring what was right. He became absolute ruler over Quraysh and controlled the feeding and watering of the pilgrims, systems he established, along with the *sadāna*, *the ḥijāba*, and *al-liwā*.[55] And his house was where public meetings were held, all of which is explained above. It is due to this that a poet spoke the line:

55. These offices referred, respectively, to the keeper of the *kaʿba*, the chamberlain, and the hoisting of the banner.

"Quṣayy, by my life, was known as a 'gatherer together'; through him God gathered up all the tribes of Fihr."

He was the brother of Zuhra, both being sons of Kilāb, who was the brother of Taym and of Yaqẓa Abū Makhzūm. All three were sons of Murra, who was the brother of ʿAdī and Huṣayṣ.

All of these were progeny of Kaʿb. It was he who used to address his people each Friday and announce to them the glad tidings of the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), reciting poetry to that effect as we have given above. Kaʿb was brother to ʿĀmir, Sāma, Khuzayma, Saʿd, al-Ḥārith, and ʿAwf, the seven being sons of Luʾayy, brother of Taym al-Adram. These latter two were sons of Ghālib, brother of al-Ḥārith and Muḥārib. These three were sons of Fihr who was the brother of al-Ḥārith, both of them being sons of Mālik. He was the brother of al-Ṣalt and Yakhlud, who were sons of al-Naḍr who was given due credit for bringing Quraysh together into the right way, as we have shown heretofore. He was the brother of Mālik, Malkān, ʿAbd Manāt, and others. All these were born to Kināna, brother of Asad, Asada, and al-Hawn, sons of Khuzayma who was brother to Hudhayl. These two were sons of Mudrika, whose name was ʿAmr who was brother to Ṭābikha whose name was ʿĀmir, and to Qamaʿa. These three were sons of Ilyās; his brother was ʿAylān who fathered all of Qays. These two were sons of Muḍar, brother of Rabīʿa. These two men were known as *al-Sarīḥān*, the candid ones, of the line of Ishmael; they had brothers named Anmār and Iyād who went to Yemen. These four were sons of Nizār, brother of Quḍāʿa, according, that is, to a group of those who consider Quḍāʿa to have been Ḥijāzī and ʿAdnānī in line, as we have explained above. These last two, Nizār and Quḍāʿa, were sons of Maʿad b. ʿAdnān.

This genealogy, described as above, is without dispute among scholars. All the tribes of the Arabs of Ḥijāz combine in this line of descent. That is why Ibn ʿAbbās and others comment on the Qurʾanic verse, "Say, I shall not ask of you all any other reward than that of love for those related" (*sūrat al-Shūrā*, XLII, v.23) by implying that there was not a single subtribe of Quraysh devoid of linear connection with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn ʿAbbās, God be pleased with him, was correct and conservative in saying as he did. Namely, that all the ʿAdnān Arab tribes relate to him through their fathers' lines and many through their mothers' lines as well, as Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and others showed through their tracing of all his mothers and of those of the rest back through their maternal lines at great length.

Ibn Isḥāq, God have mercy on him, and the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir recorded all this.

In our comments above on the biography of ʿAdnān we gave details of his descent and matters relating thereto. He was very definitely of Ishmael's line, though there is some variance in the number of generations between them, as is shown in accounts we explained above. But God knows best.

We also reported the rest of the genealogy back from ʿAdnān to Adam, along with the ode of Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Nāshiʾ incorporating that material. All this was in the material relating to the Arabs of Hijāz, our thanks be to God.

The Imām Abū Jaʿfar b. Jarīr, God have mercy on him, gave a very useful, succinct, and accurate account of that in the opening part of his history.

We have one *ḥadīth* relating to his descent from ʿAdnān actually spoken when he was on the *minbar*, the pulpit, but God knows how authentic it is. The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī said that Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ, the reciter in Baghdad, informed him that Abū ʿĪsā Bakkār b. Aḥmad b. Bakkār related to him, as did Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Saʿd in a transcription dated 296, quoting Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Abān al-Qalānisī, quoting Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Rabīʿa al-Qaddāmī, quoting Mālik b. Anas, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas, and from Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām as follows: "It reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) that some men of Kinda were claiming relationship to him, so he stated, 'Al-ʿAbbās and Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb would say that only to make us look bad; we will never deny our forefathers. We are Banū al-Naḍr b. Kināna.'"

The account states that the Prophet gave an address as follows: "I am Muḥammad son of ʿAbd ʿAllāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār. And whenever people divided off into two groups God placed me in the better. I was born from my two parents and was tainted by none of the debauchery of the era before Islam. I was the product of true marriage, not fornication, right down from Adam to my father and my mother. I am the best of you in spirit and the best of you in parentage."

This tradition is a very strange one from Mālik. Al-Qaddāmī alone transmits it, and he is a weak authority. Nevertheless we will give several testimonies in support of it from other sources.

Regarding his having said, as above, "I was the product of true marriage, not fornication", ʿAbd al-Razzāq stated that Ibn ʿUyayna informed him, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, that his father Abū Jaʿfar al-Bāqir making reference to the Qurʾanic verse, "A messenger has come to you from yourselves" (*sūrat al-Tawba*, IX, v.128) said that, "He was not tainted at all by his birth during the *jāhiliyya*, the pre-Islamic era"; and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I was the product of true marriage, not fornication." This tradition is very incomplete in its transmission.

The same was related by al-Bayhaqī from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Ṣanʿānī, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Bukayr, from ʿAbd al-Ghaffār b. al-Qāsim, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "God produced me from a true marriage, not from fornication."

Ibn ʿAdī related it with a complete transmission chain as follows, "Aḥmad b. Ḥafṣ related to us, as did Muḥammad b. Abū ʿAmr al-ʿAdanī al-Makkī, as did Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, saying, 'My father testified to me, on the authority of his father and his grandfather, as having heard from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "I was the product of true marriage, not fornication, from Adam right on up to when my father and mother had me. And I was not at all tainted by the fornication of the *jāhiliyya*."'"

This is a strange tradition from this line of transmission and can scarcely be credited.

Hushaym said, "Al-Madīnī related to me, from Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Nothing of the fornication of the *jāhiliyya* was born in me; I was born from nothing but a true marriage, just like the true marriage of Islam.'"

This too is strange. The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir passed it on, then substantiated it by a tradition of Abū Hurayra, and there is weakness in its transmission from him. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd said, "Muḥammad b. ʿUmar informed us, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim, from his uncle al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀ'isha who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I was born from a true marriage, not fornication.'"

Moreover Ibn ʿAsākir passed down from a tradition of Abū ʿĀṣim, from Shabīb, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās who with reference to the Qur'anic verse "your ever-changing presence among those who prostrate in prayer" (*sūrat al-Shuʿarā'*, XXVI, v.219) quoted the Prophet as saying, "from prophet to prophet until I was brought forth as a prophet." He related this on the authority of ʿAṭā'.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd said, "Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī informed us, from his father who said, 'I wrote out some 500 maternal ancestors for the Prophet (ṢAAS) and found fornication in not one of them, nor anything relating to (the evil ways) of the *jāhiliyya*.'"

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr b. Abū ʿAmr from Saʿīd al-Maqbirī, from Abū Hurayra who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'I was sent on through the best of generations of humankind, age after age, until I received my mission in the century in which I lived.'"

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, from a tradition of al-Awzāʿī from Shaddād Abū ʿAmmār, from Wāthila b. al-Asqaʿ, comes the statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS): "God chose Ishmael from the children of Abraham, Banū Kināna from the tribe of Ishmael, Quraysh from the tribe of Kināna, Banū Hāshim from Quraysh, and myself from Banū Hāshim."

The Imām Aḥmad (Ibn Hanbal) stated that Abū Nuʿaym related to him, from Sufyān, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, from al-Muṭṭalib b. Abū Wadāʿa, who said that Al-ʿAbbās stated, "Certain things the people were saying reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) so he mounted the pulpit and asked, 'Who am I?' They replied, 'You are the Messenger of God.' He replied, 'I am Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; God devised creation and made me part of his best creatures. He made them all into two groups, placing me in the better of them. He created the tribes and placed me in the best one, subdivided them into *buyūt* (clans) and placed me in the best one. And so I am the best of you both in clan and in spirit.'" May God's grace and blessings be upon him always and forever till Judgement Day!

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān said that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to him, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, from al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who said, "I once said, 'O Messenger of God, when Quraysh meet one another they do so joyfully, but when they meet us it is as if we don't know them.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became extremely angry when he heard that and said, 'By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muḥammad, faith will never enter the heart of any man until he loves you all for the sake of God and his Messenger.'

"I commented, 'O Messenger of God, Quraysh sat recalling their lines of genealogy and you they compared to a date palm in a hole in the ground.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'On the day when God created man he placed me among the best of them. Then when He divided them into tribes He placed me in the best one. And when He made the *buyūt*, clans, he placed me in the best one. And so I am the best of them in spirit and the best in clan.'"

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related it from Ibn Fuḍayl from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, from Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith who said, "(The comment) reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he responded to it as above." But he (i.e. Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith) made no mention of al-ʿAbbās.

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān said that Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd related to him, as did Qays b. ʿAbd Allāh, from al-Aʿmash, from ʿAlīla b. Rubʿī from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said: "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'God divided creation into two parts and placed me in the better of them. This relates to His words (in the Qurʾān) "and those of the right" and "those of the left". And I am of those of the right, indeed the best one of them. God then split these two parts into thirds placing me in the best third. This relates to His words "those of *al-maymana*" (the right wing) and to "*al-sābiqūn, al-sābiqūn*" (those in the forefront). I am one of those in the forefront; indeed I am the best of them.

"'Then He made those thirds into tribes and placed me in the best of them. That relates to His words, "We made you into peoples and tribes so that you

would know one another; the most noble of you in God's sight are the most pious. God is indeed knowing, informed" (*sūrat al-Ḥujurāt*, XLIX, v.13). And I am the most pious of Adam's sons and the most noble of them with God. Without boast.

"'God then made the tribes into *buyūt*, clans, and placed me in the best of them. This relates to God's words. "God wants only to remove from you what is unclear, O people of the house, purifying you thoroughly" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*, XXXIII, v.33). And I and the people of my house are purified of sin.'"

This *ḥadīth* is somewhat strange and objectionable.

Al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī related from a *ḥadīth* from Muḥammad b. Dhakwān, the uncle of the son of Ḥamād b. Zayd, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from Ibn ʿUmar who said, "We were sitting in the courtyard of the Prophet (ṢAAS) when a woman passed by. Someone said, 'That's the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!' Abū Sufyān then commented, 'Muḥammad's presence in Banū Hāshim is like a sweet basil plant amidst rotten garbage!' The woman hurried off and informed the Prophet (ṢAAS).

"Soon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, his face showing his anger. He said, 'What's the meaning of certain statements reaching me about people? God created all seven heavens and chose the highest for whomsoever of his creatures he wished to dwell there. Then he created all living things and chose from them mankind. From mankind he chose the Arabs and from them Muḍar. From Muḍar he chose Quraysh and from them the Banū Hāshim. From Banū Hāshim he chose me. I am the choicest of the chosen; so whoever loves the Arabs, it is through loving me that he loves them. Whoever hates the Arabs, it is through hating me that he hates them.'"

This too is a strange *ḥadīth*.

It is established in the *ṣaḥiḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I am (to be) lord of Adam's sons on Judgement Day, without boasting."

Al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī recounted from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. ʿUbayda that ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Nawfal related to him from al-Zuhrī, from Abū ʿUsāma or Abū Salama, from ʿĀ'isha, God bless her, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "Gabriel said to me, 'I searched the earth from east to west but found no man superior to Muḥammad; and I searched the earth from east to west but found no tribe superior to the Banū Hāshim.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī said, "These traditions, even though the transmitters of some are unreliable, do substantiate one another. And the message of all does relate back to the *ḥadīth* of Wāthila b. al-Asqaʿ. But God knows best."

On this subject Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses in praise of the Prophet (ṢAAS):

"Were Quraysh to gather one day to boast, ʿAbd Manāf would be their heart and core,

And if the chiefs of ʿAbd Manāf were assessed, their most noble and ancient of line would be from Hāshim,

Were they to boast one day, then Muḥammad would be the one chosen from their inmost, and their pride.

Quraysh, all and sundry of them, plotted against us, but they did not succeed and were confounded;

Since ancient days we reject injustice and if others turned away in contempt we set them straight.

Each day we protect their sanctuary from evil, repelling from their refuges all seeking them;

By us the dried-out branches are revived, their roots becoming moist and growing under our protection."

Abū al-Sakn Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā al-Ṭā'ī said in the famous anecdote ascribed to him: "ʿUmar b. Abū Zuḥr b. Ḥaṣīn said, on the authority of his grandfather Ḥamīd b. Munhib, that his grandfather Khuraym b. Aws stated, 'I went away to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and came to him at his camp at Tabūk. I had become a Muslim. I heard al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib say, "Oh Messenger of God, I would like to speak verses in your praise." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "Speak on and may God not block your tongue." So he recited,

"Before this you were pleasantly in the shade (of paradise) in a place where leaves clustered above.

Then you came down to this land; no human you, no embryo, no clot.

A droplet, rather, riding (Noah's) vessel, the deep having bridled an eagle and his family.

Being carried from loins to womb, one world passing, another surface appearing,

Until your supreme house encompassed Khindaf[56] so lofty (in honour), beneath her all other beings.

When you were born the earth glowed, the horizon shining with your light.

So we are in that illumination and that light, making our way upon the paths of righteousness."'"

This poem has been ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir recounted in a line of transmission from Abū al-Ḥasan b. Abū Ḥadīd as follows that Muḥammad b. Abū Naṣr informed him, ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurashī told him, Abū Ḥaṣīn Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī related to him, as did Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zāhid al-Khurāsānī, as did Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Sinān, as did Sallām b. Sulayman Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Makfūf al-Madāʿinī, as did

56. Khindaf was the wife of Ilyās, mother of Mudrika, referred to earlier in the lineage from which the Prophet descended.

Warqāʾ b. ʿUmar, from Ibn Abū Nājīḥ from ʿAṭāʾ and Mujāhid from Ibn ʿAbbās who said, "I posed the following question to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Where were you, may my parents be your ransom, when Adam was still in paradise?' He replied, smiling so broadly all his teeth could be seen, 'I was in his loins. Then the vessel carried me into the loins of my father Noah, who cast me out into the loins of my father Abraham. My parents never once engaged in fornication. God went on transporting me from respectable loins to chaste wombs, pure and unsullied, and whenever a line split I was always in the better half. God has covenanted prophethood in me and made Islam my pact. He made mention of me in the Torah and in the Bible. All the prophets made clear my qualities; the earth brightens with my light and the dark clouds with my face. He taught me His Book and gave me honour in His heaven. He cut off for me one of His own names; the enthroned One is Maḥmūd, while I am Muḥammad and Aḥmad. He promised me that He would reward me with a garden and with *al-kawthar*, the river of paradise, that He would make me the first intercessor and the first for whom there was intercession. He drew me forth, moreover, out of the best marriage for my people, and they are those who give much praise, enjoin good deeds and prohibit sin.'"

Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses about the Prophet (ṢAAS):

> 'Before this you were pleasantly in the shade, and in a place where the leaves are plaited together,
> Then you dwelt in this land; no human you, no embryo, no clot,
> Purified, riding the vessel, the deep flood having bridled an eagle and his family,
> You were carried from loin to womb; whenever one surface passed, another appeared.'

"So the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'May God have mercy on Ḥassān!' And ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib commented, 'Ḥassān deserves paradise, by the Lord of the *kaʿba*!'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir then stated: "This tradition is very strange!"

And I say, it is highly objectionable. And it is well established that these verses are by al-ʿAbbās, God be pleased with him. They were, moreover, passed on from a tradition of Abū al-Sakn Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā al-Ṭāʾī, as above.

I also comment that some claim that the verses are of al-ʿAbbās b. Mardās al-Salamī. But God knows best.

An observation: The *qāḍī* ʿIyād stated in his book *al-Shifāʾ* (*Healing*): "Regarding the name 'Aḥmad' mentioned in the (holy) Books and of whom the prophets gave glad tidings, God in His wisdom prevented anyone to be named by it before Him, so that no confusion or doubt should descend on those weak of heart."

Similarly with "Muḥammad" as well; none of the Arabs or any other people was named by it until shortly before his birth word was spread that a prophet would be sent whose name would be "Muḥammad". And so a small Arab group did give their sons that name hoping that one of them would be he. But God knows best where to place His message.

These were "Muḥammad" b. Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ al-Awsī, "Muḥammad" b. Maslama al-Anṣārī, "Muḥammad" b. Barrā' al-Bakrī, "Muḥammad" b. Sufyān b. Mujāshi', "Muḥammad" b. Ḥumrān al-Ju'fī, and "Muḥammad" b. Khūza'ī al-Sulmī; no seventh person was so named.

It is said that the first person named "Muḥammad" was Muḥammad b. Sufyān b. Mujāshi'; in Yemen they say, however, that it was "Muḥammad" b. al-Yaḥmud of Azd.

Moreover, God protected those so named from claiming the prophethood or others from claiming it for them. Not one of them showed any manifestation that would cause anyone to suspect of such, until the two signs were realized in him (ṢAAS) "signs that could not be denied", that being His expression.

CHAPTER ON THE BIRTH OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

He was born on a Monday. This is from what is related by Muslim in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from a *ḥadīth* told by Ghaylān b. Jarīr from 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'bad al-Zimmānī, from Abū Qatāda to the effect that a bedouin said, "O Messenger of God, what do you say about fasting on Mondays?" He replied, "That is the day I was born, and the day I was first sent revelation."

The Imām Aḥmad said, "Mūsā b. Dāwūd related to us, as did Ibn Lahī'a, from Khālid b. Abū 'Umrān, from Ḥanash al-San'ānī, from Ibn 'Abbās who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born on a Monday. He received the prophethood on a Monday, left Mecca for Medina as an emigrant on a Monday, arrived at Medina on a Monday, died on a Monday, and raised up the stone on a Monday.'"

Only Aḥmad gives the tradition thus, but 'Amr b. Bukayr related it from Ibn Lahī'a with an addition of the words, "The Qur'anic *sūrat al-Mā'ida* (Ch. V) was revealed on a Monday, with the words, "This day have I completed for you your religion" (V, v.3).

Some others relate it thus from Mūsā b. Dāwūd with a further addition, "The battle of Badr was on a Monday." Yazīd b. Ḥabīb was one of those who stated this. But it is highly objectionable.

According to Ibn 'Asākir what is generally accepted is that the battle of Badr and the revelation of "This day have I completed for you your religion" both occurred on a Friday. And Ibn 'Asākir spoke the truth.

'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr recounted, from Kurayb, from Ibn 'Abbās who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born and died on a Monday."

Similar reports from different lines of transmission also have Ibn ʿAbbās saying that he was born on a Monday.

This, then, is a matter without dispute, namely that he was born on a Monday. Unlikely, indeed in error, is the view of those who say he was born on Friday, the 17th day, the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal. This idea was transmitted by the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn Diḥya from what he had read in the book: *Iʿlām al-Ruwāt bi Aʿlām al-Hudā* (*Informing the Narrators of the Signs of Righteousness*) written by certain Shiʿites. But then Ibn Diḥya proceeded to denigrate this account; and it is appropriate to criticize it since it contradicts authenticated tradition.

Most people believe that the birth occurred in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, and, it is said, on the second day thereof. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr stated this in his exhaustive study and al-Wāqidī related it from Abū Maʿshar Nujayḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madanī.

Some say that it occurred on the 8th of the month. Al-Ḥumaydī related it so from Ibn Ḥazm. Mālik, ʿUqayl, and Yūnis Ibn Yazīd, and others related this from al-Zuhrī, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr recounted that the historians had verified this, and the great *ḥāfiẓ* Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khawārizmī so determined it. The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Khaṭṭāb b. Diḥya considered it likely in his book: *al-Tanwīr fī Mawlid al-Bashīr al-Nadhīr* (*Enlightenment on the Birth of the Warner and the Bearer of Glad Tidings*).

And it is said, in an account transmitted by Ibn Diḥya in his book, that it occurred on the 10th of the month; Ibn ʿAsākir related this from Abū Jaʿfar al-Bāqir as did Mujālid from al-Shaʿbī, as above.

The birth is also said to have come on the 12th of the month. Ibn Isḥāq states this. Ibn Abū Shayba relates this too in his compilation, on the authority of ʿAffān, from Saʿīd b. Mīnāʾ, from Jābir and from Ibn ʿAbbās, the latter two having stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born in the 'year of the elephant', on Monday the 12th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal. On that same day he received his mission, was carried up to heaven, emigrated from Mecca, and died. And this is what is widely known to most people; but God knows best."

He is also said to have been born on the 17th, as Ibn Diḥya reported from some of the Shīʿa. But also on the 8th, Ibn Diḥya so stating from the writing of the *wazīr*, the government minister, Abū Rāfiʿ, son of the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥazm, from his father. What is correct about the account of Ibn Ḥazm, the first, that it occurred on the 8th, is as al-Ḥumaydī recounted from him; this is best established.

There is a second account, namely that he was born in Ramaḍān. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr transmitted this from al-Zubayr b. Bakkār. This is a very strange statement. Its basis is the fact that he doubtless received revelation in Ramaḍān, at the beginning of the 40th year of his life. And so his birth should be in Ramaḍān. However, this is debatable. But God knows best.

Khaytham b. Sulaymān, the *ḥāfiẓ*, related from Khalaf b. Muḥammad Kirdaws al-Wāsiṭī, from al-Muʿallā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born on a Monday in *Rabīʿ al-Awwal* and revelation of his prophethood came down to him on Monday, the first of *Rabīʿ al-Awwal*; also the Qur'ān chapter *al-Baqara* (*The Cow*; II) was revealed on a Monday in Rabīʿ al-Awwal."

This is very strange. It is Ibn ʿAsākir who related it.

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār stated, "His mother became pregnant with him during *ayyām al-tashrīq*, the celebratory feast days,[57] in the vale of Abū Ṭālib, near *al-jumrat al-wusṭā*, the central stoning pile at Minā. He was born in Mecca in the house known as that of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, brother of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, on the 12th of Ramaḍān."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir recounted this from a line through Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. ʿUqba b. Makram, from al-Musayyab b. Sharīk, from Shuʿayb b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was conceived on the day of *ʿĀshūrā'*, the 9th or 10th day of Muḥarram, and he was born on Monday, the 12th of Ramaḍān in the 23rd year after the attack on Mecca by the troops with elephants."

Other sources relate that al-Khayzurān, the mother of Hārūn al-Rashīd, when she performed the pilgrimage, ordered the conversion of this house into a mosque. It is known by her name to this day.

Al-Suhaylī gave the date of his birth as the 20th of Nisān, April. This was the most appropriate time and season; and that was in the year 882 of the era of Alexander, according to those who use astronomical almanacs.

And they claim that the ascendant was at twenty degrees from Capricorn, and that Jupiter and Saturn were joined together at a position within three degrees of Scorpio, a position in the middle of the heavens. This was in correspondence with the stages of Aries. The birth occurred as the moon first arose at the beginning of the night. Ibn Diḥya transmitted all this; but God knows best.

According to Ibn Isḥāq, his birth occurred in the year of the elephant.

And this is what is well known to the people at large. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī said, "And this is something about which our scholars have no doubt, the fact that he was born in the year of the elephant; and that he received his mission as a prophet at the beginning of the 40th year after the attack with elephants."

57. The term was applied to the three days following the Day of Immolation during the Ḥajj festival.

Al-Bayhaqī related this as well from a tradition of Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr from Ibn Abbās who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born in the year of the elephant attack."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays b. Makhrama related, from his father, from his grandfather Qays b. Makhrama, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and I were born in the year of the elephant attack; our births were contemporaneous.'"

ʿUthmān, may God be pleased with him, asked Qubāth b. Ashyam, brother of Banū Yaʿmur b. Layth, "Were you the greater[58] (in age) or was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" He replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 'greater' than me, but I was earlier in birth. I saw the elephants' droppings when still green and changing (in colour)." Al-Tirmidhī related this, as did al-Ḥākim from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Ibn Isḥāq stated: "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 20 in the year of *ʿukāẓ*."

He also said, "*Al-fijār*[59] took place 20 years after the elephant attack. The building of the *kaʿba* was done 15 years after *al-fijār*, and the divine mission came about 5 years after its building."

Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim stated, "Ukāẓ occurred 15 years after the 'elephant' battle, the building of the *kaʿba* 10 years thereafter, and the mission 15 years after that."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related from a tradition of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Thābit al-Madinī as follows: "Al-Zubayr b. Mūsā related to us on the authority of Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, saying, 'I heard ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Marwān say to Qubāth b. Ashyam al-Kinānī al-Laythī, "O Qubāth, which of you, you or the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was *akbar*?" He replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was *akbar* (i.e. greater) than me, but I was *asann*, older. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born during the year of the elephant attack, but I was aware enough to recall my mother standing with me upon the elephant's dung while it was still changing (in colour). And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became a Prophet at the beginning of 40 years thereafter."'"

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān said, "Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Bukayr related to us, Nuʿaym, meaning Ibn Maysara, related to us, from certain others, from Suwayd b. Ghafla, that the last-mentioned stated, 'I am contemporary in birth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); I was born in the year of the elephant attack.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "It is related from Suwayd b. Ghafla that he said, 'I am younger than the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by two years.'"

58. The word *akbar* is used which may mean "older" or "greater"; hence the exchanges in the accounts that follow.

59. Battles at ʿUkāẓ between Arab tribes during months when warfare was proscribed.

Yaʿqūb said: "And Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir related to us, as did ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Thābit, (and) ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Abū Sulaymān al-Nawfalī related to me, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim, saying, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born in the year of the elephant attack, and the Ukāẓ incident occurred 15 years later. The *kaʿba* was built early in the 25th year after the elephant attack, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became a Prophet at the beginning of the 40th year after that attack.'"

The outcome is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was, according to majority opinion, born in the year of the elephant attack. Some say the birth occurred one month after that event, others say 40 days, yet others 50 days, which is the most favoured date.

And according to Abū Jaʿfar al-Baqīr, the arrival of the elephants was half-way through the month of al-Muḥarram, while the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) occurred 55 days thereafter.

But others say that, on the contrary, the elephant attack occurred ten years before the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ibn Abzā stated this.

The attack is also said to have occurred 23 years before his birth; this is what Shuʿayb b. Shuʿayb related from his father from his grandfather, as stated above. Alternatively, the birth is said to have come 30 years after the attack; Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated this, from al-Zuhrī, God be pleased with him. And Mūsā b. ʿUqba himself, God be pleased with him also, chose this date.

Abū Zakariyyā' al-ʿIjlānī stated that the birth came 40 years after the attack; Ibn ʿAsākir recounted this, something very strange.

Even stranger is the statement of Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ who said, "Shuʿayb b. Ḥibbān related to me, from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid son of Abū ʿAmr, from al-Kalbī, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās as follows: 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born 15 years before the elephant attack.'" This statement is unique, objectionable, and considered weak as well.

Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ stated, "The consensus is that he was born, peace be upon him, in the year of the elephants' attack."

A DESCRIPTION OF HIS NOBLE BIRTH (ṢAAS).

It has been told above how ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib sacrificed the 100 camels, God having saved him from fulfilment of his vow to sacrifice his son ʿAbd Allāh. This was in accord with what He had decreed of old, that the *nabī al-ummī*, the unlettered Prophet (ṢAAS) the "seal of the prophets", and the lord of all the progeny of Adam would appear. Thereafter, as explained, He arranged the marriage of ʿAbd Allāh to the most noble of the women of Quraysh, Āmina, daughter of Wahb b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhra al-Zuhriyya. And when the groom took her as his

wife and consummated the marriage, she became pregnant with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Umm Qattāl, Raqīqa, daughter of Nawfal, sister of Waraqa b. Nawfal, saw the sign of light appear between ʿAbd Allāh's eyes before he united with Āmina. She wished for it to be transmitted to herself, because of all the tidings she had heard from her brother foretelling the coming of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) and that his time was near; she therefore offered herself to ʿAbd Allāh. Some authorities add "To have him marry her". That does seem most likely. But God knows best. But ʿAbd Allāh resisted her and when that dazzling light had gone to Āmina after he consummated marriage with her, it seems that he regretted not having accepted what Umm Qattāl had offered. And so he approached her to have her repeat her offer. But she now said she had no need of him and was sad at what she had missed. She therefore recited on that subject the fine and eloquent poetry we quoted above. The chaste abstinence of ʿAbd Allāh was not to his own credit but to that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); it reflected the words of God Almighty, "God knows best wherein to place His mission" (*sūrat al-Anʿam*, VI, v.124).

The tradition, from a good transmission line, has already been given that the Prophet (ṢAAS) stated, "I was born of marriage, not fornication."

What is intended here is (to say) that after his mother had conceived him his father died and he remained a foetus in his mother's womb, as it is generally understood.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated that Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, he being al-Wāqidī, related to him, as did Mūsā b. ʿUbayda al-Yazīdī, as did Saʿīd b. Abū Zayd, from Ayyūb b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abū Ṣaʿṣaʿa, as follows: "ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib went off to Ghazza in a Quraysh trading caravan. When they finished their business they left there and passed through Medina. By then ʿAbd Allāh was sick and he asked that he be left there in the company of Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār to whom he was related.

"He stayed there with them sick for one month while his friends continued back to Mecca. There ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib asked them about his son ʿAbd Allāh and they told him of how he was sick and they had left him with his relatives of Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib sent to him his oldest son al-Ḥārith, but the latter found that ʿAbd Allāh had died and been buried in the house of al-Nābigha. And so al-Ḥārith returned to his father and told him this.

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and his brothers and sisters all grieved terribly at his loss.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at that time still a foetus; Abd Allāh, son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, was 25 when he died."

Al-Wāqidī asserted, "This is the most firmly based of the accounts of the death of ʿAbd Allāh and of his age that we have."

Al-Wāqidī also said, "Maʿmar related to me from al-Zuhrī that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib sent ʿAbd Allāh to Medina to purchase dates for them but he died."

Muḥammad b. Sa'd said, "Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī told us from his father as well as from 'Awāna b. al-Ḥakam that they had both said that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had reached 28 months; and it is also said he was 7 months old."

Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated, "The first account is better established, namely that when he died the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was still a foetus."

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār said, "Muḥammad b. Ḥasan related to me, from 'Abd al-Salām, from Ibn Kharbudh, as follows, 'Abd Allāh died in Medina when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 2 months old. His mother died when he was 4 years of age, and his grandfather when he was 8. And so he was entrusted to his uncle, Abū Ṭālib."

What al-Wāqidī considered more probable and the *ḥāfiẓ* Muḥammad b. Sa'd wrote, was that when his father died the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was still a foetus in his mother's womb.

And this is the epitome and highest rank of being an orphan.

In the *ḥadīth* literature occur the words, "and the visions of my mother who saw, as she bore me, a light came forth from her that lit up the castles of Syria."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that Āmina, daughter of Wahb and mother of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), used to say that when she became pregnant with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a voice told her: "You are pregnant with the lord of this nation; when he drops to the ground (in birth) say the words, 'I invoke for him the protection of the One God, from the evil of all who envy, from everyone committed to his oath and every prowling slave; may a champion protect me, for he is with the All-praised and All-glorious One, until I see him come into view.

"'And the proof of that is a light accompanying him that will fill the castles of Buṣrā in Syria. And at his birth, then call him Muḥammad, for in the Torah his name is "Aḥmad" and the hosts of earth and heaven give him *ḥamd*, praise. In the Gospels his name is "Aḥmad", the hosts of heaven and earth giving him *ḥamd*, praise. And his name in the Qur'ān is "Muḥammad", "the praised one."'"

But these traditions require that she had a vision when she became pregnant with him, that a light was emanating from her by which the castles of Syria were illuminated. And then, when she gave birth to him, she actually saw by her eyes a realization of that, just as she had seen beforehand, as told here. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated that Muḥammad b. 'Umar, he being al-Wāqidī, informed him that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim related to him, from al-Zuhrī, what follows. Al-Wāqidī also stated that Mūsā b. 'Abda related to him the following, from his brother and Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī; as did 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far al-Zuhrī, from his aunt Umm Bakr, daughter of al-Miswar, from

her father; as did ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Mazanī and Ziyād b. Ḥashraj, from Abū Wajza; as did Maʿmar from Abū Nujayḥ, from Mujāhid; as did Ṭalha b. ʿAmr from ʿAṭāʾ from Ibn ʿAbbās. The accounts of some of these correlate with those of others. These accounts state that Āmina daughter of Wahb said, "I became pregnant with him (meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) and he caused me no difficulties up to when I gave birth to him. When he was separated from me a light emerged along with him that lit all between east and west. Then he dropped to the ground, resting upon his hands, and took up a handful of earth which he gripped tight, raising his head towards heaven."

Some sources word this tradition, "he dropped down resting upon his knees and there emerged with him a light by which were illuminated the castles and market-places of Syria, even so that the necks of the camels at Buṣrā could be seen, while he raised his head towards heaven."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī said that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, and Yūnus b. Mubashshir b. al-Ḥasan, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhrī, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Abū Sulaymān b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim, from his father, from Ibn Abū Suwayd al-Thaqafī, from ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ as follows: "My mother told me that she witnessed the giving of the birth by Āmina daughter of Wahb to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the night the birth occurred." She said, "All I could see in the house was light. As I looked I saw the stars coming so close that I said that they were going to fall on me!"

The *qāḍī* (judge) ʿIyād recounted, from al-Shaffāʾ, mother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, that she was his midwife and that she said that when he dropped into her hands and first made a sound, she heard a voice say, "May God have mercy on you!" And (she said) that a light shone from him by which the castles of Byzantium could be seen.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said that when she gave birth to him she sent her slave girl to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, his father having died while she was pregnant (it is also said that ʿAbd Allāh died when the Prophet (ṢAAS) was 28 months old, and God knows best which account is true) to say to him, "A boy has been born to you, so look to him."

When ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib came to her she related to him what she had seen when she bore him, what she had been told about him, and what she had been ordered to name him.

So ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib took him in to Hubal; inside the *kaʿba*, and stood and prayed, thanking God the Almighty and Glorious, and speaking the verses,

"Praise be to God who gave me this fine, wonderful boy,
Who already in the cradle leads all boys; I entrust his safety to the pillared House (*kaʿba*),

Until he becomes the epitome of young men, until I see him fully grown.
I seek his protection from all who hate, and from the envious and the unstable,
From those with ambition but eyeless, until I see him highly eloquent;
You are he who was named in the Qur'ān, in books whose meanings are well established,
(Your name being) ʿAḥmad, written upon the tongue."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh the *ḥāfiẓ* informed us, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥātim al-Darābardī, of Merv, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Būshanjī related to us, quoting Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Salama al-Khabā'irī, quoting Yūnus b. ʿAṭā' b. ʿUthmān b. Rabīʿa b. Ziyād b. al-Ḥārith al-Ṣaddāʿī, of Egypt, quoting al-Ḥakam b. Abān, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from his father al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, God bless him, as follows. "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born circumcised and with his umbilical cord severed. His grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was amazed at this and found favour in him, saying, 'This son of mine is sure to be important.' And so he was."

There is dispute over the veracity of this.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir told it, from an account of Sufyān b. Muḥammad al-Maṣṣīṣī, from Hushaym, from Yūnus b. ʿUbayd, from al-Ḥasan, from Anas, as follows: The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "One way God honoured me was in my being born already circumcised, so that no one saw my private parts."

He (Ibn ʿAsākir) then related it on a line of transmission from al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafa, on the authority of Hushaym.

He thereafter related it from Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, he being al-Bāghandī, who said that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ayyūb al-Ḥimṣī related to him, quoting Mūsā b. Abū Mūsā al-Maqdisī, that Khālid b. Salama related to him, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, that the latter said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born circumcised and with his umbilical cord detached."

Abū Nuʿaym stated that Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghitrīfī related to him, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mālikī, quoting Sulaymān b. Salama al-Khabāʿirī, quoting Yūnus b. ʿAṭā', quoting al-Ḥakam b. Abān, quoting ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from his father al-ʿAbbās, as follows, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born circumcised and with his umbilical cord detached. This amazed his grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and he found favour in him, saying, 'This son of mine is sure to be important.' And so he was."

Some authorities claim authenticity for this tradition for the lines of transmission it has; some even claim for it the status of *mutawātir*.[60] However, this is debatable.

60. The term connotes a tradition related by consecutive testimonies and therefore one of evident authenticity.

The word *makhtūn* given in these traditions means "having the foreskin cut off"; the word *masrūr* means "having had the umbilical cord from his mother severed".

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir related from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUyayna al-Baṣrī as follows, "ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī al-Salmī related to us, quoting Salama b. Muḥārib b. Muslim b. Ziyād, from his father, from Abū Bakra, that Gabriel circumcised the Prophet (ṢAAS) when he cleansed his heart."

This is extremely strange.

It is also said that it was his grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who circumcised him and held a celebration for him to which he gathered all Quraysh. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī said that Abū ʿAbd Allāh the *ḥāfiẓ* informed us, quoting Muḥammad b. Kāmil al-Qāḍī – verbally – that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl – meaning al-Salmī – related to him that Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ related to him that Muʿāwiya b. Ṣāliḥ told him, from Abū al-Ḥakam al-Tanūkhī as follows: "When a child was born to Quraysh they would entrust it to some Quraysh women till next morning. They would place an upside-down pottery vessel over it. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib entrusted him to the women and they did put over him an upside-down pottery vessel. When they came to him next morning they discovered that the vessel had split into two pieces and fallen away from him. They found him there with his eyes wide open gazing up to heaven! When ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib arrived they told him, 'We never saw a newborn child like him! We discovered that the vessel had split in two away from him and found him open-eyed and gazing up to heaven!' He commented, 'Take care of him; I hope he will be of importance, or that he will achieve good.'"

On the seventh day he made sacrifice for him and invited Quraysh to see him. When they had feasted, they asked, "O ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, what have you thought of naming this son of yours you have honoured?" "I have named him Muḥammad," he replied. "Why", they asked, "have you preferred him not to have one of the names of his kinsfolk?" "Because I wanted God to praise him in heaven and His creatures to praise him on earth," he replied.

Language scholars say, "All that invites the qualities of good is named 'Muḥammad'." As the poet said,

> To you, blameless as you are, I have urged on my mount, to him who is the glorious and noble master, the one 'Muḥammad'" (i.e. "the laudable one").

Some scholars say that God, the Almighty and Glorious, encouraged them to name him Muḥammad for the praiseworthy qualities he possessed; so that word and deed be joined and that the name and the one named be appropriately

congruent in form and concept. As his uncle Abū Ṭālib composed – and the verse is also attributed to Ḥassān –

> "God took a part of His own name for him, to honour him; for He of the throne is named 'Maḥmūd' (i.e. he to whom praise is due) while he is 'Muḥammad'."

We will report the various names and qualities by which he (ṢAAS) is known, these being his evident qualities and pure virtues, the evidences of his prophethood, and the attributes of his status. All these we will give at the end of the biography, if God wills it so.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī said that Abū ʿAbd Allāh the *ḥāfiẓ* informed him that Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting Aḥmad b. Shaybān al-Ramalī, quoting Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥubalī, quoting al-Haytham b. Jamīl, quoting Zuhayr, from Muḥārib b. Dithār, from ʿAmr b. Yathribī, from al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, as follows: "I said: 'O Messenger of God, it was a sign of your prophethood that encouraged me to join your religion. I saw you in the cradle whispering to the moon and gesturing to it with your finger. And it would move in the direction you indicated.' He replied, 'I would talk to it and it to me and it would distract me from crying. And I would hear its palpitations when it would prostrate beneath God's throne.'"

He (Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī) then said, "He (Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm Ḥubalī) transmitted only this one tradition, and he is not known."

Section: On the signs that occurred on the night of the birth of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

In the section on *Hawātif al-Jān* (*The Cries of the Spirits*), we told of the downcast faces of many of the idols and how they fell from their places on that night, and of what the Negus, the king of Abyssinia, saw. Similarly we have reported the appearance of the light that came with him that even lit up the castles of Syria when he was born, and how he dropped into a kneeling position and raised his head to heaven. We told also how the vessel split asunder from above his honoured face, what was seen by the light in the house where he was born and how the stars came down close to them, and other such events.

Al-Suhaylī related from the Qurʾān commentary of Baqī b. Makhlid, the *ḥāfiẓ*, that Satan let out four cries. One came when he was cursed (by God); another when he was sent down from heaven; a third when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born; and the fourth when *sūrat al-Fātiḥa*, the opening verse of the Qurʾān, came down.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said that Hishām b.ʿUrwa would tell traditions on the authority of his father, that came from ʿĀʾisha, who once said, "There was a Jew who resided in Mecca and did business there. On the night when the Messenger

of God (ṢAAS) was born, the man addressed a gathering of Quraysh with the words, 'O Quraysh, did a birth occur among you this night?' They replied that they did not know. He then exclaimed, 'Well, God is very great; if that should have missed you, then no matter. Do look, and remember what I am telling you. This night a prophet has been born to this last nation; between his shoulders there is a mark consisting of successive lines of hair looking like a horse's mane. He will not suckle for two nights and this is because a spirit will have put his finger into his mouth and prevented him from suckling.'

"The gathering broke up at this with all amazed at what he had told them. When they returned to their homes each one told his family. And they responded, 'By God, a child was born to ʿAbd Allāh, son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, a boy they named "Muḥammad".' The people then gathered and asked one another, 'Did you hear what the Jew said, and have you heard of the birth of the boy?' They then hurried off to the Jew and told him the news. He asked them to go with him, so that he could see the boy. They left together and took him in to Amīna, saying, 'Bring out your son for us.' She did so and they uncovered his back. There they saw the mark and the Jew fell down in a faint. When he came to, they asked him what was the matter with him. He replied, 'By God, prophecy has left Israel's tribe; are you glad with it, O Quraysh? He will so empower you that news of it will spread from east and west!'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said that Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf related to him, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿd b. Zurāra, as follows, "Certain trustworthy men of my tribe told me that Ḥassān b. Thābit once said, 'I was a mature lad of seven or eight, capable of understanding all I saw and heard, when one morning a Jew in Yathrib began shouting for the attention of his people. When they gathered about him – I heard all that myself – they asked him what the matter was. He replied, "The star has risen beneath which 'Aḥmad' will be born this night."'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym related in the book, *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*), from a tradition of Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿĀmirī, from Sulaymān b. Suḥaym and Dhurayḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, both of their accounts coming from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Saʿīd, from his father, who said that he heard Abū Mālik b. Sinān say: "I came one day to talk with Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, with whom we then had a truce, and heard the Jew Yūshuʿ say, 'The time approaches for the coming of a prophet named Aḥmad who will arise from the sanctuary.' Khalīfa b. Thaʿlaba al-Ashhalī asked him, sarcastically, 'How might you describe him?' He responded, 'A man neither short nor tall, with fine, light eyes; he wears a full cloak and rides a donkey, carries his sword over his shoulder and to this land will he migrate.'"

Abū Mālik went on, "When I returned to my own people and expressed at that time my surprise at what Yūshuʿ had been saying, I heard one of our own

men comment, 'So is it Yūshuʿ who alone says that? All the Jews of Yathrib are saying the same!'"

Abū Mālik continued, "I thereafter left and visited the Banū Qurayẓa whom I found in assembly discussing the Prophet (ṢAAS). Al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā said, 'The red star has risen and it only ever rises on the departure or emergence of a prophet. And the only one left is Aḥmad; this will be the place to which he will migrate.' And Abū Saʿīd said, 'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) eventually arrived my father told him this story, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "If al-Zubayr had adopted Islam, then his fellow Jewish leaders would also have done so; but they all followed him."'"

Abū Nuʿaym said that ʿUmar b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Sindī, quoting al-Naḍr b. Salama, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Qays b. Sulaymān b. Zayd b. Thābit, from Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Thābit, who said that he heard Zayd b. Thābit say, "The Jewish rabbis of the Banū Qurayẓa and al-Naḍīr would discuss the description of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and when the red star arose, they said that it was for a prophet after whom there would be no other, that his name was Aḥmad and that he would migrate to Yathrib. But when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ultimately arrived in the town they denied him, expressing their envy and disbelief."

This story is also given by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym in his book from other lines of transmission, and may God be praised.

Abū Nuʿaym and Muḥammad b. Hibān said that Abū Bakr b. Abū ʿĀṣim related to them, quoting Wahb b. Baqiyya, quoting Khālid, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama and Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib, from Usāma b. Zayd who said that Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl stated, "A priest of Syria once told me, 'A prophet has come in your land. While he was arriving, his star arose. So go home, believe in him and follow him!'"

An Account of the shaking of the palace, and of the falling of the balconies, the extinguishing of the fires, the visions of the Magian supreme priest, and other such signs.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Sahl al-Kharāʾiṭī stated in the book, *Hawātif al-Jān* (*The Cries of the Spirits*), that ʿAlī b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Abū Ayyūb Yaʿlā b. ʿImrān, from the family of Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī quoting Makhzūm b. Hānīʾ al-Makhzūmī, from his father who reached the age of 150 years, as follows, "When it was the night in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born Chosroe's domed palace shook and 14 balconies upon it fell down. Also the 'fire of Persia' went out, having not done so for a thousand years before, and Lake Sāwa emptied. A Magian priest saw (in a dream) wild camels

leading pure-bred horses that had crossed the Tigris river and spread into their land. This greatly alarmed Chosroe when he told him of it next morning; he put on a brave front and pretended lack of concern but then decided not to conceal it from his governors. He therefore summoned them, put on his crown, and sat upon his throne. Then he had them brought in and when they gathered around him he said, 'Do you know why I have summoned you?' They replied that all they knew was that their king wanted to tell them something. At that point a message came telling of the extinguishing of the fire, news that further upset the king. He then told them what he (the priest) had seen and what had alarmed him.

"The supreme priest explained, 'Last night I saw, may God save the realm, a vision.' He then recounted his vision of the camels and the king asked him how he interpreted it. He replied that it concerned some event occurring over in the territory of the Arabs who would understand it better than they themselves.

"Thereupon the king wrote a message, saying, 'From Chosroe, king of kings, to al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir: Greetings. Send me some man learned in what I wish to question him about.' Al-Nuʿmān then dispatched to him ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. ʿAmr b. Ḥayyān b. Buqayla al-Ghassānī. When he arrived Chosroe asked him, 'Do you have knowledge of what I wish to question you about?' ʿAbd al-Masīḥ replied, 'Let the king inform or question me as however he wishes; if I have knowledge of it (then good), otherwise I will inform him of someone who does know.'

"So Chosroe told him what he had been informed and ʿAbd al-Masīḥ replied, 'An uncle of mine named Saṭīḥ who lives in the uplands of Syria will have knowledge of that.' Chosroe then told him to go to this man to ask him what he wanted to know and then to return with the explanation.

"'ʿAbd al-Masīḥ left but Saṭīḥ, by the time he reached him, was on his death-bed. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ greeted him and talked to him, but Saṭīḥ made no reply. So ʿAbd al-Masīḥ then spoke the following verses:

'Has the noble lord of Yemen gone deaf or does he hear; or has he died, the ultimate reins (death) having him in tow.

O he who determines the course, one that would exhaust anyone, your visitor is the local sheikh of the Sunan family.

His mother is of the family of Dhiʾb ('wolf') b. Ḥajan (crooked of staff, evil-eyed) vicious of fang, raucous to the ear.

White, full of cloak and body, a messenger from the king of the Persians, travelling by night till deep slumber.

Carried over the earth by a strong, large she-camel, tireless, unawed by thunder or vicissitudes of time.

Lifting me with a bump and dropping me with a crash, bare of breast and lower back,

Enveloped by a gale of manure dust, as though blasting from the two sides of a mountain.'

"When Saṭīḥ heard those verses he raised his head and said, 'Why, it's ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, ridden here on a tireless mount, who's come to Saṭīḥ, looking down at my death-bed; you've been sent by the king of the Sassanians, because of the shaking of his palace, the extinguishing of the fires, and the visions of the priest who saw wild camels leading pure-bred horses that had crossed the Tigris and spread into their lands.

"'O ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, when many recitations have been made and the sceptre-bearer has appeared, the Samāwa valley flooded, Lake Sāwa dried up, and the fires of Persia gone out, then Syria is Syria no more for Saṭīḥ. Of them there shall reign kings and queens to the number of their balconies; all that will be, will be.'

"At that Saṭīḥ died, right then and there. So ʿAbd al-Masīḥ mounted his camel, saying the following verses:

'Get going, for you are decisive and expeditious; separation and change do not alarm you.

If the rule of the Sassanians is ending (so be it), for man is all stages and periods of time,

They may have achieved a status whose power mighty lions dread,

Of whom was Bahrām of the Tower and his brothers, the al-Hurmuzān, and Sābūr and Sābūr.[61]

People are indeed changeable; knowing that one of them has become destitute he is then despised and abandoned,

And many are the people who are (erroneously) influenced by what they hear, as if distracted by playing flutes.

However, should they see someone with riches and prosperity, then they are to him closely associated. This has been the secret of life, well preserved and repeatedly validated (they say), that's the province and concern of the unknown,

And good and evil stick always as a pair; for good is pursued relentlessly, evil avoided.'

"When ʿAbd al-Masīḥ came in to Chosroe and told him what Saṭīḥ had said, Chosroe replied, 'So, until 14 of us have ruled, many things can happen!'

"Ten of their kings did rule in a period of four years and the remainder ruled on until the caliphate of ʿUthmān, God be pleased with him."

Al-Bayhaqī related this from an account of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Idrīs, from ʿAlī b. Ḥarb al-Mūṣilī in similar form.

The last of their kings, the one from whom rule was wrested, was Yazdajard b. Shahriyār b. Abrawīz b. Hurmuz b. Anūshirwān; it was the last mentioned in whose era the domed palace shook. His forebears had ruled for 3,164 years. The first of their kings was Juyūmart b. Umaym b. Lāwadh b. Sām b. Noah. Mention of the lives of Shiqq and Saṭīḥ have been given above.

61. Bahrām, Sābūr, and Sābūr were Sassanian kings. Al-Hurmuzān was a famous Persian military leader.

Regarding this man Saṭīḥ, the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir stated in his history: "His name was al-Rabīʿ b. Rabīʿa b. Masʿūd b. Māzin b. Dhiʾb b. ʿAdī b. Māzin b. al-Azd. He was known as al-Rabīʿ b. Masʿūd; his mother was Radʿa daughter of Saʿd b. al-Ḥārith al-Ḥajūrī."

Other accounts of his ancestry also exist. He lived at al-Jābiyya.[62]

Moreover, he (Ibn ʿAsākir) related from Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī that the latter heard some sheikhs, among whom were Abu ʿUbayda and others say, "He (Saṭīḥ) came after Luqmān b. ʿĀd. He was born at the time of the torrent of al-ʿArim and he lived on to the era of King Dhū Nuwās, a period of some 30 generations. He dwelt in al-Baḥrain. The tribe of ʿAbd Qays claimed him as theirs, as also did Azd. Most authorities claim him to have been of Azd; we do not know from whom he was descended. His descendants, however, say he was from Azd."

It is related of Ibn ʿAbbās that he said, "No one in all mankind was like Saṭīḥ; he was like flesh on a butcher's block, devoid of bones or sinew except for his head, his eyes, and his hands. He folded up from feet to neck like a garment. And the only part of him that moved was his tongue."

Others say that when he became angry he would puff up and sit.

Ibn ʿAbbās recounted that when Saṭīḥ went to Mecca he was met by a group of their leaders among whom were ʿAbd Shams and ʿAbd Manāf, sons of Quṣayy. They questioned him on a variety of matters and he responded to them frankly. They asked him how it would be at the end of time and he replied, "Take this from me and as God's inspiration to me, you are now, Arabs, in an age of decrepitude in terms of both your vision and that of foreigners. You have neither knowledge nor understanding. After you there will arise those with understanding. They will seek after all ranges of knowledge and they will destroy the idols, pursue the worthless, fight the non-Arabs, and go in search of the spoils of war. What will happen ultimately and for ever, will be that a right-guided prophet will surely draw you forth from this land and lead you to the truth. He will refute Yagūth and the lies, be innocent of worship of the devil, and pray to one Lord alone. Then God will take him unto Himself, giving him praise and the best abode, one lost to the world but seen there in heaven. Then *al-Ṣiddīq* ('the trusting', i.e. the first Caliph Abū Bakr) will follow him; when he gives judgement he will speak aright, and there will be no rush nor rupture in restoring rights. He will be followed by *al-Ḥanīf* ('The Sincere', i.e. the second Caliph, ʿUmar), the noble and demanding lord. He will be the 'host supreme' and best arbiter of the faith." He then made mention of (the third Caliph) ʿUthmān and his murder, and of the rule thereafter of the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids and all the disturbances and wars that followed. Ibn ʿAsākir traces his line of transmission back to Ibn ʿAbbās, in all its length.

62. Said to have been a man-made ditch filled with drinking-water for the camels.

We stated previously his comment to Rabī'a b. Naṣr, king of Yemen, and how Saṭīḥ described the vision he had had before he was himself told of it. And then we related how he predicted the disturbances and the changes of government that would occur in Yemen before reaching Sayf b. Dhū Yazan. Rabī'a b. Naṣr then asked whether that rule would hold or be broken and Saṭīḥ replied it would end. The king asked who would end it, and Saṭīḥ responded, "A pure prophet to whom inspiration comes from the Almighty." When asked from which tribe the prophet would come, he replied, "From the progeny of Ghālib b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr; and the rule shall be in his people till the end of time." "And shall there be an end to time?" the king asked. "Yes, indeed," was the reply, "on that day the first and the last shall be gathered and the good rejoice while the evil suffer." "Is what you are telling me really true?" the king asked. "Yes", Saṭīḥ replied, "by the dawn and the dusk and by the moon when it becomes full, what I have told you is indeed true." And Shiqq was in complete agreement with all this, using different phraseology, as we have shown above.

Among the verses of Saṭīḥ are the lines,

> "Act in God's piety in secret and in public, and never deceitfully pretend good faith.
>
> And always be a protector and shield for those neighbouring you when fate's misfortunes befall them."

That poetry was transmitted by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Asākir. Al-Mu'āfā b. Zakariyyā' al-Jarīrī, moreover, cited that and stated, "Stories relating to Saṭīḥ are many, and several scholars have collected them. What is well known is that he was a soothsayer and gave information about the Prophet (ṢAAS) and described both his qualities and his mission. And it is related to us through a chain of authorities God alone can judge, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was asked about Saṭīḥ and responded, "He was a prophet, squandered by his own people."

Regarding this tradition, my own comment is that it is without foundation in any of the established works of Islam. I do not consider its authority chain to be well founded; one similar to it is given relative to Khālid b. Sinān al-'Absī and it too lacks veracity.

What is evident in these expressions points to Saṭīḥ having had excellent knowledge, and they do evince believability. But he did not survive on after the coming of Islam, as al-Jarīrī maintained. In this regard, he tells us that Saṭīḥ told his nephew, "O 'Abd al-Masīḥ (if) when many recitations have been made, and the sceptre-bearer has appeared, the Samāwa valley has flooded, Lake Sāwa dried up, and the fires of Persia gone out, then Syria is Syria no more for Saṭīḥ; then kings and queens will reign to the number of their balconies; and all that will be, will be." At that Saṭīḥ died then and there. This was after the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by a month or, a *shay'a*, a portion thereof, that is, less than that.

His death occurred in a part of Syria contiguous to the land of Iraq; and God alone knows the truth about Saṭīḥ and what became of him.

Ibn Ṭarār al-Jarīrī relates that he lived 700 years. Others say he lived 500; yet others 300. But God knows best.

Ibn ʿAsākir related that a king once asked Saṭīḥ about the family origin of a young man about whom there was some disagreement. He therefore informed him of the facts at length and with wit and eloquence. The king then asked Saṭīḥ to tell him about how he knew all that. Saṭīḥ replied, "This knowledge of mine does not come from me, not by guesswork or by thought; I took it from a brother of mine who heard inspiration on Mt. Sinai." The king then asked, "Have you seen your brother, this genie; is he with you and won't he depart from you?" Saṭīḥ replied, "He will cease to exist when I do. I only ever pronounce what he says."

As stated previously, he and Shiqq b. Muṣʿab b. Yashkur b. Rahm b. Basr b. ʿUqba, the other diviner, were both born on the same day. They were carried to the fortune-teller, Ṭarīfa, daughter of al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥamīdiyya, and she spat into their mouths. And so they inherited divination from her. She died that very same day. Saṭīḥ was half-human. It is said that Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qusrī was of his progeny. Shiqq died a very long time before Saṭīḥ.

Regarding ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. ʿAmr b. Qays b. Ḥayyān b. Buqayla al-Ghassānī, the Christian, he was very long-lived.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir gave his life story in his history, saying therein that it was he who made the peace treaty for al-Ḥīra with Khālid b. al-Walīd; he gave at length the story of their contact. Also he reported that ʿAbd al-Masīḥ once ate by his own hand some rapid-acting poison, but that no harm came to him. This was because as he took it he spoke the words, "In the name of God; and by God, Lord of the earth and the heaven, who (ensures that) no harm will come when His name is invoked." He then ate it, swooned, and beat his hands on his chest. He poured with sweat and then, God bless him, recovered. Verses other than those previously quoted are also attributed to ʿAbd al-Masīḥ.

Abū Nuʿaym said that Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba, quoting ʿUqba b. Makram, quoting al-Musayyab b. Sharīk, quoting Muḥammad b. Sharīk, all on the authority of Shuʿayb b. Shuʿayb, from his father and from his grandfather, as follows, "At Marr al-Dhahrān there was a certain monk from Syria named ʿAyṣā. He was under the protection of al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil. God had given him great knowledge and placed in him many qualities for the people of Mecca, qualities of goodness, kindness, and learning.

"He kept to a cell he had and came down to Mecca every year to meet the people and to say to them, 'O people of Mecca, soon there will be born among

you a child to whom the Arabs will look for guidance and who will hold sway over the foreigners. This is his time. Whoever has contact with him and follows him will achieve success, while those in contact with him who oppose him will experience failure. By God, I did not leave the land of fine wine, leavened bread, and security and come to live in the land of hunger, poverty, and fear for any reason other than to seek him.'

"No birth in Mecca ever occurred without his asking about it, but he would always say, 'He's not come yet.' When people would ask for a description of him, he would decline. He would hide that information because of what he knew the future leader would experience from his tribe, fearing for himself that it might some day result in harm, however slight, to him.

"When the morning arrived of the day when the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) occurred, ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib went out to see ʿAyṣā. He stood at the foot of the monk's cell and called out, 'Hallo there, ʿAyṣā.' The response came, 'Who is there?' 'I am ʿAbd Allāh,' he replied. Then ʿAyṣā looked down at him and said, 'Be his father! The child I used to tell you of has been born, and on a Monday. He shall also receive God's mission on a Monday, and he will die on a Monday.'

"Abd Allāh replied, 'Well, this morning a boy was born to me.' 'And what have you named him?' the monk asked. 'Muḥammad.' 'By God,' exclaimed ʿAyṣā, 'I wanted the child to be born among you, the people of the House (the *kaʿba*), because of three factors of which we know. Those were that his star arose yesterday, that he was born today, and that his name is Muḥammad. Go to him, for he whom I used to foretell is your son.' ʿAbd Allāh asked, 'How do you know he is my son? Perhaps some other child will be born today.' 'Your son,' the monk replied, 'has got the right name. And God has never been one to confuse scholars; it is a proof. And a (further) sign of that is the fact that he is currently in pain. He will suffer for three days. Then for three days he will show hunger and after that be cured. So you hold your tongue; for no one ever before has been the object of the envy (there will be) for him, no one has been the object of such hatred as he will have. If you live until his mission appears and he announces himself, then you will experience from your people what you will only endure by patience and in humility. So hold your tongue and protect him.' ʿAbd Allāh then asked, 'What will his life-span be?' 'Whether his life be long or short, he will not attain seventy. He will die a short span before that, in his sixties, at age 61 or 63, at an age average for his people.'"

The account goes on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was conceived on the 10th of *muḥarram* and born on Monday, the 12th of Ramaḍān, 23 years after the attack of those with elephants."

Thus did Abū Nuʿaym relate it; and there is some strangeness in the account.

An Account of the rearing and suckling of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Umm Ayman, whose given name was Baraka, reared him. The Prophet (ṢAAS) had inherited her from his father. When he grew up he emancipated her and married her to his *mawlā*, his freed-slave, Zayd b. Ḥāritha. She gave birth to Usāma b. Zayd, God be pleased with them all.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) was suckled, as well as by his mother, by the freed-slave of his uncle Abū Lahab who was named Thuwayba, and later by Ḥalīma al-Saʿdiyya.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim extracted in their two *ṣaḥīḥ* tradition collections from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from Zaynab daughter of Umm Salama, from Umm Ḥabība daughter of Abū Sufyān, as follows. She said, "O Messenger of God, marry my sister, Abu Sufyān's daughter." According to Muslim's account the words used were, "my sister ʿAzza, Abū Sufyān's daughter."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "Would you like that then?" She replied, "Yes; I'm not unmarried (and available) for you. And the person who shares best with me in goodness is my sister."

The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, "But that would not be permissible for me."

She commented, "We are discussing your marrying Abū Salama's daughter." Also in an account the words, "Durra, Abū Salama's daughter," are given.

"You mean Umm Salama's daughter?"

"Yes," I replied.

"But", he explained, "even if she were not under my care in my household, she would not be permitted for me. She is my niece by suckling. Her father Abū Salama and I were both suckled by Thuwayba. So don't propose your daughters or your sisters for me."

Al-Bukhārī's account adds, "ʿUrwa said, 'And Thuwayba was a *mawlat*, a freed-slave woman of Abū Lahab whom he had emancipated. So she suckled the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

And when Abū Lahab was dead, one of his family, greatly disappointed, was shown him. The man asked him, "What happened to you?" Abū Lahab replied, "I experienced nothing good after (leaving) you, except for being given to drink from this for my having emancipated Thuwayba." And he pointed to the hollow between his thumb and adjoining fingers.

Al-Suhaylī and others report that the one who saw him was his brother al-ʿAbbās. And this occurred a year after the death of Abū Lahab, after the battle of Badr. Their account relates that Abū Lahab said to al-ʿAbbās, "It (i.e. the punishment of hell) is alleviated for me on Mondays."

This is explained as being because when Thuwayba told him the news of the birth of his nephew Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh, he emancipated her at once. And he was rewarded thus for that.

An Account of the suckling of the Prophet (ṢAAS) by Ḥalīma, daughter of Abū Dhuʾayb of the Saʿd tribe, and of the signs of the prophethood and of blessedness apparent on him.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said, "Ḥalīma daughter of Abū Dhūʾayb was asked to suckle him. Abū Dhuʾayb's given name was ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Shijna b. Jābir b. Rizām b. Nāṣira b. Fuṣayya b. Naṣr, b. Saʿd b. Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Manṣūr b. ʿIkrima b. Khaṣafa b. Qays ʿAylān b. Muḍar.

"And the name of the foster father of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that is Ḥalīma's husband, was al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Rifāʿa b. Mallān b. Nāṣira b. Saʿd b. Bakr b. Hawāzin.

"His foster-brother was ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith; and Unaysa and Khidāma daughters of al-Ḥārith were his foster-sisters. The last named was known as 'al-Shaymā'; and it is said that she would cradle the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) along with her mother while he was with them."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to report that Jahm b. Abū Jahm (the *mawlā*, the freed-slave, of a woman of the Banū Tamīm who lived with al-Ḥārith b. Ḥāṭib, who was known as "the *mawlā* of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥāṭib"), told him that someone related to him from someone who heard ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib say that it was related to him that Ḥalīma, daughter of al-Ḥārith, had said, "I arrived at Mecca along with other women (al-Wāqidī told, with a chain of authorities, that they were ten in number from Banū Saʿd b. Bakr who acted as foster-mothers along with her) from Banū Saʿd looking for babies to suckle; it was a year of famine. I arrived on a dark grey she-ass worn out from riding. With us I had a boy of our own, and an old milch camel which, I swear, wasn't giving a drop of milk. That whole night, along with that boy of ours, we did not sleep at all. There was nothing in my breast of use to him and nothing in our milch camel to feed him. We did, however, have hopes of rain and relief. So on I went on that old ass of mine, which lagged behind the other riders because of its weakness and its thirst, much to their annoyance.

"So we arrived in Mecca and, I swear, I don't know of one woman of ours who was not offered the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); but all refused him when it was said that he was an orphan. We refused him saying, 'What good could his mother do for us? What we want is some help from the boy's father; what could his mother do for us?' I swear, every single one of my women companions, all except me, did take a baby to suckle.

"Having found no one except him and being assembled to leave, I said to my husband, al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, 'By God, I hate to go back amongst my companions without having a baby to suckle. I'll go off to that orphan and take him.' He replied, 'It's not your duty to do so; and so perhaps God will bring us

some blessings through him.' And so I went off and got him; and the fact is, by God, I only took him because I couldn't find anyone else.

"No sooner had I taken him and brought him back to my baggage than my breasts welcomed him, giving him all the milk he wanted. He drank till he was satisfied and his foster-brother drank his fill too. My husband then went over to that old milch camel of ours and, to his surprise, she was full. He milked her and we both drank till we were satisfied. We then spent a fine night together.

"Next morning my husband said, 'Ḥalīma, by God I really think you've taken a person who is blessed! You see what a fine, happy night we passed when we took him? May God Almighty go on bringing us more benefit yet!'

"We then left to return to our own land. And, I swear, my she-ass went off ahead of all the other riders, with not a single donkey able to catch up with her. Eventually my women companions said, 'Hey there, O daughter of Abū Dhu'ayb! Is that the she ass you were riding when you left with us?' I replied, 'Yes indeed, it's her.' They commented, 'Well, by God, something's really happened to her!'

"Eventually we were back in Banū Sa'd territory, and I knew no other part of God's earth more barren than it is. But my goats would graze free, then leave the grazing, satisfied and full of milk and we would milk them as ever we wished. And this while no one around us, near or far, had their ewes give so much as a drop of milk, their ewes always going hungry. Finally the others said to their shepherds: 'Woe on you! Just watch where the flock of Abū Du'ayb's daughter grazes. You graze along with them.' And this they would do, theirs grazing where mine went, but their flocks remained hungry, not giving a drop of milk, while mine were satisfied and full so we could milk them as much as we wanted.

"And God went on blessing us this way, and we recognized it. Then he reached two years of age. He was already growing up a very fine boy, not like the other children. I swear that by age two he was a sturdy boy, so we took him to his mother; we were very covetous of him because of having seen the blessings he had brought. When his mother saw him I told her, 'Let us bring back this son of ours some other year. We are concerned he might catch a disease from Mecca.' We kept on at her until she agreed and sent him off with us and we stayed with him for two or three months more.

"Then one time he was out behind our dwellings with one of his foster-brothers with our animals. Suddenly that foster-brother came in greatly agitated and said, 'That Quraysh brother of mine! Two men dressed in white came to him, laid him down, and split open his abdomen!'

"At this his father and I rushed outside towards him. We found him standing there, his colour pale. His foster-father hugged him and asked, 'What's wrong, son?' He replied, 'Two men dressed in white came to me. They laid me down and opened my abdomen. Then they drew something from inside it and threw it

away . After that they put my abdomen back as before.' So we took the boy back with us and his foster father said, 'Ḥalīma, I'm afraid my foster son has become afflicted; let's hurry and give him back to his family before what we fear does develop.' So we did take him back. His mother was very surprised to see him and when we gave him over to her she said, 'So why did you bring him back, nurse? You both wanted to have him so much.' 'No, it's nothing,' we replied, 'it's just that God has relieved us of our task. We did our duty. We're afraid some harm or accident may befall him, so we are returning him to his own people.' His mother insisted, 'What's going on with you both! Tell me truthfully what's worrying you!' She would not leave us alone till we told her what had happened. She asked, 'Are you afraid for him from Satan? Absolutely not; Satan won't get to him. By God, this son of mine has a great future before him. Should I tell you what happened with him?' 'Please do,' we asked. 'Well,' she explained, 'when I was pregnant with him, he was the lightest child I ever bore. And when carrying him I saw in my sleep a light emanating so bright it lit up the castles of Syria! And then, when he was born, he came out in a manner that babies never do, drew himself up on his arms and lifted his head up to heaven. So leave him, and don't worry.'"

This account has been related through various other lines as well, and it is one of the best known, and most frequently told by the biographers and early historians.

Al-Wāqidī said that Maʿādh b. Muḥammad related to him, from ʿAṭā' b. Abū Rabbāḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, as follows, "Ḥalīma once went out to seek the Prophet (ṢAAS) and she found their animals to be sleeping in the sun. Him she found with his sister. She asked, 'Why outside in this heat?' His sister replied, 'My brother doesn't get hot; I saw a cloud shading him that stopped when he did and moved when he did, till he came to this spot.'"

Ibn Isḥāq said that Thawr b. Yazīd related to him, from Khālid b. Maʿdān, from the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that the Companions once asked him to tell them about himself. He responded, "I am the one called for by my father Abraham, the glad tidings foreseen by Jesus, peace be upon them both. When she bore me my mother saw that a light came from inside her that illuminated the castles of Syria. I was suckled by the tribe of Saʿd b. Bakr and while I was among some of our animals two men dressed in white came, carrying a golden basin filled with ice. They laid me down, cut open my abdomen and took out my heart. This they split and extracted from it a black clot that they threw away. They then washed my heart and insides with that ice until clean. Having put it back as before, one of them said to his companion, 'Weigh him against ten of his nation.' He did so, but I outweighed them. He then said, 'Weigh him against a hundred of his nation.' This he did but I outweighed them. He said, 'Weigh him against a thousand.' The other man did, but

I outweighed them too. The first man then said, 'Leave him now, for even if you weighed him against his entire nation, he would outweigh them!'"

This has a fine, strong chain of authorities.

Ibn Isḥāq also narrated that Abū Nuʿaym, the *ḥāfiẓ*, related this story in his work *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*) by way of ʿUmar b. al-Ṣubḥ, known as Abū Nuʿaym, from Thawr b. Yazīd, from Makḥūl, from Shaddād b. Aws, in a much lengthened version. But this ʿUmar b. Ṣubḥ should be ignored, for he was a liar who was accused of invention. For this reason we will not mention the text of the tradition, for it gives no pleasure.

Ibn Isḥāq then said that Abū ʿAmr b. Ḥamdān related to him, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Nafīr, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, quoting Baqiyya b. al-Walīd, from Buḥayr b. Saʿīd, from Khālid b. Maʿdān, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr al-Salamī, from ʿUtba b. ʿAbd Allāh, as follows. A man asked the Prophet (ṢAAS), "What was it happened to you first, O Messenger of God?" He replied, "My wet-nurse was from the Banū Saʿd b. Bakr. One time a son of hers and I went off with our flock without taking any food with us. So I said, 'Hey brother, go back and get us some food from our mother's home.' So my brother hurried away while I stayed with the animals. Then two white birds like eagles came along and one said to the other, 'Is that he?' 'Yes,' the other replied. Then they both swooped down, took hold of me and laid me out on my back. They then split my abdomen, extracted my heart, cut it open, and took out from it two black clots. One bird said to his companion, 'Bring me some ice water.' And with it they cleaned my insides. The first bird then said, 'Now get some cold water.' With that they washed my heart. Then the bird said, 'Bring me *al-sakīna* (quietude).' This they sprinkled into my heart. The one said to the other, 'Sew it up.' So he did that and then placed on my heart the seal of prophethood. After that one bird said to the other, 'Place him in one balance scale and a thousand of his people in the other.' And when I looked up, there were the thousand above me, and I was concerned that some of them might tumble down on to me. Then the bird said, 'If his whole nation were balanced against him, he would still outweigh them.' Then both birds went away, leaving me there. I was tremendously afraid and raced off to my foster-mother and told her what had happened. She was afraid I'd lost my mind and exclaimed, 'God protect you!' Then she got an ass of hers ready for travel and put me on it. She rode behind me and we travelled till we reached my mother. She then said, 'Well, I've fulfilled my pact and agreement.' She then told my mother what had happened, but it didn't shock her. She said, 'What I saw was that a light came from inside me that lit up the castles of Syria.'"

Aḥmad related it from a tradition told by Baqiyya b. al-Walīd. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak and others similarly told this from Baqiyya b. al-Walīd.

Ibn ʿAsākir related it through Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān al-Qurashī related to him that ʿUmayr b. ʿUmar b. ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr

informed him as follows, "I heard ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr relate from Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī who said that he asked, 'O Messenger of God, how were you informed that you were a prophet and when did you become convinced that you were one?' He replied, 'O Abū Dharr, two angels came to me when I was in one of the valleys of Mecca. One of them dropped down to the ground, while the other remained suspended between heaven and earth. One said to the other, "Is that he?" "Yes, it's he." The one said, "Weigh him against another man." He did so, and I outweighed him.'"

He then told it till the end, recounting how his chest was opened and sewn up and the seal was placed between his shoulders. He then said, "Then finally they turned away from me, as if their work was fully done."

Moreover Ibn ʿAsākir gave it from Ubayy b. Kaʿb in similar words, and from Shaddād b. Aws in a more simple form than that.

And it is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim through Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was visited by Gabriel, on whom be peace, while he was playing with the other boys. Gabriel took him, laid him down, split his heart open, took it out and withdrew a black clot from inside it, saying, "That's the devil's lot!" Then he washed it in a golden basin with water from (the well called) *zamzam*. He then mended it and put it back in its place. The other boys raced off to his mother – meaning his nurse – and told her, "Muḥammad has been killed!" When they met him he was very pale. Anas stated, "And I used to see the mark of the sewing on his chest."

Ibn ʿAsākir related this through Ibn Wahb, from ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, from ʿAbd Rabbihī Ibn Saʿīd, from Thābit al-Banānī, from Anas, to the effect that prayer was prescribed in Medina and that two angels came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), took him to *zamzam*, split open his abdomen, took out his insides and put them in a basin of gold, washed them in *zamzam* water then filled his insides with wisdom and knowledge.

And the tradition also comes through Ibn Wahb, from Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zuhrī, from his father, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b.ʿĀmir b. ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqās, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was visited three nights. (A voice) said: 'Take him who is the best of them and their leader.' So they took the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), conducted him to *zamzam*, opened his abdomen, brought a gold bowl, washed out his insides then filled them with wisdom and faith."

This is substantiated by the account of Sulaymān b. al-Muqhīra, from Thābit, from Anas.

In the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is given through Sharīk b. Abū Nimr, from Anas, and also from al-Zuhrī from Anas, from Abū Dharr and Qatāda from Anas, and from Mālik b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa from the Prophet (ṢAAS) in the recounting of *al-Isrā'* (the ascension to heaven), as the story of the laying open of his chest (as

occurring) on that night, and its being washed with *zamzam* water.

There is no denying the probability of that occurring twice, once when he was young and once on the night of the ascension in preparation for his going to join the heavenly assemblage of angels, and of conferring with and appearing before the Lord, the Almighty, Glorious, Blessed, and Exalted one.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to tell his Companions, 'I am the most Arab of you all; I am of Quraysh and was suckled by Banū Saʿd b. Bakr.'"

Ibn Isḥāq reported, "When Ḥalīma was returning him to his mother after he had been weaned, she passed with him by a caravan of Christians. They came up to him, turned him around in their hands and said, 'We must take this boy to our king; he is a person of great importance.' And Ḥalīma managed to evade them only after great effort."

He reported also that when Ḥalīma was returning him fearing some harm had come to him, as she approached Mecca she lost him and could not find him. So she went to his grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and he and a group of men went off to search for him. It was Waraqa b. Nawfal and another man of Quraysh who found him and brought him to his grandfather. He put him on his shoulders and circumambulated (the *kaʿba*), praying to God for the boy's protection, and then returned him to his mother Amīna.

Al-Umawī related through ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Waqqāsī, a weak authority, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, the story of the birth of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and of his being suckled by Ḥalīma with a course different from that of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. He stated that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib ordered his son ʿAbd Allāh to take the baby and go around the quarters of the bedouin to find a foster-mother for him. He did so and eventually hired Ḥalīma to suckle him. He recounted that the boy stayed with her for six years, being brought each year to visit his grandfather. When the opening of his chest occurred while he was with them, she took him back and he lived with his mother until he was eight, when she died. Thereupon his grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib took charge of him, but he too died when the Prophet (ṢAAS) was ten. Then his two uncles, his father's two brothers al-Zubayr and Abū Ṭālib, took responsibility for him. In his early teens his uncle al-Zubayr took him to Yemen. His account states that on that journey they saw signs (of his prophethood). One of these was that a stallion camel had made its way some distance along a valley through which the party was passing. When the stallion saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), it knelt down and rubbed its chest on the ground and so he mounted it. Another sign was that they came to a stream in violent flood but God Almighty dried it up so that they could cross it. Thereafter his uncle al-Zubayr died; at that time he was fourteen and Abū Ṭālib alone took charge of him.

What is implied here is that the blessedness of the Prophet (ṢAAS) came

down upon Ḥalīma al-Saʿdiyya and her family, when he was young and then his virtues reverted to the people of Hawāzin when he took them prisoners after their battle; that occurred a month following the capture of Mecca. They were related to him because of his being suckled among them. He therefore released them, taking pity on them, and treating them with kindness, as will be related in full in its proper place, if God wills it.

Concerning the battle with Hawāzin, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related from ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of Hunayn and when he seized their properties and took them prisoners, a delegation from Hawāzin who had accepted Islam came to him at al-Jiʿrāna[63]. They said, 'O Messenger of God, we are one family and tribe. You know well what misfortune has befallen us. Have mercy on us, and may God have mercy on you.' Their spokesman Zuhayr b. Ṣurad then arose and said, 'O Messenger of God, those prisoners you have in the stockades are your aunts and your nurses who looked after you. If we had suckled Ibn Abū Shamar or al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir and then we were to suffer from them what we have from you, we would have hoped for their help and kindness. And yet you are the most honourable of men.' He then recited the verses:

'Have pity on us, O Messenger of God, in kindness; for you are the man we plead with and implore.

Have pity on a tribe ruined by fate, their whole divided, their fortune adversely changed,

Which has left us to cry out in sorrow; a people in whose hearts there is gloom and tragedy,

Unless you ward it off with kindnesses you spread forth, O most superior of men in wisdom when it is tested.

Have pity on women you once sucked, your mouth filled with their pure milk,

Have pity on women you once sucked, for then whatever happens will sustain your reputation.

Do not make us as those who scattered and died; spare us, for we are a tribe of fame.

We give thanks for kindnesses even if not redeemed, and after this day we will have a store (of good will).'"

This story is also related through ʿUbayd Allāh b. Rumāḥis al-Kalbī al-Ramlī from Ziyād b. Ṭāriq al-Jashamī, from Abū Ṣarad Zuhayr b. Jarwal, who was the leader of his people. The last-mentioned stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took us prisoners at the battle of Ḥunayn he was separating the men from the women. So I jumped up, stood before him and spoke some verses to him, reminding him of the time when he was a boy and grew up among Hawāzin who suckled him:

63. A place between Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif.

'Have mercy on us, Messenger of God, in gentleness, for you are the man we hope for and await.

Have mercy on a people ruined by fate, their whole divided, their fortune adversely changed,

The fighting left us a war-cry only of sadness; a people in whose hearts there is gloom and tragedy.

Unless you ward it off with kindness you spread forth, O most superior of men in wisdom when he is tested

Have pity on women you used to suck, your mouth filled with their pure milk;

When you were a small child you used to suck them and then whatever happens will sustain your reputation.

Do not make us as those who scattered and died; spare us for we are a tribe of fame.

We give thanks for kindness, even if disavowed, for after this day we will have store (of goodwill);

Dress in forgiveness those you used to suck, your mothers; for acts of forgiveness become widely known.

We hope for forgiveness from you; dress these people in it, if forgive you will, and then be triumphant.

So forgive and may God forgive you from whatever you fear on Judgement Day when victory shall be given you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Whatever prizes were due myself or the family of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, that goes to God and to you all.' *Al-anṣār*[64] then said, 'And what was to be for us we give to God and to his Messenger (ṢAAS).'"

It will be later told how he set them free; they were 6,000, men and women combined. He gave them many camels and people. So that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Fāris said, "The value of what he gave them that day totalled 500,000 dirhams."

All this then came from his early blessings on earth: what blessings, then, will he bestow on those who follow him in the next world!

Division

After recounting the return of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to his mother Amīna following his suckling by Ḥalīma, Ibn Isḥāq told how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed with his mother Āmina, daughter of Wahb, and his grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib in the care and trust of God. And God nurtured him like a fine plant for the honour He intended for him. When he reached the age of six his mother Āmina daughter of Wahb died.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazam related to me that Amīna, the mother of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died

64. *Al-anṣār* is a term denoting the Muslims of Medina who granted the Prophet refuge following his migration from Mecca.

when he was six at al-Abwā', a place between Mecca and Medina. She had taken him to visit his uncles of the tribe of 'Adī b. al-Najjār and died when she was returning with him to Mecca."

Al-Wāqidī related, with chains of authorities, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was taken by his mother to Medina, in the company of Umm Ayman, when he was six years old and that she visited his uncles.

Umm Ayman said, "One day two Jews of Medina came to me and said, 'Bring out Aḥmad for us to see.' They then looked at him and turned him around in their hands. Then one of them said to the other, 'This is the Prophet of this nation. And this shall be the abode of his refuge, where very many will be taken prisoner and many will be killed.'

"When his mother heard this she was afraid and left. And it was at al-Abwā' that she died, on her way home."

The Imām Aḥmad said that Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Ayyūb b. Jābir, from Simāk, from al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Ibn Burayda, from his father (Burayda) who said, "We left along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and travelled until we reached Waddān. Then he told us to wait there until he returned. He went off and later returned looking grave. Then he said, 'I went to the grave of Muḥammad's mother and asked my Lord for intercession for her. But He would not allow me that. I had forbidden you from visiting graves; do visit them. Similarly I had forbidden you from eating the flesh of sacrificed animals after three days had passed; do eat and take what you want. I had forbidden you from drinking from these vessels; do drink as you will.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this tradition through Sufyān al-Thawrī, from 'Alqama b. Yazīd, from Sulaymān b. Burayda from his father as follows: "The Prophet (ṢAAS) went over to the site of a grave and the other men sat down around him. He began to move his head as though addressing someone, and then he wept. 'Umar went over to him and asked, 'What is making you weep, O Messenger of God?' He replied, 'This is the grave of Āmina daughter of Wahb. I asked my Lord for permission to visit her grave and he gave permission. I also asked for forgiveness for her, but this He refused me. Sympathy for her overwhelmed me and so I wept.' And I never saw an occasion of greater weeping than that."

He was corroborated by Muḥārib b. Dithār, from (Ibn) Burayda, from his father.

Moreover al-Bayhaqī related from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Baḥr b. Naṣr, from 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb that Ibn Jurayj related to us, from Ayyūb b. Hānī', from Masrūq b. al-Ajda', from 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd as follows, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went off to look at graves and we went with him. He told us to sit down and we did. Then he walked on till he stopped at one grave. He spoke to it at length and then there arose a lamentation and weeping from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And we all wept at his crying so.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came over to us and was met by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb who said, 'O Messenger of God, what made you weep? It made us weep and scared us.'

"Then he came and sat down with us and asked, 'My weeping scared you, did it?' 'Indeed yes,' we replied. He explained, 'The grave you saw me addressing was that of Āmina, daughter of Wahb. I asked my Lord's permission to visit it and he allowed me. Then I asked His permission to seek forgiveness for her, but this He did not permit me. Then there were revealed to me the verses:

> "It is not for the Prophet and for those who believe to ask forgiveness for idolaters, even if related to them, once it has become clear to them that those are going to hell. Abraham's seeking pardon for his father resulted only from a promise he had made him; and when it became clear to Abraham that he (his father) was an enemy of God, he (Abraham) disowned him. Abraham was certainly soft of heart, long-suffering" (*sūrat al-Tawba*, IX, v.113, 114). And I was affected by the emotion a son feels for his mother; that it was made me weep.'"

A unique tradition, one they (the major scholars of the traditions) did not propagate.

Muslim related from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd, from Yazīd b. Kaysān, from Abū Hāzim, from Abū Hurayra as follows: "The Prophet (ṢAAS) visited his mother's grave; he wept and this made those with him weep too. Then he said, 'I asked my Lord's permission to visit my mother's grave and He allowed me. I also asked his permission to seek forgiveness for her, but he did not permit me. So do visit graves; they will remind you of death.'"

Muslim related, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from ʿAffān, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from Anas, that a man asked, "O Messenger of God, where is my father?" He replied, "In hell-fire." Then when the man turned away, he called out to him: "My father and yours are both in hell."

Al-Bayhaqī related from a tradition of Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn, from Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿĀmir b. Saʿd, from his father as follows, "A bedouin came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said, 'My father used to give to charity, and so on and so forth. So where is he now?' He replied, 'In hell-fire.'

"The bedouin appeared angered at that and asked, 'Well, Messenger of God, and where's your father?' He replied, 'Whenever you pass by the grave of an unbeliever, warn him of hell-fire.'

"Thereafter the bedouin accepted Islam and said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put a heavy burden on me; when I pass the grave of an unbeliever, I never fail to warn him of hell-fire!'"

A unique tradition, and one they (the major scholars of the traditions) did not propagate.

The Imām Aḥmad said, "Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to us, as did Saʿīd – he being Ibn Abū Ayyūb – as did Rabīʿa b. Sayf al-Maʿāfirī, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥublī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr as follows, "While we were walk-

ing with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he noticed a woman he did not think he recognized. When half-way across the street he stopped until she reached him. Surprisingly, it was Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He said, 'Fāṭima what brings you out of your house?' She replied, 'I came to visit the family in this house, expressing my condolences to them for their dead.' He commented, 'Perhaps you went as far as *al-kudā* (the grave) with them.' She replied, 'God forbid that I would have gone to that with them, having heard what you have said about that.' He went on, 'Well, if you had gone that far with them you would not see paradise until your father's grandfather sees paradise!'"

Aḥmad also related this, as did Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī, and al-Bayhaqī from a *ḥadīth* of Rabī'a b. Sayf b. Māni' al-Ma'āfirī al-Ṣanamī al-Iskandarī. Al-Bukhārī said the tradition has faults. Al-Nasā'ī said there was nothing wrong with it. Once he said "It is trustworthy." But in another account that it was "weak". Ibn Ḥabbān made mention of it in *al-Thiqāt* and said, "He made a lot of errors." Al-Dārquṭnī stated that it was "sound". Ibn Yūnus stated in the *Tārīkh Miṣr* (*History of Egypt*) that "there are faults in his narration." He died in approximately 120 AH.

And what is meant by *al-kudā* is the "grave". And it is also said to mean "lamentation".

What the tradition means is that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died while still being a member of pre-Islamic society; this contrasts with the views of some of the Shī'a about him and Abū Ṭālib. This will be dealt with in the material on the death of Abū Ṭālib.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, after relating these traditions in his work *Dalā'il al-Nubūwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*), "And how would the father and grandfather of the Prophet (ṢAAS) not be in such circumstances regarding the hereafter when they used to worship idols until they died, and they did not follow the religion of Jesus son of Mary upon whom be peace? Yet their having been unbelievers did not impair the lineage of the Prophet (ṢAAS), because marriages between unbelievers were valid. Did not many men adopt Islam, along with their wives, but not have either to renew their marriage contracts or to separate from their wives, since these would similarly be allowed under Islam? And to God goes all success." Thus ended his comments.

My own comment is, that the relating by the Prophet (ṢAAS) that his own parents and his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib were in hell does not contradict the tradition related from him via various authorities that those who lived during the interregnum between the emergence of two prophets, children, the insane, and the deaf would all be put to the test in the assemblies on Judgement Day. This we laid out with chapter and verse in our Qur'ān exegesis dealing with the Almighty's words: "and We have never punished before sending a prophet" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*, XVII, v.15). There will be some among these groups who will

respond and others who will not. Those people, then, will be among those who will not respond; there is no inconsistency here, grace and praise be to God.

As for the tradition related by al-Suhaylī about which it was mentioned that there are persons in its lineage who are unknown, traced back to the son of Abū al-Zinād, from ʿUrwa from ʿĀʾisha, God bless her, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked his Lord to bring his parents back to life and that God did so and that they expressed faith in him; this is a highly unreliable tradition. Even though all this would be possible in terms of the power of God Almighty. However, what is well established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections does contradict this tradition. And God knows best.

Division

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lived with his grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim – that is, after the death of his mother Āmina daughter of Wahb – a spread would be set out for ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib in the shade of the *kaʿba*. His sons would seat themselves around his spread until he would come to it. But none of his sons would actually sit upon it, out of respect for him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when a young boy, would come along and sit down on it. Then his uncles would take him to remove him from it, but ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib would say, if he saw them doing that, 'Leave my son (*sic*) alone; he has great things ahead of him.' Then he would sit down with him on his spread, rub his back, and it would please him to watch what he would do."

Al-Wāqidī said that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, from al-Zuhrī, as did ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh, and Hāshim b. ʿĀṣim al-Aslamī from al-Mundhir b. Jahm, and Maʿmar from Ibn Abū Najiḥ from Mujāhid and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz from Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, and Ibn Abū Sabra from Sulaymān b. Saḥīm, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn Jubayr, the narration of some interfering with that of others, as follows: "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to live with his mother Amīna daughter of Wahb and when she died his grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib took him to himself, treating him with a closeness and kindness he had not shown to his own son. He would allow and encourage him to come close to him, and the boy would go in to him when he was alone or asleep. He would sit down on his spread, and ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib would say when he saw him do this, "Leave my son alone; he will establish a kingdom.'"

A group of men from Banū Mudlij said to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, "Take good care of him; for we have never seen anyone with so noble a lineage as his." So ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib said to Abū Ṭālib: "Listen to what these men are saying." And Abū Ṭālib did take care of him.

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said to Umm Ayman – who had suckled him – "O Baraka, do not neglect my son. I found him with some boys close to the lote-tree; and the People of the Book (i.e. Christians and Jews) claim that my boy will be the Prophet of this nation."

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib used never to eat without saying, "Bring my son." And he would be brought to him.

And when death approached 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib he charged Abū Ṭālib with the care and safe-keeping of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Then 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died and was buried at al-Ḥajūn.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was eight, his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died." He also stated that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had summoned his daughters and told them that they should compose elegies for him; these daughters were called Arwā, Umayma, Barra, Ṣafiyya, 'Ātika, and Umm Ḥakīm al-Bayḍā'.

Ibn Isḥāq mentioned their poems and what they said in mourning their father, all while he listened, before he in fact died. Their words of mourning were extremely eloquent. He described that in great detail.

Ibn Hishām said, "I never met any scholar of poetry who knew these verses."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "And when 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim died, control over providing water for the pilgrims and over *zamzam* went after him to al-'Abbās who was the youngest of his brothers.

This control remained his until the coming of Islam, after which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) confirmed it for al-'Abbas.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was with his uncle Abū Ṭālib after having been with his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. This was because the latter had placed him in trust of his uncle and because Abū Ṭālib was the full brother of his father 'Abd Allāh, the mother of both having been Fāṭima daughter of 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm."

Ibn Isḥāq went on: "Abū Ṭālib was the one who took charge of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he cared for him completely."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ma'mar told him, from Ibn Najīh, from Mujāhid; and that Ma'ādh b. Muḥammad al-Ansārī related to him from 'Aṭā', from Ibn 'Abbās, as did Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ and 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, as did Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. Abū Ḥabība, the account of each of these corresponding with one another, as follows: "When 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died Abū Ṭālib took the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to live with him.

"Abū Ṭālib was not wealthy; he loved the boy very much, more so than his children. The boy slept always by his side and went wherever he did.

"Abū Ṭālib had very great and unusual depth of affection for him. He would give the boy's food special attention. And if his own children ever ate, alone or as

a group, without the boy's presence, they would remain unsatisfied, whereas when the Prophet would eat with them they would be well satisfied. When serving his family a daytime meal he would tell them to wait till the boy's arrival. When the Messenger of God would arrive and eat with them, they would get satisfied, and part of the food would remain uneaten. But if he did not eat with them they would remain unsatisfied. Abū Ṭālib would say, 'You are clearly blessed.'

"In the morning the other boys would arise bleary-eyed and dishevelled while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would get up bright-eyed and with his hair in place."

Al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafa stated that ʿAlī b. Thābit related to him from Ṭalḥa b. ʿAmr that the latter heard ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Rabbāḥ report having heard Ibn ʿAbbās say, "Abū Ṭālib's family would get up in the morning with bleary, dirty eyes, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would get up bright-eyed and with his hair neatly groomed."

Early each morning Abū Ṭālib would bring to the boys their food platter and they would all sit down and snatch at it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), however, would keep his hand away and not grab at the food along with them. When his uncle saw this he set food aside for him alone.

Ibn Isḥāq said, "Yaḥʿyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me that his father told him that there was a certain man of Lihb who could predict the future. Whenever he came to Mecca the men of Quraysh would take their boys to him to see and predict their futures."

He went on, "So Abū Ṭālib brought the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to him when he was still a boy, along with some others. The fortune-teller looked at the Messenger of God, but then something engaged his attention. When finished with that, he said, 'Bring that boy over to me!' When Abū Ṭālib saw how interested the man was in him, he took him away. Then the man exclaimed, 'Woe on you! Bring back to me that boy I saw earlier; by God, he has a big future ahead of him!'

"But Abū Ṭālib hurried away with him."

Section: The journey of the Prophet (ṢAAS) with his uncle Abū Ṭālib away to Syria and on what transpired with the monk Baḥīrā.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that thereafter Abū Ṭālib left with a trading caravan for Syria. As he was preparing to depart and assembling the goods, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began to miss him badly, or so they claim.

So Abū Ṭālib took pity on him and said words to the effect that, "By God, I'll take him away with me and never be parted from him, just as he will not be parted from me!"

He did leave with him. Eventually the caravan made a halt at Buṣrā in Syria, where there was a monk named Baḥīrā living in a cell. He was very learned in Christianity; the cell he lived in had always been occupied by some monk who would acquire their Christian learning from a book, as they claim, which they had passed down in inheritance from one elder to the next.

They stopped that year near Baḥīrā, as they had often done previously without his paying them attention. When they halted, then, near his cell, this time he made a lot of food for them. This, they claim, was because of a vision he had seen while he was in his cell; he had seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) approaching in the caravan, with a cloud casting its shade only on him. When they had arrived they had dismounted in the shade of a tree near the monk. When he looked up at the cloud he saw it was shading the tree, the branches of which were extending out over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) so that he was shaded beneath them.

When Baḥīrā saw this he came down from his cell and, having ordered food which was then prepared, he sent word over to the travellers saying, "O Quraysh, I have prepared food for you and would like you all to come over, great and small, and freemen or slaves."

One Quraysh man commented to him, "By God, Baḥīrā, you've put yourself to much trouble today! You've never done this for us, even though we've passed by you here often before. Why today?"

Baḥīrā replied, "You are right; before it was as you say. But you are my guests, and I wanted to honour you and so have prepared you some food. I want all of you to eat of it."

So they gathered around him. But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), because of his youth, was left behind with the baggage, beneath the tree.

When Baḥīrā saw them he did not see the quality he had seen and known to be the boy's. So he said, "O Quraysh let not any one of you be left out of my feast."

They replied, "O Baḥīrā, the only one left out who ought to have come to you is a boy; he is the youngest of our party and he remained behind with the baggage." Baḥīrā insisted. "Do not do this; call him over and let him attend this feast along with you."

One of the Quraysh party exclaimed, "By al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā it really is a shame on us that Muḥammad son of 'Abd Allāh son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib be kept back from eating the food among us."

Then he went over to the boy, brought him back, and sat him down among the rest.

When Baḥīrā saw him he began to scrutinize him very intently, looking at various parts of his body and finding certain qualities in him. Finally, when all had finished dining and had dispersed, Baḥīrā went up to the boy and said,

"Boy, by al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā I charge you to answer what I will ask you." Baḥīrā only used these words because he had heard the boy's people swearing by these two gods.

They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him: "Don't ask me anything by al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā; for, by God, I hate nothing more than them." So Baḥīrā said, "By God, would you tell me about what I ask you?" So the boy told him to ask whatever he liked.

The monk then asked him various questions about his sleep, habits, circumstances, and so on; and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded. And what Baḥīrā heard matched the description he expected.

Then he looked at the boy's back and saw the seal of prophethood between his shoulders, in the very place according to the description he had.

Having concluded this, he went over to the boy's uncle Abū Ṭālib and asked, "What relation is he to you?" "He is my son," he replied.

Baḥīrā objected, "He's not your son. This boy can't have a living father."

"Well," Abū Ṭālib replied, "he's actually my nephew."

"And what happened to his father?" the monk asked.

"He died while the boy's mother was still pregnant with him."

"Now you're telling the truth," the monk went on. "Take your brother's son back to his own country and guard him from the Jews. For, by God, if they see him and know what I know, they will do him evil. This nephew of yours has a great future before him; take him back soon to his own country."

So his uncle Abū Ṭālib left with him for Mecca quickly, as soon as he had finished his business in Syria.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "They claim, according to what people said, that Zurayr, Tammām, and Darīs – all believers in the Scriptures – had also seen what Baḥīrā noticed in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on that trip with his uncle Abū Ṭālib. They tried to get him, but Baḥīrā kept them away from him, making reference to God and to the description of him and mention of him they would find in the Holy Scripture, as well as the statement that they would not succeed in getting him. They recognized the reference he was making to them, and since they believed what he said they let the boy alone and went away."

Yūnus b. Bukayr recalled, on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq, that Abū Ṭālib spoke three odes on this subject.

This is how Ibn Isḥāq related this sequence of events, but he gave no chain of authorities for it. A similar account also came down by way of a *musnad marfūʿ*.[65]

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Kharāʾiṭī stated that ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī related to him, as did Qarād Abū Nūḥ, as did Yūnus, from Ibn Isḥāq, from Abū

65. The term denotes a tradition attributed to the Prophet that has a complete line of transmission.

Bakr b. Abū Mūsā, from his father, as follows: "Abū Ṭālib went off to Syria along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and a number of Quraysh elders. When they reached a point overlooking the monk – meaning Baḥīrā – they went down and untied their baggage. The monk then came out to them, whereas previously when they had passed by he had not come out or even turned towards them."

He went on, "He came down, then, as they were untying their baggage, and walked among them until he came and took the Prophet (ṢAAS) by the hand and said, 'This is the Lord of all mankind!'"

In the account of al-Bayhaqī the phrase he used was longer, saying also, "This is the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds; God sent him as a mercy to all mankind."

Some of the Quraysh elders then asked him, "What is it you know?" He replied, "When you looked down from the mountain road every single tree and every rock bent down in worship. And they would only prostrate themselves before a prophet. And I know him by the mark of prophethood below the cartilage of his shoulder blades."

He then went back and prepared food for them. When he brought it, the boy was tending to the camels. The monk told them to send for him. As he approached a cloud was shading him, and as the boy came near the others the monk exclaimed, "See; there is a cloud above him!" When the boy arrived he found that the others had preceded him to the shade of the tree, but when he sat down the shade moved out over him. The monk commented, "Just look how the tree's shade moved over him!"

While Baḥīrā was standing there urging them not to take him into Byzantine territory, saying that when they saw him the Romans would recognize him by his description and would kill him, he turned around and, to his surprise, saw seven Romans who had arrived. He greeted them and asked why they had come. They replied, "We have information that there's this prophet who will come forth this month and so we have been sending men along each route; news we had of him brought us along this route of yours." "Do you", Baḥīrā asked, "have anyone superior to you coming along behind you?" They replied, "No; it's just the information we had about him brought us along this road of yours." Baḥīrā then asked them, "Have you ever known any matter God wished to bring about that anyone was able to reverse?" They said they had not, and then they pledged him allegiance and stayed with him there at Baḥīrā's place.

The account goes on, reporting that the monk then asked, "I abjure you by God to tell me, which of you is his guardian?" "Abū Ṭālib," they replied.

Baḥīrā kept on admonishing him (Abū Ṭālib) until he took the boy back (to Mecca); Abū Bakr sent Bilāl along with him and the monk provisioned him with cake and oil.

Thus al-Tirmidhī told it, from Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Sahl al-Aʿraj, from Qarād Abū Nūḥ. Al-Ḥākim, al-Bayhaqī, and Ibn ʿAsākir derive it through Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Aṣamm from ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī.

And thus too did more than one *ḥāfiẓ* relate it from an account of Abū Nūḥ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghazwān al-Khuzāʿī, their *mawlā*, their freed slave. He was known as al-Ḍabbī, and also as Qarād; he lived in Baghdad and was one of those "trustworthy sources" vouched for by al-Bukhārī. A number of legal scholars and *ḥufāẓ* declare him trustworthy, and I never knew anyone who impugned him. Nevertheless, there are unique aspects to this account of his.

Al-Tirmidhī stated: "The tradition is good, though unusual. We know of it only from this account."

ʿAbbās al-Dūrī said, "There is no one in the world who relates it apart from Qarād Abū Nūḥ; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, God have mercy on him, heard this from him, and Yaḥyā b. Muʿīn similarly for its unique and unusual quality." Al-Bayhaqī and Ibn ʿAsākir related it.

My comment is that one strange aspect to the tradition is its being attributed back to the Companions, whereas Abū Mūsā al-ʿAshʿarī only came forward (into Islam) in the year of the battle of Khaybar, in the seventh year of the *hijra*. This view does not reflect Ibn Isḥāq's statement that includes him amongst those who emigrated to Abyssinia from Mecca.

By all estimations the story was attributed (back to the Prophet); the incident occurred, as some sources maintain, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 12 years old. Perhaps Abū Mūsā received it from the Prophet (ṢAAS), in which case it would be very accurate. Or he could have received it from some of the major Companions, God be pleased with them. Alternatively the incident might have been well known and often mentioned and the narrator took it from knowledge widely current.

The second strange aspect is that the cloud was not referred to in any account more reliable than this one. The third problem relates to the words: "Abū Bakr sent Bilāl along with him." If the age of the Prophet (ṢAAS) at that time was twelve, then Abū Bakr would have been nine or ten. Bilāl's age would have been less than that. And where was Abū Bakr at that time? And where was Bilāl? Both (being there) would be strange, certainly, unless it be said that this occurred when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was full grown. This would mean that the trip took place later than it is supposed, or that the statement that he was twelve at the time is inaccurate; al-Wāqidī related the incident contingent upon that. Yet al-Suhaylī stated on the authority of certain sources, that the age of the prophet (ṢAAS) at the time was nine. So God knows best.

Al-Wāqidī stated that Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, as did ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar and Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Abū Ḥabība, from Dāwūd b. al-Ḥusayn, as

follows: "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached the age of twelve, his uncle Abū Ṭālib took him along to Syria in the caravan he was accompanying to engage in business there. They made a halt with the monk Baḥīrā, who made some statements in confidence to Abū Ṭālib. Baḥīrā told him to look after the boy and Abū Ṭālib sent him back to Mecca. The Messenger of God lived as a youth with Abū Ṭālib, while God protected him and preserved him from the evils of the *jāhiliyya* period for the honour He wished for him."

When he grew up he was consequently the most honourable man of his people, the best in character, the most noble in his relationships, the best neighbour, the most prudent, trustworthy and truthful, and the man most removed from immorality or harmfulness. He was never seen to do anyone harm or to quarrel with anyone, so that his people named him *al-Amīn*, "the trustworthy one" because of all the fine qualities God had joined together in him.

Abū Ṭālib protected and cared for him, aided and assisted him until his death.

Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated, "Khālid b. Ma'dān told us, Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān related to us, that he heard his father relate from Abū Mijliz that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib or Abū Ṭālib – Khālid was unsure which one – said, that when 'Abd Allāh died he was sorry for Muḥammad and never went away on any trip without taking him with him. And when he was on the way to Syria and stopped to set up camp, a monk came to him there and said, 'You have a man of goodness among you.' Then he said, 'Where is the father of this boy?' The reply was given, 'I am his guardian' (or it was said, 'he is his guardian'). The monk commented: 'Take care of this boy; do not take him to Syria. The Jews are jealous, and I fear for him from them.' He was told, 'It is not you who are saying that but God himself.' So he did take him back, and said, 'O God, I place Muḥammad in your care!' Then he died."

The Story of Baḥīrā.

Al-Suhaylī related, quoting the biographical writings of al-Zuhrī, that Baḥīrā was a Jewish high priest.

My comment is, that it appears from the course of the story that he was a Christian monk. But God knows best.

From al-Mas'ūdī comes the information that he was a man of the 'Abd al-Qays tribe, and that his name was Jirjis.

In the work *al-Ma'ārif* (*Knowledge*) of Ibn Qutayba it states, "A voice was heard in the *jāhiliyya* period, shortly before Islam, calling out the words, 'O yea, the finest of men on earth are three: Baḥīrā, Ri'āb b. al-Barrā' al-Shannī, and the third is still awaited." The third and one awaited was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Qutayba stated, "*Al-ṭish* is always seen at the graves of Riʿāb al-Shannī and of his son who came after him." This word, *al-ṭish*, means light rain.

Section: On the early upbringing and raising of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and how God cared for him and protected him; how he had been an orphan and God gave him a home and destitute and God enriched him.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became a youth under the care and protection of God who saved him from the evils of the *jāhiliyya* because of the honour and mission He wished for him. When he grew up he was the finest man among his people, the best of them in character and repute, the best of neighbours, the most prudent, the most honest in speech and most trustworthy, and the one most removed from immorality and those characteristics that corrupt men, which he avoided because of his nobility."

Consequently the name by which he was known among Quraysh was none other than *al-Amīn*, "the trustworthy", because of the fine qualities God had joined in him.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as I was told, used to relate about those (pre-Islamic) practices, matters from which God had protected him in his youth and time of ignorance. He said, "Once I happened to be amongst some Quraysh boys carrying some stones for those games boys play. Each of us was exposed, having taken up his shirt and fastened it around his neck to carry stones in. I was running along with them in this way and having fallen behind I suddenly received a very painful slap from someone who spoke the words, 'Put your shirt on properly!' So I took it and put it back on properly and began carrying the stones around my neck with my shirt on, alone among my friends."

This anecdote is similar to the one in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection relating to the building of the *kaʿba*, when he and his uncle al-ʿAbbās were hauling (stones). If not the same, it certainly precedes that and is seemingly preparing for it. But God knows best.

ʿAbd al-Razzāq said that Ibn Jurayj informed him, quoting ʿAmr b. Dīnār, that he heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, "When the *kaʿba* was being built, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went off to transport stones. Al-ʿAbbās said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Put your shirt over your shoulder for the stones.' He did so, but fell to the ground and his eyes were drawn up to heaven. Then he got up and said, 'It was my shirt.' So it was put back on him properly."

The two traditionalists brought this *ḥadīth* out in the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from an account of ʿAbd al-Razzāq. They also extrapolated it from an account of Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda from Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Isḥāq, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār from Jābir to the same effect.

Al-Bayhaqī said that the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abū Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAmr informed him that Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb told them that Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Ṣāghānī related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Bukayr al-Ḥaḍramī, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Dashtakī, quoting ʿAmr b. Abū Qays, from Simāk, from ʿIkrima, who said that Ibn ʿAbbās related to him from his father that he would carry stones to the *kaʿba* when Quraysh was building it. Quraysh divided up into two groups, with the men transporting the stones and the women the mortar mix.

He went on: "I was with my nephew, carrying the rocks, wearing our shirts around our necks; when we came up to other people we covered up. While I was walking along with Muḥammad in front of me, he fell down and stretched out flat on his face. I hurried along, threw down my rocks; meanwhile he was looking up to heaven. 'What's wrong?' I asked. He got up and took his shirt, saying, 'I was forbidden from walking uncovered.'" Ibn ʿAbbās went on, "I hid this from the others for fear they would say (he) was mad."

Al-Bayhaqī related from a tradition of Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays b. Makhrama related to him, from al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, from his father and from his grandfather, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "I wasn't interested in performing those things with women that people during the *jāhiliyya* used to do; except, that is, on two nights on which God, Almighty and Glorious is He, restrained me.

"One evening I and a young man of Mecca were watching some sheep belonging to some people there. I said to him, 'Would you keep an eye on my sheep so I can go into Mecca and spend an evening there like other lads?' 'Sure,' he replied. So I went into town and stopped at the first house where I heard the music of tambourines and flutes. I asked what was going on and was told that a man and woman had married. So I sat down to watch. But God struck my ears and, I swear, next thing I knew I was being awakened by the sun's touch. I went back to my friend, who asked what I had done. I replied, 'I didn't do a thing.' Then I told him what I had seen.

"Then one other night I asked him to watch my sheep so I could go to a party. He agreed, so I went off to Mecca and heard the same as I had the previous occasion. Again I was told that there was a marriage and so sat down to watch. But God again struck my ears and, I swear, I was later awakened by the sun's touch.

"When I returned to my friend he asked what I had done. 'Not a thing,' I replied, and then I told him what had happened. And, by God, I never tried or returned to anything like that thereafter right up to when Almighty and Glorious God honoured me with His prophethood."

This is a very strange tradition. It could be about ʿAlī himself, with the final words "up to when Almighty and Glorious God honoured me with his prophethood" having been added. But God knows best.

This scholar Ibn Isḥāq is mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān as being a very reliable source. Some authorities claim him to be an author of a *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of traditions. In his supplementary notes, this sheikh of ours commented on this, "I don't fully stand behind this." But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī said that the *ḥāfiẓ* ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, quoting al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿAffān al-ʿĀmirī, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama and Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib, from Usāma b. Zayd, from Zayd b. Ḥāritha, who said, "There was a brass idol called ʿIsāf and Nāʾila which the polytheists would touch as they performed their circumambulation. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said 'Don't touch it.'"

Zayd continued, "Well, as we went round (again) I told myself I would touch it to see what would happen. When I did so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked me, 'Were you not forbidden to do that?'"

Al-Bayhaqī said that others added, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, giving a chain of authorities, that Zayd said, "By Him who honoured him and revealed to him the Holy Book, he (the Prophet) never saluted an idol right up to when God Almighty honoured him as He did and gave revelation to him."

We earlier made reference to the comment of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when Baḥīrā put a question to him invoking al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā: "By God, do not question me by invoking them! I hate nothing so much as them!"

As for the tradition given by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī, Abū Saʿd al-Mālīnī informed us, Abū Aḥmad b. ʿAdī, the *ḥāfiẓ* told us, Ibrāhīm b. Asbāṭ related to us, as did ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba, as did Jarīr, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUqayl, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, God bless him, as follows: "The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to attend the ceremonies of the polytheists along with them. But once he heard two angels behind him, one saying to the other, 'Let's move up and stand right behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' But the other objected, 'How can we stand right behind him when he is in the habit of saluting idols?'"

He went on, "And thereafter he never again attended such ceremonies with the polytheists."

This is a tradition several authorities deny being attributed to ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba. Regarding it Imām Aḥmad commented: "His brother would never speak any such words."

Al-Bayhaqī related from various sources that his meaning was that he witnessed those who saluted idols, and that that was before God made revelation to him. But God knows best.

We previously reported a tradition from Zayd b. Ḥāritha to the effect that he abstained from witnessing the ceremonies of the polytheists until God honoured him with His mission.

It is established in the tradition that he did not participate in the assembly at al-Muzdalifa during the night on Mt. ʿArafāt. Indeed he did not assemble with the people at ʿArafāt.

Similarly Yūnus b. Bukayr said, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, that ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to him, from ʿUthmān b. Abū Sulaymān, from Nāfiʿ b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim, from his father Jubayr who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was a member of his people's religion. He would station himself there on a camel of his at ʿArafāt, among his people until he raced away with them, God the Almighty and Glorious giving him blessing thereby."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The meaning of the words 'a member of his people's religion' refers to the remnants of the heritage of Abraham and Ishmael, on both of whom be peace. The Prophet (ṢAAS) never at any time associated with Allāh any other god."

I also comment, that from these words of (al-Bayhaqī) it is to be understood that he did attend the assembly at ʿArafāt before he received revelation. And it was this that was a "blessing" to him from God the Almighty and Glorious.

The Imām Aḥmad related this tradition from Yaʿqūb, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. The words he used were: "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before he received revelation while he was positioned on a camel of his with his people on ʿArafāt so that he would move forward with them, this being a blessing from God."

The Imām Aḥmad said that Sufyān related to him, from ʿAmr, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim, from his father, saying, "I lost track of a camel of mine in the ʿUrana valley (close to ʿArafāt) and went off to look for it. I found the Prophet (ṢAAS) in the assembly there. I said, 'He's one of the *ḥums* (a word used for Quraysh). What's he doing here?'"

They both derived this from a tradition of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna to that effect.

An Account of how the Prophet (ṢAAS) witnessed the war known as al-fijār, *the sacrilegious war.*

Ibn Isḥāq said, "The 'sacrilegious' war raged at a time when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 20. It was named the *fijār* (sacrilegious) war because the two tribes Kināna and Qays ʿAylān acted as though the sacred month (when warfare was disallowed) was open for them to fighting. The leader of Quraysh and of Kināna was Ḥarb b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams. Early in the day of the battle, Qays were defeating Kināna, but by midday the victory had gone to Kināna over Qays."

Ibn Hishām stated, "When the Messenger of God reached 14 – or 15 – as Abū ʿUbayda the grammarian related to me, from Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā', the

'sacrilegious' war broke out between Quraysh and its Kināna supporters and Qays ʿAylān.

"What started it was that ʿUrwa al-Raḥḥāl b. ʿUtba b. Jaʿfar b. Kilāb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿAmr b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Muʿāwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin had given a passing permission to a trading caravan of musk which belonged to al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir. And so al-Barrāḍ b. Qays, one of the tribe of Ḍumra b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna asked, 'Are you going to apply the same against Kināna's will?' 'Yes,' was the reply, 'and against everyone.'

"So ʿUrwa al-Raḥḥāl set out with the trading party and al-Barrād left too, seeking to catch him unawares. When the party reached the high ground of Tayman Dhū Ṭilāl, ʿUrwa became careless and al-Barrāḍ fell upon him and killed him; this was during the sacred month. Consequently the warfare became known as 'sacrilegious'." Al-Barrāḍ spoke the following verses about all this:

"There's many a tragedy that distressed people before me that I, O Banū Bakr, stood firm against.
Thereby I destroyed the houses of Banū Kilāb and humbled the freed slaves to submission.
I raised my fist against him at Dhū Ṭilāl and he dropped like a felled tree."

Labīd b. Rabīʿa b. Mālik b. Jaʿfar b. Kilāb also composed the lines:

"Tell Banū Kilāb, if you chance on them, and ʿĀmir, that there are some who can master disasters,
Tell Banū Numayr, if you chance on them, and the dead man's uncles of Banū Hilāl,
That the expected al-Raḥḥāl now rests at Tayman Dhū Ṭilāl."

Ibn Hishām continued, "A man arrived and told Quraysh of it, saying, 'Al-Barrād has killed ʿUrwa, and during the sacred month, at ʿUkāẓ.' They then rode off, unbeknown to Hawāzin. When Hawāzin learned of this they pursued them and caught up with them before they reached the sacred territory. They engaged in battle till nightfall but then they went inside the sacred territory and Hawāzin gave up on them.

"They met for several days after that battle, with the people going forth under various banners with a leader from each of the tribes of Quraysh and Kināna, and a leader from each of the tribes of Qays.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was present at some of these battles, his uncles having taken him with themselves. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I was giving arrows to my uncles.' That is, he would gather for them the arrows their enemy had shot at them."

Ibn Hishām said, "The account of the 'sacrilegious' war is very long, longer than I have recounted. But I have been deterred from recounting it because it would have interrupted the telling of the biography of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Suhaylī said that *al-fijār* is spelt with an "i" after the "f", in the like form to *qitāl*, fighting. The *fijār* wars among the Arabs totalled four, and al-Masʿūdī gave reference to all of them.

He went on, "The last of them was this one involving al-Barrāḍ. The fighting in it consisted of four battles: the battle of Shamṭa, and the battle of al-ʿAblā', both near ʿUkāẓ, and the battle of al-Sharb, which was the major battle. It was this one that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) attended. For this battle the chieftains of Quraysh and Banū Kināna, respectively Ḥarb b. Umayya and his brother Sufyān, made a pact not to take to flight. On that occasion Qays were defeated, except for Banū Naḍr who held out. The fourth battle was at al-Ḥarīra, near Nakhla. Then they made an agreement to meet the following year at ʿUkāẓ. When they assembled to fulfil this appointment ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa rode out on his camel and called out: 'O tribe of Muḍar, what is it you are fighting for?' Hawāzin replied, 'What are you suggesting?' 'Peace,' he replied. 'How,' they asked. He said, 'We pay you blood-money for your dead, and will leave people hostage with you to guarantee payment; and we will forgo our blood-money you owe.' 'Who will guarantee us that?' 'I will,' he replied. 'And who are you?' they demanded. 'I am ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa,' he told them.

"On that basis peace was made, and they sent out to them 40 men, including Hākim b. Ḥizān. And when Banū ʿAmr b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa saw the guarantee hostages in their hands they gave up their claims and the 'sacrilegious' war was at an end."

Al-Umawī gave an account of the "sacrilegious" wars and the battles that occurred, detailing them at length, his information deriving from al-Athram, who was al-Mughīra b. ʿAlī, from Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā.

CHAPTER: HOW THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) WITNESSED THE PACT OF *AL-FUḌŪL*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī said that Abū Saʿd al-Mālīnī told him, Abū Aḥmad b. ʿAdī, the *ḥāfiẓ*, related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. Hāshim al-Khaffāf, quoting Ismāʿīl b. ʿAliyya, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I was a witness, with my uncles, to the pact of *al-muṭayyabīn* and I would not have wanted to renege – or some such word – for the very choicest herd."

He (al-Bayhaqī) said that this tradition was related in these words also by Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

He also said that Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda related to him, quoting Abū ʿAmr b. Maṭar, quoting Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Samnānī, quoting Muʿallā b. Mahdī, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, all from ʿUmar b. Abū Salama, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said. "The only pact I

witnessed Quraysh make was that of *al-muṭayyabīn*. And I'd not have abrogated it in return for the choicest herd."

He said that *al-muṭayyabīn* referred to Hāshim, Umayya, Zahra, and Makhzūm.

Al-Bayhaqī said, "This explanation is also interpolated within the tradition, but I do not know who it was who said it."

Some biographers maintain that he was referring to the *fuḍūl* pact; for the Prophet (ṢAAS) was not yet born at the time of the *muṭayyabīn* pact.

In my view, there is no disputing that. The fact is that Quraysh did conclude a treaty following the death of Quṣayy. They disputed the fact of Quṣayy having left to his son ʿAbd al-Dār the right to control provision of food and drink to the pilgrims, raising the banner at the *kaʿba*, its guardianship, and the convening of the assembly. The tribe of ʿAbd Manāf disputed them these prerogatives and various of the Quraysh tribes gave alliance and help for victory to one or other side.

So the partisans of Abd Manāf brought a bowl filled with *al-ṭīb*, nutmeg powder, into which they placed their hands and swore allegiance to one another. When they had done so, they wiped their hands over the corners of the house (the *kaʿba*). They were therefore named the *muṭayyabīna*, as mentioned above; this took place long ago.

But what is meant by this alliance, is the treaty of *al-fuḍūl*, a word meaning "the excess" or "remnants". This was sworn in the home of ʿAbd Allāh b. Judʿān, as al-Ḥumaydī related it, from Sufyān son of ʿUyayna, from ʿAbd Allāh, from Muḥammad and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, two sons of Abū Bakr. They stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I witnessed in the house of ʿAbd Allāh b. Judʿān a treaty to which I would have responded positively if, during Islam, I had been invited to participate in it. They made an agreement to return any excess to those who had owned it, and that no one should take unfair advantage over anyone."

The authorities stated that the *fuḍūl* pact was concluded 20 years before the prophethood, in the eleventh month, Dhū al-Qaʿda, that date being some four months after the *al-fijār* war. That was because the *al-fijār* occurred in Shaʿbān, the eighth month of the same year.

The *al-fuḍūl* treaty was reputed the most fair and honourable pact reached among the Arabs. The first man who suggested and advocated it was al-Zubayr, son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. The cause for it was that a man from Zabīd brought some goods to Mecca and these were brought from him by al-ʿĀṣ son of Wāʿil who held back some of what was due to him. So the man from Zabīd complained about him to his allies who were the tribes of ʿAbd al-Dār, Makhzūm, Jumaḥ, Sahm, and ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, but they declined to help him against al-ʿĀṣ son of Wāʿil and instead they roughed him up and drove him away. Having experienced

such ill-treatment, the man from Zabīd approached Abū Qubays at daybreak, while Quraysh were in their assemblies around the *kaʿba*, and called out at the top of his voice:

"O heirs of Fihr, there's a man being wronged of his goods, right here in the middle of Mecca, far from his own home and people.

"A man dishevelled and deprived, who has not completed his pilgrimage; fellow men, I'm right here at the very heart of the *ḥijr*.[66]

"The sacrosanct is for those whose nobility is complete; there is nothing sacrosanct for the robe of the immoral and treacherous."

At this arose al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and said, "This matter can't be ignored."

So the men of Hāshim, Zuhra, and Taym b. Murra assembled in the home of ʿAbd Allāh b. Judʿān who prepared food for them. They established their pact in Dhū al-Qaʿda, a sacrosanct month, agreeing and swearing by God that they would act in unison with any wronged person against the wrongdoer until his rights were fulfilled, for so long as the sea makes wool wet and the mountains Thabīr and Ḥirā' remain firmly set in their place and that they would comfort (people) as long as they are alive.

Quraysh named that pact *al-fuḍūl*, saying, "Those men went into that matter *fī faḍl*, i.e. 'to excess'. Afterwards they walked over to al-ʿĀṣ b. Wā'il and took away from him the goods of the man from Zabīd and returned them to him."

Al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib spoke the following verses about this pact:

"I swore, Let's make a pact against them, though we're all members of one tribe.

We'll call it *al-fuḍūl*; if we make a pact by it the stranger could overcome those under local protection,

And those who go around the *kaʿba* will know that we reject injustice and will prevent all things shameful."

Al-Zubayr also spoke the following:

"*Al-fuḍūl* made a pact and alliance that no evildoer shall dwell in Mecca's heart.

This was a matter they firmly agreed and so the protected neighbour and the unprotected stranger are safe among them."

Qāsim b. Thābit related, in a curious *ḥadīth* that, "A man of Khathʿam came to Mecca either as a pilgrim or to perform the *ʿumra* (the 'minor pilgrimage'), and brought with him a daughter of his named al-Qaṭūl, an exceedingly modest girl. But Nabīh b. al-Ḥajjāj seized her and took her away from him. So the man of Khathʿam said, 'Who will help me against this man?' He was advised to invoke the pact of *al-fuḍūl*.

66. The space on the north-west side of the *kaʿba* enclosed by the curved wall, the *ḥātim*.

"So he stood at the *kaʿba* and called out, 'O you who made the pact of *al-fuḍūl*!' Men flocked to him from all sides, their swords unsheathed and shouting, 'Help is here; what's the matter?' He told them how Nabīh had wronged him by taking his daughter from him by force.

"The men went with him to Nabīh's house and he came out to them. They told him, 'Bring the girl out! You know who we are and the pact on which we've agreed!' 'I'll do it,' he replied, 'But let me enjoy her tonight!' 'Certainly not, by God,' they insisted, 'and there will be no intercourse!' So he brought her out to them speaking the verses:

> "My friends are gone, and I have not greeted al-Qatūl; I did not say to them a pleasant farewell,
> For the *al-fuḍūl* reiterated that they protect her; yet I still see myself not fearing the *al-fuḍūl*.
> Don't think, girl, that I, that evening the riders left, did not feel disregarded by their going."

And lines other than these were also given.

It has been said that this was known as the "pact of *al-fuḍūl*" merely because it was like an agreement reached by the Jurhum tribe that similarly favoured victims over oppressors. There were those of their leaders who advocated this, each one of whom bore the name "Faḍl". They were al-Faḍl b. Faḍala, al-Faḍl b. Wadāʿa, and al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥārith. This is what Ibn Qutayba stated. Others give the names as al-Faḍl b. Sharāʿa, al-Faḍl b. Bidāʿa and al-Faḍl b. Qudāʿa. It was al-Suhaylī, God be pleased with him, who reported this.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār said, "Tribes of Quraysh suggested making a pact and assembled for that purpose in the house of ʿAbd Allāh b. Judʿān because of his high reputation and age.

"The pact made there at his house was between Banū Hāshim, Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Banū Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, Zuhra b. Kilāb, and Taym b. Murra. They made a pact and agreement that they would support any man in Mecca who was wronged, whether from their own people or someone who had merely come there, against whoever had wronged him, and that they would ensure that his rights be upheld.

"Quraysh named that agreement the 'pact of *al-fuḍūl*'."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said that Muḥammad b. Zayd b. al-Muhājir b. Qunfudh of Taym related to him that he heard Ṭalḥa b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwf al-Zuhrī say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "I witnessed in the house of ʿAbd Allāh b. Judʿān a pact made that I wouldn't have exchanged for the choicest herd; and if it had been suggested after Islam, I would have responded positively to it."

Ibn Isḥāq said that Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Usāma b. al-Hādī al-Laythī related to him that Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith of Taym told him that there was between al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and al-Walīd b. ʿUtba b. Abū Sufyān – al-Walīd being at that time governor of al-Medina, having been appointed over it by his uncle Muʿāwiya b. Abū Sufyān – a dispute over some property they owned at (the village of) Dhū al-Marwa. It seems that al-Walīd was using his power to take advantage of al-Ḥusayn. So al-Ḥusayn told him, "I swear by God that you will either justly recognize my rights or I will draw my sword and stand up in the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and invoke the pact of *al-fuḍūl*."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "So ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who was with al-Walīd when al-Ḥusayn made this statement, said, 'And I too swear by God that if he does invoke it, I'll draw my sword and stand there with him until he gets his justice or we'll all die together.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated that when al-Miswar b. Makhrama b. Nawfal al-Zuhrī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān b. ʿUbayd Allāh of Taym heard of the incident, they gave similar responses.

And when al-Walīd b. ʿUtba heard what had been said, he treated al-Ḥusayn justly and made him content.

Section: On the marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Khadīja daughter of Khuwaylid was a merchant woman of stature and wealth. She would employ men to trade her goods on a profit-sharing basis.

"When she heard of the truthfulness, trustworthy nature and fine character of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), she sent for him and proposed that he should take some of her goods on a trading venture to Syria; she offered him better terms than she did other merchants and suggested he be accompanied by a youth in her employment whose name was Maysara.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepted this offer and set off with her goods, in the company of Maysara. When they reached Syria, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a halt beneath the shade of a tree near the cell of a certain monk. This monk looked out at Maysara and said, 'Who is that man resting beneath the tree?' Maysara responded, 'He is of Quraysh, those who guard the sanctuary.' The monk responded, 'No one but a prophet has ever stopped beneath that tree.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sold his wares, the goods that he had brought, and bought those things he wanted. Thereafter he set off in a caravan for Mecca, Maysara accompanying him.

"At midday when it was fiercely hot, Maysara would see, so they say, two angels shading him from the sun as he travelled forward on his camel.

"When he reached Mecca and brought the goods back to Khadīja, she sold them for twice their cost or thereabouts. Maysara related to her what the monk had said, and how he had seen the angels giving him shade.

"Now Khadīja was a decisive, noble, and intelligent lady, as well as possessed of all the other fine qualities God had endowed her with. When Maysara told her all this she sent for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said to him, so they say, 'Cousin, I am interested in you because of your being related to me, because of your high reputation among your people, and because of your trustworthiness, fine character and truthfulness.' She then offered herself to him in marriage.

"Khadīja was the highest-born, most respected and wealthiest woman in Quraysh. All her people were covetous of all that and would have attained it if they could.

"When she said this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he reported it to his uncles. One of these, Ḥamza, went off with him to visit Khuwaylid b. Asad and made an engagement between them. Thereafter the Prophet (ṢAAS) did marry her."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He gave her 20 young female camels as a dowry. She was the first woman he married. And he married no other woman until she died."

Ibn Isḥāq said, "It was she who bore all the children of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) except for Ibrāhīm. His sons from her were al-Qāsim, by whose name he was known, as 'Abū al-Qāsim', 'father of Qāsim' that is. Al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭāhir were his other sons. His daughters were named Zaynab, Ruqayya, Umm Kulthūm, and Fāṭima."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The first-born of the boys was al-Qāsim, then came al-Ṭayyib, followed by al-Ṭāhir. The first-born girl was Ruqayya, followed by Zaynab, Umm Kulthūm, and Fāṭima, in that order."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, from al-Ḥākim that he read, by the hand of Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama, that Musʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī related to him, saying, "The eldest of his sons was al-Qāsim. Then came Zaynab, followed by ʿAbd Allāh, Umm Kulthūm, Fāṭima, and Ruqayya. The first of his children to die was al-Qāsim, followed by ʿAbd Allāh. Khadīja is said to have died at age 65 or at age 50, the latter being more likely."

Others say that al-Qāsim attained an age when he could ride, even on light, swift camels but then he died, after the call to prophethood.

Others say he died while still unweaned. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "In heaven there is a place for him where he can complete his suckling."

However, it is well known that this statement applied to (his son) Ibrāhīm.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated that Ibrāhīm b. ʿUthmān related to him from al-Qāsim from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Khadīja gave birth from the Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) to two boys and four girls. These were al-Qāsim, ʿAbd Allāh, Fāṭima, Umm Kulthūm, Zaynab, and Ruqayya."

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār said, "It was ʿAbd Allāh who was known as 'al-Ṭayyib' (the good) and 'al-Ṭāhir' (the pure). He was given these appellations because he was born after the call to prophethood. His other sons died before his mission. All his daughters were born prior to the call to the prophethood, and emigrated with him (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Ibrāhīm was born to Maria the Copt who was presented to the Prophet (ṢAAS) by al-Muqawqis, governor of Alexandria; she was from (the Upper Egypt town of) Kūrat Anḍā'."

We will discuss the wives and children of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in a separate section at the end of this biography, if God Almighty wills it; and in Him we trust.

Ibn Hishām said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 25 years of age when he married Khadīja, according to the account of several scholars, including Abū ʿAmr al-Madanī."

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān stated, "I wrote down, from Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir, the following: ʿUmar b. Abū Bakr al-Muʿammilī related to me that more than one authority related to him that ʿAmr b. Asad married Khadīja to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he was 25 years of age and Quraysh were building the *kaʿba*."

Similarly, al-Bayhaqī transmitted from al-Ḥākim that the age of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he married Khadīja was 25 and that she was then 35. It is also said that she was 25.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, in a chapter entitled: "The employment the Messenger of God had before he married Khadīja" as follows:

"Abū ʿAbd Allāh the *ḥāfiẓ* narrated to us, quoting Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān; and Suwayd b. Saʿīd related to us, quoting ʿAmr b. Abū Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qurashī, from his grandfather Saʿīd, from Abū Hurayra who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'God never sent anyone to be a prophet without his having been a shepherd for sheep.' His Companions asked him, 'And you too, O Messenger of God?' He replied, 'I shepherded them for Meccans at al-Qarārīṭ.'"

Al-Bukhārī related it from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad the Meccan, from ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā.

Thereafter al-Bayhaqī related the same tradition by way of al-Rabīʿ b. Badr, a weak link, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "My wage from Khadīja for two expeditions was a young she-camel."

Al-Bayhaqī related, through Ḥammād b. Salama, from ʿAlī b. Zayd, from ʿAmmār b. Abū ʿAmmār, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said, "Khadīja's father married

the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to her at a time when he (her father) was – and I think this is what he said – drunk!"

Then al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faḍl al-Qaṭṭān related to him, as did ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, as did Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān, who said that he was told by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir, and by ʿUmar b. Abū Bakr al-Muʿammilī and by ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū ʿUbayd b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, from his father from Muqsim b. Abū al-Qāsim, the *mawlā* of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, that ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith related to him that ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, whenever he heard people discussing the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Khadīja and embellishing it as they did, would tell them, "I know better than anyone else about his marriage to her. I was his companion and his close friend. One day I was out with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and when we came to al-Ḥazura we passed by Khadīja's sister who was seated on a fine-coloured camel she had for sale. She called to me and I went over to her, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood there waiting for me. She said, 'Would that friend of yours like to marry Khadīja?'

"So I went back to him and told him and he responded, 'Indeed I certainly would!'

"I then reported to her what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said and she suggested, 'Come and visit us tomorrow.' When we did so next day we found that they had slaughtered a cow and dressed Khadīja's father in ceremonial clothes; and his beard had been dyed yellow. I spoke with her brother and he with his father, who had been drinking wine. The brother told him of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and of his reputation and asked him if he would conduct his marriage. And so he did marry him to Khadīja. They cooked the cow and we ate from it, after which her father went to sleep. When he woke up he was sober and he said, 'What's this I'm wearing, what's this yellow and why this food?' His daughter who had spoken to ʿAmmār replied, 'It was your son-in-law Muḥammad son of ʿAbd Allāh who gave you the ceremonial outfit and he who presented the cow to you, and we slaughtered it when you married him to Khadīja.'

"He denied having concluded this marriage with him and stormed off, shouting, to al-Ḥijr. Banū Hāshim brought out the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and they all went off to talk to him. Khadīja's father demanded, 'Where's this man of yours you claim I married to Khadīja?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his presence known to him. Having looked at him, her father then said, 'If I already performed his marriage, then so be it. If I didn't before, I do so now!'"

Al-Zuhrī stated in his works of biography that her father married her to him when he was drunk. His account is similar to the foregoing. Al-Suhaylī (similarly) related it.

Al-Mu'ammilī stated, "What is generally agreed upon is that it was her uncle, 'Amr b. Asad, who married her to him."

This is what al-Suhaylī preferred. He related so on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās and 'Ā'isha. The latter said, "Khuwaylid had died before *al-fijār*, the 'sacrilegious' war. It was he who had fought against Tubba' when he wanted to remove the 'black stone' to Yemen. Khuwaylid and a group from Quraysh had prevented him from doing so. Then Tubba' had a nightmare about it, changed his mind, and left the 'black stone' where it was."

Ibn Isḥāq related at the end of his biography that Khadīja's brother, 'Amr b. Khuwaylid, was the one who married her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but God knows best.

Division

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid, had informed Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy, who was her cousin and a Christian who had studied the Scriptures and human knowledge, of what her young employee (Maysara) had told her of what the monk had said, and how he had seen the two angels shading him. Waraqa had then told her, "If this is true, Khadīja, then Muḥammad is the Prophet of this nation. I learned that a prophet was expected for this nation, and this is his time." These were approximately the words he used.

Thereafter Waraqa had impatiently awaited his coming, asking how long it would be. He spoke the following verses on the subject:

"I persisted, being persistent in recalling both a worry that often inspired my tears,
And a description from Khadīja, following (another) description; my waiting has been long, O Khadīja,
In the heart of Mecca, with my hoping because of your words that I would see some solution.
From what you related as the words of a priest who was a monk whom I would hate to be wrong,
That Muḥammad will one day prevail and defeat whomever opposes him,
Making a light appear in the land by which he will bring change to all creation.
Those who oppose him will meet defeat, while those who aid him will achieve success.
Would that I be there to witness, for I'll be the first of them in participating.
Participating in that which Quraysh will hate, however much they bluster in their Mecca.
I aspire, through him whom they all hate, to reach the Enthroned One, even if they descend, aside.
Is it not folly to disbelieve in Him who chooses, He who raised the stars?
If they and I survive, things will happen at which the disbelievers will be sorely discomfited.

Even if I perish, so does every man meet from the fates with destruction and death."

Waraqa also spoke the following lines, according to the account given of him by Yūnus b. Bukayr from Ibn Isḥāq:

"Will you leave early in the morning, or late tonight, or in the evening, there being a fire alight in your heart from your concealing your sadness?

At parting from a people whom I do not like to leave, as if after two days' journey away they seem very far removed.

And at true information related about Muḥammad, told about him when he was elsewhere by an honest man.

The man came back to you, O best of free women, whom you had sent to the Ghawr lowland and to the plateaux of the Najd ranges.

To the markets of Buṣrā with the mounts that left early, bent over with their loads, slow-moving.

He tells us of things good, through his knowledge; and truth has doors for which keys exist.

That ʿAbd Allāh's son, Aḥmad, is being sent to all people everywhere.

My belief is that he will be sent to tell the truth, just as God's two servants Hūd and Sāliḥ were sent

And Moses, and Abraham, until his glory shall be witnessed and widely spread abroad by report, very clear;

And there shall follow him the tribes of Luʾayy and Ghālib, their young and their grey leaders alike.

If I survive till his era reaches the people, then I will give glad tidings of love.

If not, O Khadīja, then you should know that I shall be travelling the wide earth, far from your land."

Al-Umawī added the lines:

"Following the religion of Him who established all things, He who had virtue far greater than all men.

And erected a secure building in Mecca, whose lamplight glitters in the dark,

A meeting place for all the various tribes, a place to which the tired, fine mounts hurry,

Standing tall like arrows of fine wood, the sinews winding around them suspended above their pastern-joints."

Other verses of this, as given by Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī in his work *al-Rawḍ* (*The Gardens*) are the following:

"I gave advice to the tribes, telling them 'I came to warn, so let no one deceive you.'

Do not worship any God other than your creator, and if others call you, then say, 'We are in conflict with you.'

Glory everlasting be to Him of the throne; both the waters and the dry land glorified Him before us.

All things beneath the sky are subjugated before Him; no one should oppose His dominion.

Nothing that you see has its splendour last, but God remains, though wealth and progeny perish.

With his treasures, one day Hurmuz did not prevail, and the tribe of ʿĀd sought eternity, but they did not last.

Nor Solomon either, for the winds blew him away, and all spirits and men too, a waste land between them.

Where are those kings whose glory was such that delegations would come to them from all parts?

A great basin is up there where, without falsehood, all must gather one day, just as they did."

He then said, "Abū al-Faraj similarly attributed these to Waraqa." He also commented that some of these verses are also considered to have been by Umayya b. Abū al-Salṭ.

I would also add that we have been told that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God bless him, used sometimes to quote some of these verses. But God knows best.

Section: On Quraysh having rebuilt the kaʿba *five years before the coming of the prophethood.*

Al-Bayhaqī recounts the building of the *kaʿba* to have been before the marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS), to Khadīja.

However, it is widely known that the building by Quraysh of the *kaʿba* took place some ten years following their marriage, as we have stated.

Al-Bayhaqī begins by relating the *kaʿba*'s construction as having occurred in the time of Abraham, as we have stated in our earlier account of him. He gives the *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAbbās recorded in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī and also makes reference to some of the accounts attributed to Israeli legends regarding the construction of the *kaʿba* in Adam's lifetime.

But that is not correct, for the plain statement in the Qurʾān establishes that Abraham was the first person to begin building it, the first to establish it. Moreover its site was revered before that, honoured, and cared for throughout time. God Almighty stated,

"The first 'house' established for mankind was the one in Bekka (Mecca), blessed and a guidance for the worlds. In it there are clear signs. (There is) the stone on which Abraham stood. Whoever enters it shall be safe. Men owe it to God to make pilgrimage to the House, (all) those who can afford to do so" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*, III, v.96, 97).

In the two *ṣaḥīḥs* it is said of Abū Dharr that he stated, "I asked, 'O Messenger of God, which mosque was established first?' He replied, 'The

al-Ḥaram mosque (the 'Holy Mosque' in Mecca) 'Which one next?' I enquired. 'The *al-Aqṣā* mosque' (the 'further mosque', in Jerusalem). 'How many years intervened?', I asked. 'Forty years', he replied."

We have earlier addressed this issue and the fact that the *al-Aqṣā* mosque was established by (the tribe of) Israel, by Jacob, peace be upon him.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is stated: "This land was made sacred by God when he created the heavens and the earth. It is made sacred by the sanctity of God until Judgement Day."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, informed him, as did Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣaffār, Aḥmad b. Mahrān, ʿUbayd Allāh, and Isrāʿīl, from Abū Yaḥyā, from Mujāhid, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr as follows, "The house (of worship) existed 2,000 years before the earth: 'And lo! the earth was laid out' (*sūrat al-Inshiqāq*, LXXXIV, v.3). "It was," he said, "laid out beneath it."

He said, "And Manṣūr traced this account back to Mujāhid."

I consider this very strange. It is as though it comes from the two baggage camels seized by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr at the battle of Yarmuk which were transporting Israeli legends, from which he used to relate; they told of strange and objectionable things.

Then al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, informed him, quoting Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī, quoting Yaḥyā b. ʿUthmān b. Ṣāliḥ, as did Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Juhanī, quoting Ibn Lahīʿa, from Yazīd b. Abū al-Khayr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "God sent down Gabriel to Adam and Eve, and told them: 'Build a house of worship for me.' Gabriel drew it out for them and Adam began digging while Eve transported until the water spoke to him, calling out from beneath him, 'That's enough, Adam!' When they had finished building, God revealed to him that he should circumambulate it. He was told, 'You are the first man, and this is the first house.' Thereafter the centuries succeeded one another until Noah made pilgrimage there. Further centuries went by until Abraham constructed its foundations."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Ibn Lahīʿa is the only one transmitting this tradition in this way."

I consider him to be a weak source. If its transmission had stopped directly with ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr it would have been a stronger and more authentic tradition. But God knows best.

Al-Rabīʿ stated that al-Shāfiʿī informed him, as did Sufyān, from Ibn Abū Labīd, from Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī – or someone else – that he (the Prophet, ṢAAS) said, "Adam performed the pilgrimage and the angels met him and told him, 'Your sacrifice made has been successful. We made pilgrimage 2,000 years before you!'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated that Ibn Isḥāq said, "Buqayya – or, he said, someone trustworthy of Medina – related to me, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr that he (the Prophet) said, 'There has never been a prophet who has not made pilgrimage to the *ka'ba* – except, that is, for Hūd and Ṣāliḥ.'"

But I have elsewhere reported their pilgrimage to it; by which I meant their having made pilgrimage to its site, even though it was not yet built. But God knows best.

After this al-Bayhaqī reported the *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Abbās giving in full the story of Abraham, upon whom be peace; it is included in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī.

Al-Bayhaqī then related from the *ḥadīth* of Simāk b. Ḥarb, on the authority of Khālid b. 'Ar'ara, as follows: "A man asked 'Alī about God's statement (in the Qur'ān): 'The first house (of worship) established for mankind was the one in Bekka (Mecca), blessed and a guidance for the world' and asked whether it really was the first house built on earth.

"He replied, 'No, but it was the first one in which blessings and guidance for all mankind were in place, along with the stone on which Abraham stood; and whoever enters it is safe. And if you like, we can tell you how it was constructed.

"'Almighty God sent a revelation to Abraham, saying, "Build for me a house on earth!" This command disturbed him greatly. So God sent down *al-sakīna*, which is a strong wind with a head to it. Head and wind pursued one another until finally stopping. Thereupon the gale whirled around itself at a certain spot, like the coils of a snake. So Abraham built (there) until he reached the position for the stone. He then said to his son: "Help me by finding a stone." He searched for one and brought it, but found that the 'black stone' had already been set in place. He asked his father, "Where did you get that?" "Someone came who wouldn't rely on your building. Gabriel brought it from heaven." So he finished it.

"'Time passed and it fell down. So the *'amāliqa* (the giants) rebuilt it and when it next collapsed it was Jurhum who reconstructed it.

"'Again it collapsed and Quraysh rebuilt it, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) being a young man at that time. When they wanted to lift into place the 'black stone' they fell into a dispute who should do so. They agreed they would let the first person to come along that street decide. It was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who came by first, so he decided for them to place it in a piece of cloth, so that all the tribes would lift it to its place.'"

Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī said that Ḥammād b. Salama and Qays and Sallām related to him, all on the authority of Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Khālid b. 'Ar'ara, from 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib who said, "When the *ka'ba* fell down after Jurhum, Quraysh rebuilt it. And when they wanted to position the stone they fell into a dispute with one another. So they agreed that the first person to come in the door should do it.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in through the Banū Shayba door. He told them to bring a robe in the centre of which he placed the stone. Then he ordered each subtribe to take hold of an edge of the cloth. They then lifted it up and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took the stone and positioned it."

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān said that Aṣbugh b. Faraj related to him, as did Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus from Ibn Shihāb as follows: "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached puberty a woman set alight to the *kaʿba*. A spark from her fire lit some of the cloth covering of the *kaʿba* and it burned. So they tore it down and rebuilt it up to that point in the corner where a dispute arose among Quraysh as to which of the tribes should be entrusted with raising it.

"They agreed to appoint as arbitrator the first person who came up to them. It was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who did so, he being a youth, and he was wearing a leopardskin sash. They asked him to decide the issue and he told them to get the corner piece, which was placed in a cloth. Then he asked the leader of each tribe to come forward and gave each one a side of the cloth while he climbed up. They lifted it up and he put the corner piece in position.

"As he increased in age he became only more pleasing, and so they gave him the sobriquet *al-Amīn*, 'the trustworthy', even before revelation came down to him. They adopted the practice of never slaughtering a camel for sacrifice without seeking him, and he would say a prayer over it for them."

The context of this tradition is good, it being from the biographies written by al-Zuhrī.

One strange element in it is the wording "when he reached puberty". For it is well known that this occurred when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 35. This is established by Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq b. Yasār, God bless him.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated that the building of the *kaʿba* occurred 15 years prior to the prophethood. Similarly, Mujāhid agreed, as did ʿUrwa, Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim and others. But God knows best.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba said, "There was a period of 15 years between the 'sacrilegious' war *al-fijār* and the building of the *kaʿba*."

I observe that *al-fijār* and the pact of *al-fuḍūl* came in one year, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 20. This fact substantiates what Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said. But God knows best.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba said: "Quraysh were motivated towards rebuilding the *kaʿba* because water would flood in from its top, from above the earth roof with which it was covered and which was in disrepair. Consequently they were concerned that water might leak inside.

"Also, a man named Mulayḥ had stolen the *kaʿba*'s incense and they wanted to rebuild it taller and raise its door so that only those they wished could enter it.

"They therefore established a fund for the costs and hired workers and then went there one morning to tear it down, despite their concern and apprehension that God might prevent them from doing what they wanted.

"The first man to start and to take down a piece of it was al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra. When they saw what al-Walid had done the others followed by doing the same; they levelled it and were pleased to have done so.

"When they wanted to begin rebuilding it, they brought the workmen, but not one of them would set foot anywhere before it.

"They claimed that they saw a snake encircling the building completely, its head reaching back to its tail. They were terrified of it and afraid that what they were doing would destroy them.

The *ka'ba* had been their haven and safe refuge from others as well as a source of their pride. Because of their confusion and worry at what had happened to them, al-Mughīra b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Makhzūm stood up and reminded them of the advice and orders he had given them, namely that they should not dispute or envy one another in rebuilding it, but should divide it into quarters and use no ill-gotten money in its construction.

"When they had decided to proceed, the snake disappeared up into the sky, and they could see that this was the work of God, Almighty and All-powerful is He."

His account also states that some people maintain that a bird picked it up and tossed it away towards Ajyad.[67]

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached 35 Quraysh reached an agreement to rebuild the *ka'ba*. They did so because they were concerned about reroofing it, being afraid its roof would collapse since it was made only of stones set above its frame. They also wanted to make it taller as well as reroof it.

"That was because some men had stolen the *ka'ba*'s treasure which had been kept in a well in its middle. The man who was found in possession of the treasure was Duwayk, a freed-man of Banū Mulayḥ b. 'Amr b. Khuzā'a. Consequently Quraysh cut off his hand.

"Quraysh claims that those who stole it planted it with Duwayk.

"The sea had cast ashore at Jidda a ship belonging to a Byzantine trader. The ship had broken up, so they took its wood to use for the *ka'ba*'s roof."

Al-Umawī said, "This ship belonged to the emperor of Byzantium and was carrying building materials, marble, wood, and metal. The emperor had sent this off with Baqum the Byzantine for the church the Persians had burned belonging to the Abyssinians. When it had reached its anchorage at Jidda God had sent a gale which destroyed it."

67. Ajyad is a mountain at Mecca.

Ibn Isḥāq said, "In Mecca there was a Copt who was a carpenter and so they had available to them some of what was needed to repair it.

"There was a serpent that would emerge from the *kaʿba*'s well into which they would drop every day the sacrificial offerings. It would emerge and sun itself on the *kaʿba*'s wall. They were all afraid of it, because whenever anyone approached it, it would raise its head, move its coils audibly and open its mouth. One day as it lay on the *kaʿba*'s wall as was its habit, God sent down a bird which snatched it up and flew away with it.

"At this Quraysh said, 'Now we can hope that God is pleased at our plan. We have a local carpenter, and wood, and God has taken care of the serpent.'"

Al-Suhaylī recounted, on the authority of Razīn, that a thief had entered the *kaʿba* during the Jurhum era to steal its treasure but that the well had caved in on him. Some men had come and lifted him out and retrieved what he had taken. After that, a serpent resided in the well, its head as big as that of a young goat, its belly white and its back black. It had lived there for 500 years. This was the serpent mentioned by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "When they had agreed on demolishing and rebuilding it, Abū Wahb b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀʾidh b. ʿAbd b. ʿImrān b. Makhzūm (whose name according to Ibn Hishām was ʿĀʾidh b. ʿImrān b. Makhzūm) went and removed a stone from the *kaʿba* but it flew straight out of his hand back to its position. So he said, 'O Quraysh, in rebuilding it, use only money that you have fairly earned. Nothing gained from prostitution, usury, or injustice against any person must enter it.'"

(Some) people attribute this statement to al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm. Ibn Isḥāq, moreover, was inclined to believe that the man who said this was Abū Wahb b. ʿAmr. He said that he was the maternal uncle of the father of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and a very highly regarded and honourable man.

Ibn Isḥāq said, "Then Quraysh divided up the *kaʿba*. The side with the door was entrusted to the tribes of ʿAbd Manāf and Zuhra, that between the 'black stone' corner and the Yemeni corner went to the Banū Makhzūm, along with various other Quraysh tribes. The back of the *kaʿba* went to the tribes of Jumaḥ and Sahm; the *ḥijr* (shrine) side was entrusted to the tribes of ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy and Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, while the ʿAdī b. Kaʿb were assigned the *rahw al-ḥaṭīm*, the enclosed slope around the walls.

"But the people were apprehensive about demolishing it and were very scared of it. So al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra said, 'I shall begin demolishing it.' And he took up a pick-axe and set about it, saying, 'O God, it is not to be feared. O God, good is all we want.'

"He then demolished some of the side where two *rukn*, the sacred corners, are. That night everyone expected something bad would happen and said, 'Let's keep watch on him and if he comes to harm we'll not demolish any more of it and we'll repair it just as it was. But if nothing happens to him, then God will have been pleased by our action in destroying it.'

"Early next morning al-Walīd recommenced his work of demolition, and the others joined in with him. Eventually they had demolished it down to the foundations established by Abraham, peace be upon him. They uncovered some green rocks interlocking together like teeth."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī an account from Yazīd b. Rūmān gives the phrase "interlocking together like camels' humps". And al-Suhaylī said, "I consider the wording in the biography 'like teeth' to be imaginary." But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A certain reciter of traditions related to me as follows, 'A man of Quraysh, who were demolishing the *kaʿba*, put his crowbar between two stones to remove one of them and when the stone moved all Mecca shook, so they stopped working on that foundation.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās claimed that leaders of Quraysh related that when they had assembled to extract stones to set up the (stations of) Abraham and Ishmael, upon both of whom be peace, one of their tribesmen began removing one of the stones from the original foundation. When he lifted it up, not knowing that it was from the original foundation, the onlookers saw a light emitting from beneath it that almost dazzled the man's sight. Then the stone jumped out of his hand and dropped back into its place. The man and the other builders were terrified. But when the stone again hid from them what was beneath it they went back to their building, saying, 'Don't move that stone, or any of those next to it.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It was related to me that Quraysh found in the corner a document with Syriac writing on it and they did not know what it was until a Jew read it to them. It said, 'I am God, Lord of Bakka (Mecca). I created it the day I created the heavens and the earth and formed the sun and the moon. I have set seven trusty angels around it. It will not cease to exist until its *akhshabāhā* (a word Ibn Hishām interpreted to mean "its two mountains") disapppear, a blessing to its people in their water and their milk.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It was related to me that they found in the shrine a document stating, 'Mecca is God's holy House. Its sustenance shall come from three paths; let it not be first desecrated by its own people.'"

He also stated that Layth b. Abū Sulaym claimed that they had found a stone in the *kaʿba* 40 years before the coming of the mission of the Prophet (ṢAAS) – if what they said is true – on which was written, "He who plants good shall harvest joy; he who plants evil shall harvest regret. If you do evil things, shall

you be rewarded with good things? Indeed so, just as grapes are harvested from thorns!"

Saʿid b. Yaḥyā al-Umawī stated that al-Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān al-Raqqī related to him, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Bishr al-Zuhrī, with a chain of authorities back to the prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "In the shrine three slates were found. On the first was written, 'It is I, God, Lord of Bakka; I made it when I made the sun and the moon and I have set seven trusty angels around it. And I have blessed its people in the meat and in the milk.'

"On the second it said, 'I am God, Lord of Bakka. I created *al-raḥim*, kinship, which I derived from my name, (*Raḥīm*, (meaning) merciful and compassionate). He who acts kindly to his kin, so will I treat; he who severs his ties of kinship, so will I treat.'

"On the third was written: 'I am God, Lord of Bakka. I created goodness and evil and I predetermine. Joy shall be for those who bring good, and woe upon those who bring evil!'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Then the tribes of Quraysh gathered stones to rebuild it, each one collecting them separately.

"They built it up until it reached the place for the (black) stone but then fell into dispute about it. Each tribe wanted to raise it into its position, regardless of the rest. Eventually they broke up, established alliances, and readied to do battle. Banū ʿAbd al-Dār brought a bowl full of blood and they and Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy made a pact to fight to the death, placing their hands into that bowl of blood. And so they were known as the 'blood-lickers'.

"Quraysh remained in this confrontation for four or five nights, then they met together in the mosque, debated one another but divided into equal sides.

"Some scholars of the traditions claim that Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm, who was at that time the oldest man in all Quraysh, said, 'O Tribe of of Quraysh, resolve your dispute by agreeing that the first man who enters by the door of this mosque will decide the issue.' They agreed.

"The first man to enter was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and when they saw him they said, 'This is *al-Amīn*, "the trustworthy"; we are satisfied. This is Muḥammad.' When he reached them and they told him of the problem, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said: 'Bring me a robe.' One was brought to him and he took the cornerpiece (the 'black stone') and placed it on the robe. Then he said, 'Let each tribe grasp one side of the cloth. Then all raise it up.' This they did until it was at the right spot, whereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself positioned it. Then they built above it."

Quraysh used to refer to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as "the trustworthy".

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad related to him, quoting Thābit – meaning Abū Yazid – quoting Hilāl – meaning Ibn Ḥabbān – from Mujāhid

from his *mawlā*, whose name was al-Sāʿib b. ʿAbd Allāh, that the last-mentioned related to him that he was one of those who built the *kaʿba* before the coming of Islam. He stated, "I had a stone I had sculpted that I worshipped besides God. I used to bring clotted milk unfit for myself and pour it over it. Then a dog would lick it off, raise its hind leg and urinate on it. We continued building until we reached the position for the (black) stone, but no one knew where it was. But then it was seen among our rocks looking like a man's head with a face almost distinguishable. A leader of Quraysh said, 'We'll position it.' But others said they too would do it. People suggested an arbitrator be appointed and they agreed that he should be the first man to appear from the mountain road. And it was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who arrived, and those there commented, 'Well, it's the "trustworthy" who's come.' They talked to him and he placed it on a cloak. He then summoned their head men and they lifted it up while he, (ṢAAS) placed it in its position."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "At the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS), the *kaʿba* measured 18 cubits and was covered by Egyptian-woven Qabāṭī cloth. Later it was covered by *al-burūd*[68] cloths. The first to clothe it with the *dibāj* silk brocade was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf."

My comment is that they left out of it the *ḥijr* area that was six or seven cubits long in the direction of Syria. They had insufficient funds for that; that is, they were not able to rebuild it on Abraham's foundations. They constructed one door for the *kaʿba* on the east side, placing it high up so that not everyone could get inside. This allowed them to permit inside only those they wished.

It has been established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, on the authority of ʿĀ'isha, God be pleased with her, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told her: "Don't you know that your people had insufficient funds for the expenses? If it were not for the fact that your people were only recently unbelievers, I would have torn down the *kaʿba* and made for it one door on the east and another on the west. And I would have included the *ḥijr* area within it."

This was how Ibn Zubayr rebuilt it, just as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had indicated. It was done in the utmost splendour and beauty, one complete whole on the foundations of al-Khalīl (Abraham). It had two doors at ground level, on the east and west sides, and people would enter through one and exit through the other.

When he had executed Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Ḥajjāj wrote to the Caliph of the time, ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Marwān, concerning what Ibn Zubayr had done; and they believed that he had made the changes on his own authority.

And so it was ordered that it be restored to its original state. They set to work on the "Syrian" wall, tearing it down and removing the (black) stone, laying out

68. *Al-burūd* is the name given to striped-cloth sheets.

its stones on the *kaʿba* floor. Then its door was raised and the western door was blocked off; the eastern one was left as it was. When it was the time of al-Mahdī – or his son al-Mansūr – he (the ruler) sought advice from Mālik on rebuilding it as it had been remodelled by Ibn al-Zubayr. But Mālik, God be pleased with him, said, "I hate for the rulers to treat it like a plaything."

And so he left it as it was; it remains the same to this day.

As for the *masjid al-ḥarām*, the sacred mosque at Mecca, the first man to remove the buildings around the *kaʿba* was ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him. He purchased them from their owners and demolished them. When ʿUthmān ruled he bought other houses which he added to it. When Ibn al-Zubayr succeeded, he reinforced it, improved its walls, and increased the number of its doors. But he was not able to make any additions to increase its size.

When ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Marwān seized power he made the walls of the sacred mosque taller and ordered that the *kaʿba* be covered by the *dibāj*. The one who carried out this order was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.

We have elsewhere related the history of the building of the House and the traditions that came down about that in our exegesis of the *sūrat al-Baqara* (Qurʾān, II) in reference to the verse: "When we ordered Abraham to raise the foundations of the house along with Ishmael" (verse 127). Our explanation of this is lengthy and exhaustive and whoever wishes could write it down here. And all praise and power be to God.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When they had finished the construction, having built it as they wished, al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib spoke the following verses about the serpent that caused Quraysh to be afraid of rebuilding the *kaʿba*:

"I was amazed at the eagle aiming straight for the serpent when it was in an excited state.
It used to make a rustling sound, and sometimes it would dash out;
When we began the building it increased our awe of the structure and we were scared.
When we were too afraid to drive it away an eagle came, swooping straight down at it.
It grasped it tight, then left the building to us; there being nothing else in its way.
Together we assembled to begin the building, for which we already had the foundations and the soil;
Next morning its foundations were raised, our men wearing no clothes.
The Lord ennobled Banū Luʾayy through it and there's no denying their founding it.
Banū ʿAdī had also assembled there, and Murra who were preceded by Kilāb.
The Lord thereby established us in glory, and it is from God that reward is requested.'"

We earlier treated in a separate passage how God protected the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from the bad practices of the pre-Islamic era. He and his uncle al-ʿAbbās used to transport stones and when he (ṢAAS) positioned his loincloth over his shoulder beneath the stones, he was forbidden from doing so and therefore reverted to his former practice.

DIVISION

Ibn Isḥāq related how Quraysh began the practice of calling themselves *al-Ḥums*, a word implying intensity in religion, and intolerance.

This is because they gave extreme veneration to the holy places, to the extent that they required people not to leave there on the night of the procession to ʿArafāt. They would say, "We are men of the holy places, the *ḥaram*, and the *Quṭṭān*, those who dwell at God's house."

They would not make the halt on Mt. ʿArafāt, though they knew that was the wish of Abraham, peace be upon him, in order not to abandon the corrupt innovative practices they themselves established. They would not put away for storage sour cheese made from milk or butter, or clarify fat while they were in a state of ritual uncleanliness. While in this state, they would not enter any tent made of hair, and would seek shelter from the sun only under tents made of leather. Similarly they prevented those making the greater or smaller pilgrimage from eating any but Quraysh food while in that state, and these people could only circumambulate wearing Quraysh clothes. If one of these pilgrims could not find a gown from one of the *Ḥums*, who were Quraysh either by birth or by having joined Quraysh from Kināna and Khuzāʿa, they would have to circumambulate naked, even if they were women. A woman who happened to go round in this manner would place her hand over her vagina and recite:

> "Today all or part may appear, but visible though it may be, I do not make it available!"

If anyone who had access to the garment of a *Ḥums* person were too proud to use it, then he could go round in his own clothes, but when he had finished he had to throw them aside; thereafter, they could not be used again, either by them or by anyone else, nor ever touched. The Arabs used to call such clothes *al-luqā*, "cast-offs". A certain poet spoke the lines:

> "How sad it is, my returning to it, it being like a proscribed thing cast off before the pilgrims."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "They continued in these practices until God sent Muḥammad (ṢAAS) and revealed the Qur'ān to him, as a retort to them and their innovations. God said, 'Hasten forth from the place where people hasten

from' (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.199). By this is meant the masses of the Arabs from ʿArafāt. And also that same verse reads, 'and ask the forgiveness of God; surely God is forgiving, merciful.'"

As we have previously shown, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would make the halt at ʿArafāt before he received his prophethood, this being an award granted by God to him.

God also revealed to him a response to their practice of forbidding people certain actions and foods in the words, "O mankind, attend to your dress at every prayer meeting and eat and drink, but do not be extreme. God does not love extremists. Say, 'Who made forbidden clothing (from) God that He brought forth for His worshippers, along with all good provisions?'" (*sūrat al-Aʿrāf*, VII, v.31–2).

Ziyād al-Bakkāʾī stated from Ibn Isḥāq, "But I don't know whether their making these innovations preceded or followed the battle of the elephant."

THE BOOK OF THE APOSTLESHIP OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) AND AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE PREDICTIVE SIGNS THEREOF.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, God bless him, stated: "Jewish Rabbis, Christian priests and Arab soothsayers all spoke of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before his mission as the time for it approached.

"The rabbis and the priests found in their books descriptions of him and of his time along with inferences relating to him from their prophets."

God Almighty said, "Those who follow the Messenger, the prophet, the *ummī*, "the unlettered", to whom they will find written reference in the Torah and the Bible requiring them to do good and warning them of evil, allowing them the good things and forbidding them the bad, removing the burden and chains formerly upon them; so those who believe in him, honour him and aid him and follow the light that was sent down with him, those will be successful" (*sūrat al-Aʿrāf*, VII, v.157).

God Almighty stated, "And when Jesus son of Mary said, 'O children of Israel, I am God's messenger to you, bringing affirmation of the Torah before me and giving tidings of a prophet who will come after me whose name will be Aḥmad'" (*sūrat al-Ṣaff*, LXI, v.6). And God Almighty said, "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God. And those with him are those who are very severe against the unbelievers, compassionate with one another. You shall see them bowing down, prostrating themselves, seeking grace from God, and approval. They have marks on their faces from their prostrations. That is their likeness in the Torah and in the Bible. (They are) like plants. (God) brings forth their sprouts and then strengthens them and thickens them so they stand straight on their stalks. He pleases the planters to discomfort through them the unbelievers. God gave promise of forgiveness and great reward to those who believe in him and perform righteous deeds" (*sūrat al-Fatḥ*, XLVIII, v.29).

And God Almighty said, "When God made the covenant with the Prophets, saying, 'I gave you the Scripture and wisdom, then there will come unto you a messenger confirming what you possess; you shall believe in him and render him help.' He said, 'Do you agree and accept my covenant as binding to you?' They replied, 'We affirm.' He said, 'So bear witness and I along with you am a witness'" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*, III, v.81).

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī there is a *ḥadīth* from Ibn ʿAbbās that states, "God

never sent down a prophet without entering into a covenant upon him (to the effect that) if Muḥammad were sent down his mission when he was (already) living, then he (that prophet) would believe in him and aid him. God ordered him to take a covenant to his people that if Muḥammad were given his mission during their lifetime, then they should believe in him, aid him, and follow him."

This confirms that all prophets had talked about him and were commanded to follow him.

Abraham, upon whom be peace, stated in the prayer he made about the people of Mecca, "O our Lord! Send among them as a messenger one of their own people, who will recite to them Your signs and teach them the scriptures and wisdom and purify them. You are the mighty one, the wise" (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.129).

Imām Aḥmad said that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting al-Faraj b. Faḍāla, quoting Luqmān b. ʿĀmir, who said that he heard Abū Umāma say, "I asked the Prophet, 'O Messenger of God, what was the beginning of your mission?'

"He replied, 'The prayer of my father Abraham, the glad tidings from Jesus, and my mother's seeing a light emitting from her that illuminated the castles of Syria.'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said that just such a statement was related to him from Thawr b. Yazīd, from Khālid b. Maʿdān, from the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

By this is meant his wanting to refer to the beginning of his mission among his people and the spreading and expanding of his fame. And so he made mention of the prayer of Abraham, to whom the Arabs trace their descent. Then the prediction of Jesus, the 'Seal' of the prophets of the tribe of Israel, as mentioned before. This shows that there were other prophets between these two who also gave tidings of his coming.

Regarding (the assembly of) the archangels, their cognizance of him was widespread and well known before the creation of Adam, upon whom be prayers and peace. Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to him, quoting Muʿāwiyya' b. Ṣāliḥ, from Saʿīd b. Suwayd al-Kalbī, from ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Hilāl al-Salamī, from al-ʿIrbāḍ b. Sāriyya who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'For God I am the Seal of the prophets; Adam was well made in His likeness. And I shall tell you of the first of it: my father Abraham's prayer, the prediction of Jesus about my coming, and the visions seen by my mother, as well as by the mothers of the believers.'"

Al-Layth related this from Muʿāwiyya' b. Ṣāliḥ who said, "When she delivered him, his mother saw a light from him that illuminated the castles of Syria."

Imām Aḥmad also said, "'Abd al-Raḥmān related to us, as did Manṣūr b. Sa'd, from Badīl b. Maysara, from 'Abd Allāh b. Shaqīq, from Maysara al-Fajr, who stated, 'I asked, O Messenger of God, when did you become a prophet?' He replied, 'When Adam was between the spirit and the body.'"

Aḥmad is the sole source of these.

'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Shāhīn related this in the work entitled *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Hurayra who stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz – meaning Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī – related to us, as did Abū Hammām al-Walīd b. Muslim, from al-Awzā'ī, and I was told by Yaḥyā from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked, 'When was it made your duty to become a prophet?' He replied, 'Between the making of Adam and the breathing of the spirit into him.'"

It was related on another line of authorities from al-Awzā'ī who used the words "and Adam was formed in his likeness".

It was also related from al-Baghawī, from Aḥmad b. al-Miqdām, from Baqiyya b. Sa'īd b. Bashīr, from Qatāda, from Abū Hurayra, relating to the words of Almighty God, "And when we made a covenant with the prophets, and with you, and with Noah" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*, XXXIII, v.7) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "I was the first of the prophets to be created and the last of them to be sent."

And from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Muzāḥim, on the authority of Qays b. al-Rabī', from Jābir, from al-Sha'bī, from Ibn 'Abbās, that someone asked, "O Messenger of God, when were you a prophet?" He replied, "While Adam was between spirit and body."

The Arab soothsayers had been told by the devils from the *jinn* things overheard by them while they were still not prevented from so doing by having stars cast at them. Soothsayers, male and female, continued mentioning such matters, without the Arabs giving any credence to them, until God Almighty sent him, and there occurred those things they had talked of and so recognized.

When the time of the Messenger of God and his prophethood approached, the devils were screened from overhearing and they were prevented from occupying those seats from which they used to overhear. Stars were hurled at them, and the devils knew that that was because of an order coming from God, the Almighty and Glorious.

On this subject God sent down to his messenger (ṢAAS) the words, "Say: it has been revealed to me that a group of *jinn* listened and then said, 'We heard a wonderful Qur'ān which guides towards the right, and we believed in it. And we will never associate any other god with our Lord'" (*sūrat al-Jinn*; LXXII, v.1–2).

We have given prior explanation to all that in our *Tafsīr*, exegesis of the

Qurʾān, as well as to God's words, "And when we directed (mention) towards you (of) a group of *jinn* who listened to the Qurʾān. And when they came to it, they said, 'Listen silently!' And when it was over they turned back to their people warning them, and saying: 'O people ours, we have heard a book sent down after Moses verifying what came before it, guiding towards the truth, and to the straight path'" (*sūrat al-Aḥqāf*, XLVI, v.29, 30). All this too we elucidated there.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas related to him that he was told that the first Arabs to be afraid at (seeing) the stars being thrown was the tribe of Thaqīf. They consulted one of their men on the subject, whose name was ʿAmr b. Umayya, one of Banū ʿIlāj, he being the most shrewd and astute of all Arabs. They asked him, "O ʿAmr, don't you see what's going on in the heavens, all those stars being thrown about?"

He replied, "I certainly do. Keep watch and if the ones being cast are most prominent stars, the ones by which men are guided on land and sea, and by the rising and setting of which the seasons of summer and winter are marked, for the good of men in their lives, then, by God, it means the end of the world, and the destruction of all creation. If it is other stars, while the prominent stars remain firm in their place, then it is occurring for some purpose God intends for mankind. So what could that be?"

Ibn Isḥāq said, "A certain scholar related to me that a woman of Banū Sahm known as al-Ghayṭala who had been a soothsayer before the coming of Islam was visited one night by her other world contact who swooped down beneath her, then said, 'I know what I know; a day of slaying and slaughtering.' When she told Quraysh of this they asked, 'What does he mean?'

"When he came to her on another night, swooping down beneath her, he said, 'Ravines! What ravines? In them, down their sides, Kaʿb will fall.' When this reached Quraysh they said, 'What does this mean? This is something that will happen; look to see what it will be.'

"But they could not interpret it until the battles of Badr and Uḥud took place in 'ravines'; then they knew what it was the spirit had told her."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿAlī b. Nāfiʿ al-Jurashī related to me that Janb, a tribe from Yemen, had a soothsayer before Islam came. And when news of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spread among the Arabs, Janb asked their soothsayer, 'Find out about this man for us' and they assembled (to hear him) at the foot of his mountain.

"When the sun rose he came down to them and stood leaning on a bow he had. Then, having gazed up for a long time into the sky, he began to leap about. Then he spoke: 'O people, God has honoured Muḥammad by choosing him. He has purified his heart and his insides. But, O people, his stay among you will be short.' He then hurried back up his mountain, returning whence he had come."

Thereafter Ibn Isḥāq mentions the story of Siwād b. Qārib. We have postponed giving it until the section on The Cries of the Spirits.

Division

Ibn Isḥāq stated that ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr b. Qatāda related to him, from some of his tribe, as follows: "One of the things that brought us into Islam – along with the mercy of God Almighty and His guidance – was what we heard from a Jew. We were at that time polytheists and worshipped idols, while they, the Jews, were people with Scriptures who had knowledge we did not. There was always enmity between us and them and if ever we bested them in some way they disliked they would tell us, 'The time is near for a prophet; he will now be sent, and with him we will kill you just as Ād and Iram were killed.'

"We heard that from them often.

"So when God sent His messenger (ṢAAS) we responded positively when he invited us to God, and became aware of what their threats to us meant. We therefore hastened to him before them and believed in him, while they disbelieved in him.

"Concerning us and them this verse was sent down: 'And when there came to them a book from God verifying what they had, though they formerly prayed for victory against those who disbelieved; and when there came to them that which they knew, they disbelieved in it. And so may God's curse be upon the disbelievers'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.89).

Warqāʾ stated, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ from ʿAlī al-Azdī that the Jews used to say: "O God send us this prophet who will judge between us and the people who seek victory by him." It was al-Bayhaqī who related this.

Thereafter it was related through ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Hārūn b. ʿAnbara, from his father, from his grandfather, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Jews were at Khaybar battling Ghaṭafān, but whenever battle was joined the Jews of Khaybar were defeated. So the Jews resorted to this prayer, saying, 'O God, we will ask you by Muḥammad's rightness, the Prophet, the *ummī*, "the unlettered", whom you promised us you would send at the end of time, if you will give us victory over them.'"

The report went on to say that when they met in battle and they spoke this prayer they defeated Ghaṭafān.

Yet when the Prophet (ṢAAS) was sent, they disbelieved in him. And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed the words, "they formerly prayed for victory against those who disbelieved."

ʿAṭiyya related approximately the same from Ibn ʿAbbās, and also said that ʿIkrima used similar words.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf related to him, from Maḥmūd b. Labīd, from Salama b. Salām b. Waqsh, who was at the battle of Badr, who said, "We had a Jewish neighbour from Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal and he came out of his house one day to us. At that time, I was the youngest of my household; I was wearing a fur gown I had and was lying in it in the courtyard of my family's house.

"The Jew talked of the resurrection, the Day of Judgement, the reckoning, the scales, paradise, and hell-fire.

"This he told to polytheists, idolaters who did not believe in any life after death.

"They replied, 'Come on, now! You really think people can be sent, after their death, to some place where there is a paradise, and a fire where they will be punished for their deeds?'

"'Yes indeed,' he replied, 'and by Him by whom oaths are sworn, anyone going into that fire would prefer being placed in the hottest oven in the house, and having it covered over him, and he being let out of it only next day.'

"'Good gracious! But what proof is there?' they asked.

"'A prophet is being sent from hereabouts in these lands,' he replied, and gestured over towards Mecca and Yemen.

"'When will we see him?' they enquired.

"He looked over at me, I being the youngest one there, and said, 'If this lad lives a normal lifespan, he'll live to his time.'"

Salama said, "And a day and a night had scarcely passed thereafter until God sent the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who lived among us. And so we believed in him. But he (the Jew) disbelieved in him out of evil and envy.

"So we asked him, 'What now then; aren't you the one who told us certain things about him?'

"'Yes,' he replied, 'but he's not the one.'"

This anecdote was also related by Aḥmad, from Yaʿqūb from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbās. And al-Bayhaqī told it from al-Ḥākim with a chain of authorities through Yūnus b. Bukayr.

Abū Nuʿaym related in *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), from ʿĀṣim b. Umar b. Qatāda, from Maḥmūd b. Labīd, from Muḥammad b. Salama, saying, "In the tribe of ʿAbd al-Ashhal there was only one Jew, whose name was Yūshaʿ. When I was still a boy, wearing a waist-wrapper, I heard him say, 'The time is near for a prophet to be sent to you from somewhere over near this building.' And he pointed over at God's temple, saying, 'And whoever lives till then, let him believe in him.'

"And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was sent and we accepted Islam, while he, living there among us, did not, out of envy and evil."

We have already given the account of Abū Saʿīd, from his father, about this Yūshaʿ's having told of the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and of

having given his description. Also we told of al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā's account of the appearance of a star at the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-Ḥākim related this anecdote from al-Bayhaqī with a chain of authorities through Yūnus b. Bukayr.

Ibn Isḥāq said that ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to him about a sheikh of Banū Qurayẓa who asked him, "Do you know how it came about that Islam was accepted by Thaʿlaba b. Saʿya and Usayd b. Saʿya along with Asad b. ʿUbayd, all of Banū Hudal, brothers of Banū Qurayẓa, with whom they had lived in the days before Islam but who then became their masters after Islam?"

ʿĀṣim said, "I do not." Whereupon the sheikh told him, "A Jew from Syria called Ibn al-Hayyibān came to us some years before the arrival of Islam and lived among us. And by God, I never knew a non-Muslim (one who does not perform the five daily prayers) better than him. Well, he was living there with us at a time of drought, so we asked him, 'Please, Ibn al-Hayyibān, pray for rain for us!' But he replied, 'No, by God, I'll not do that until you pay me.' 'How much?' we asked. 'A *ṣāʿa* weight of dates or two *mudd* weights of barley.' 'We'll pay it,' we agreed.

"He then went out with us to the top of our parched land and prayed for rain for us. And by God, he no sooner got up but clouds came and it rained! Yet others had done that once, twice, and thrice!

"Later his death came while he lived with us. When he knew he was dying, he said, 'O Jews, what do you think it was that brought me from a land of wine and bread to one of poverty and hunger?' 'You know that best,' we replied. He then said, 'I only came to this country because I expected the arrival of a prophet whose time is near. This land is where he will take refuge. And I had hoped that he would be sent so that I could follow him. His time is near for you. But don't hasten to him, O Jews, for he is sent to shed the blood and capture the women and children of those who oppose him. And that (hurrying to him) will not prevent him treating you thus.'

"And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was sent, he besieged Banū Qurayẓa. Those grown men who had been young boys at the earlier occasion addressed their people, saying, 'O Banū Qurayẓa, he is, by God, the prophet foretold to you by Ibn al-Hayyibān.' They replied, 'He is not.' The men insisted, saying, 'Yes he is. He has just his description.' So they went down and accepted Islam, and by doing so saved their blood, their property, and their people."

Ibn Isḥāq commented, "This account reached us from Jewish rabbis."

Earlier we gave an account of the arrival at Medina of the Tubbaʿ of Yemen, Abū Karib Tubbān Asʿad, and of his siege of it; and how those two rabbis came

out to him and told him, "You shall have no path to it. It will be the place of refuge for a prophet at the end of time", and how that made him turn away from the town.

Abū Nuʿaym told in his work, *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), on a line of authorities through al-Walīd b. Muslim, that Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sallām related to him, from his father and grandfather, the following, "'ʿAbd Allāh b. Sallām stated that God having wished good guidance for Zayd b. Saʿya, Zayd said, 'All marks of the prophethood were there as expected for me to recognize on the face of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) when I looked at him, except that there were two I had not explored in him: that his patient wisdom preceded his ignorance, and that the more ignorance was directed at him, the more his patient wisdom increased.'

"He stated further, 'I used to be nice to him so that I could mix with him and get to know his wisdom and his foolishness.'

"He then told a story of his having made an advance payment to the Prophet (ṢAAS) for profit. He went on, 'And when the time for the loan was due, I went to him and grabbed him by the closure of his cloak and gown, he being then at a funeral with some of his Companions. I also glared at him in an ugly fashion and said, "O Muḥammad, aren't you going to pay me my due? By God, I never knew you of the tribe of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib to be late payers!"

"'ʿUmar stared over at me, his eyes rolled like revolving celestial bodies. Then he said, "You enemy of God! Do you dare say to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what I am hearing and do what I am seeing? By Him who sent him with the truth, if I were not wary of his blaming me, I would cut off your head with my sword!"

"'Meanwhile, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was looking at ʿUmar, smiling quietly with gentleness. Then he said, "ʿUmar, both he and I were in need of something other than that from you; you should have told me to pay up properly, and him to behave better. Take him away, ʿUmar, and pay him his due. And give him 20 *ṣāʿ*s weight of dates as a bonus!"'

"And so Zayd b. Saʿya, may God be pleased with him, became a Muslim. He was present with the Messenger of God at all the battles, and he died in the year of Tabūk, God bless him."

Then Ibn Isḥāq, God be pleased with him, recounted how Salmān al-Fārisī, "the Persian", God bless him, became a Muslim. He stated that ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda the *anṣārī*, the "helper", related to him, from Maḥmūd b. Labīd, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, who said that Salmān al-Fārisī told him as follows, "I was a Persian from Isfahan and dwelt in a village called Jayy. My father was the headman of the village and I was the one he most loved of all creatures; his affection for me was so strong that he kept me closeted in his house like a slave-girl.

"I took pains to be a good Magian, and became the keeper of the fire, the one who lights it and never for a moment lets it go out.

"My father owned a large farm and one day, when he was busy constructing a building, he said to me, 'Son, I'm too busy to leave here today for the farm, so you go and look to it.' And he told me certain things he wanted. Then he told me, 'Don't be away from me too long. If you are I'll be more concerned about you than about my farm or work, and you'll keep me from everything else.'

"So I left for the farm as he had told me and on my way I passed by a church for Christians and heard their voices as they prayed there. I didn't know anything about other people, because my father had kept me shut up at home. So when I heard their voices I went in to them to find out what they were doing. When I saw them I was much impressed with their prayers and wanted to join them. I said to myself, 'This, by God, is better than the religion we have.'

"So I didn't leave them until sunset and neglected to go to my father's farm.

"I asked them, 'Where is the origin of this religion?' 'In Syria,' they replied.

"I then went back to my father who had sent people to look for me and had been distracted from all his work. When I arrived he asked, 'Well, son, where were you? Didn't I ask you to do something?' 'O Father,' I replied, 'I went by some people praying in a church of theirs and I was much impressed by what I saw of their religion. So I stayed with them till sunset.'

"'Son, there's no good in that religion. Your religion and that of your forefathers is better than it.'

"'But no,' I replied, 'I swear by God theirs is better than ours.'

"My father was afraid for me and set chains on my legs and imprisoned me in his house. So I sent a message to the Christians saying, 'If a caravan comes to you from Syria send word to me about them.'

"A caravan did arrive from Syria and the Christians came and told me about them. I said to them, 'When they finish their business and are about to return home, then tell me.'

"When they were ready to go home they let me know and I threw the shackles off my legs and left with them. When we arrived in Syria, I asked, 'Who is the most learned man in this religion?' 'The bishop in the church,' they replied.

"So I went to him and said, 'I really like this religion, and I want to join you and to serve you in your church, to learn from you and to pray with you.'

"'Come on in,' he invited me.

"So I joined him. But he was an evil man, demanding alms from his people and whatever they collected he would store away for himself and not give to the poor. Eventually he had gathered seven jars of gold and silver.

"I hated him mightily for what I saw him doing.

"Then he died, and the Christians assembled to bury him. I told them, 'This was an evil man. He demanded alms from you but when you brought it to him he stored it away for himself and gave none of it to the poor.'

"They asked me, 'How do you know that?' and I replied that I could take them to his treasure. 'Do so!' they told me, so I showed them where it was and they brought out seven jars filled with gold and silver. When they saw it they said, 'We'll never give him burial!' And so they crucified and stoned him.

"Then they brought another man to take his place. And," said Salmān, "I never saw a man who did not attend the five prayers who was better than he, nor more ascetic, nor more enthusiastic about the afterlife, nor more devoted both day and night. I loved him as I had never loved before.

"So I stayed with him for a time and then his death approached. I asked him, 'Since I've been with you I've loved you as never before. But now what you know to be God's decree is approaching, so to whom do you entrust me? And what are your orders to me?'

"'My son,' he replied, 'I don't know anyone who has done as I have. People have either died or changed or abandoned most of their prior practices, except for one man in Mawṣil; he practises as I did. Join him.'

"So when he died and was buried, I joined the leader of al-Mawṣil. I told him, 'So-and-so enjoined me at his death to come to you; he told me you are as he was.' 'Stay with me,' I was invited.

"I did so and found him the best of men, like his friend. But soon he was to die. And when death was near for him, I told him, 'So-and-so entrusted me to you and told me to join you. Now God's decree, as you know, is near for you, so whom do you recommend to me, and what are your orders to me?' 'My son,' he replied, 'I don't know anyone else who is as we were, except one man at Naṣībīn, so join him.'

"When he did die and was buried, I joined the bishop at Naṣībīn and told him my story and what my two masters had ordered me. 'Stay with me,' he said. And so I did so, finding him extremely good, as his two colleagues had been. But, I swear by God, death soon approached him too, so I asked him, 'So-and-so recommended one man to me, who recommended me to another, who recommended me to you. Whom do you recommend for me, and what are your orders?'

"'My son,' he said, 'I don't know anyone who is still as we were whom I can recommend, except for one man at ʿAmūriyya in Byzantium. He is as we were. If you wish, go to him.'

"When he died and was buried, I joined the bishop of ʿAmūriyya, and related to him my story. He said, 'Stay with me.' So I did stay there, and he was the best of men, as well-directed and fine in his behaviour as his predecessors had been.

"I worked hard and earned well and eventually I had some cows and a small goat. But then God's decree came for him too and I told him, 'So-and-so recommended someone to me, who recommended me to another, he to another, then he to another and so on until you were recommended me. To whom do you recommend me and what are your orders?'

"'My son,' he replied, 'I don't know anyone who is as we were to whom to send you. But the time is near for a prophet being sent with Abraham's religion who will come forth in the land of the Arabs. He will move to refuge to somewhere with date-palms growing between two scorched, rocky plains. He has signs that are unmistakable. He eats things given to him as gifts but not alms. And between his shoulders there is the seal of prophethood. If you can go there, do so.'

"Then he died and was buried, and I stayed in 'Amūriyya for the length of time God wished.

"Eventually a group of merchants of the Kalb tribe passed by and I asked them to take me to the land of the Arabs and offered them my cows and goat. They agreed, so I gave them to them and they took me with them as far as Wādī al-Qurā. There they did me evil by selling me as a slave to a Jew. There with him I saw palm trees and hoped that might be the land my master had described.

"While I was there with him he received a visit from a cousin of his of Banū Qurayẓa from Medina. He sold me to him, who bore me off to Medina. And I swear by God, as soon as I saw it I recognized it as my friend had described it to me. And there it was I stayed.

"Then the mission came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who remained in Mecca without me hearing any report of him, busy as I was in the toil of slavery. But then he took refuge in Medina.

"One day I was doing some work for my master at the top of a palm tree, with him sitting there underneath, when a cousin of his came and stopped there. 'Hey there, so-and-so,' the cousin said, 'God damn those *anṣār* of Banū Qayla! They are assembled at Qibā' in support of a man come from Mecca whom they claim to be a prophet.'"

Salmān continued, "When I heard this I began to tremble, so much I thought I would fall down on top of my master! So I climbed down the tree and began questioning his cousin.

"This angered my master and he slapped me hard. Then he asked, 'What's this to do with you? Get back to your work!'

"'It's nothing,' I replied, 'I just wanted to clarify what he said.'"

Salmān went on: "I had put aside some food, so that evening I took it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he being at Qibā', and went in to see him, saying, 'I heard you were a good man and that you have with you some companions who are strangers and needy. This is some food I have to give as alms, and I consider you have more right to it than anyone else.'

"I then handed it to him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to his companions, 'Eat it then.' He himself took none.

"This is one test passed," I told myself.

"Then I left him and saved up some more, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was moving on towards Medina. I then went to him again and said, 'I noticed you didn't eat from the food I gave as alms. This is a present I wish to honour you with.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did eat from this and told his companions to do the same, which they did.

"And again I said to myself: 'That makes it two!'

"I then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he was at Baqīʿ al-Gharqad, the cemetery, where he had followed the funeral procession of one of his companions. He was wearing two cloaks, sitting there among his companions. I greeted him, then came round behind him to look at his back to find out if I could see the mark my former master had described to me. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw me go behind him he knew I was trying to establish something of what had been described to me. So he threw off his cloak from his back and I looked at the sign and recognized it. I then prostrated myself before him, kissing him and weeping. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told me, 'Turn around!' So I stood up in front of him and told him my story as I have to you, O Ibn ʿAbbās.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then wanted his companions to hear my story."

Thereafter Salmān was so engaged at his work as a slave that he missed participation with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battles of Badr and Uḥud.

Salmān continued, "Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to me, 'Salmān, write!' So I wrote out for my master an agreement that I would plant 300 palm trees watered by a well and pay 40 ounces (of gold). The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to his companions, 'Help your brother.' So they helped me, one man with 30 seedlings, another with 20, another with 15, and another with 10, each one participating as he could, until I had all the 300 together. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, 'Now Salmān, go and dig the holes for them. When you have finished come to me so that I can plant them with my own hands.'

"So I dug and my companions helped me and when we had finished I went and told him. He then went out with me to them and we began handing him the seedlings which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself planted. When we had finished, and this I swear by Him in whose hands Salmān is, not one of those plants died.

"I had now settled up for the palm trees but was still in debt for the money. Now the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was given a quantity of gold the size of a

chicken's egg from a mine. He said, 'Hasn't the Persian done accounts?' I then said a prayer for him. Next, he said, 'Take this and pay off what you owe, Salmān.'

"I asked him, 'Where will this stand relative to what I owe, O Messenger of God?' He said, 'Take it, for God will pay your debt with it.' So I took it and weighed it for them and, I swear by Him in whose hand Salmān is, it was 40 ounces! So I gave my debt in full.'

"And Salmān was set free."

"And", concluded Salmān, "I was present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of *al-khandaq* ('the trench') as a free man, and never missed another battle where he participated."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from a man from the ʿAbd al-Qays tribe, from Salmān, who said, 'When I asked, "Where will this stand relative to what I owe, O Messenger of God?" he took it (the gold nugget), turned it over on his tongue and then said, "Take it; pay them in full with this." And so I did and with it paid off the 40 ounces.'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that a reliable authority told him from ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān who said that it was related to him about Salmān that when he, Salmān, was telling his story to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said that the bishop of ʿAmūriyya told him, "Go this way and that in Syria, and there you will find a man who dwells between two thickets. Every year he emerges from one of these and then is accosted by people who are sick. Every one of these for whom he says a prayer is cured. So ask him about this religion you're seeking. And he will tell you about it."

Salmān said, "So I left and travelled to the place he had described and I found people gathered there with their sick waiting until the night the man would move out from one of the thickets towards the other. (When he came out) the people there overwhelmed him and every sick person for whom he prayed was cured. They beat me to him and I couldn't get near him till he entered the thicket he was heading for, when I touched his shoulder. 'Who is that?' he asked and turned towards me. I replied, 'God have mercy on you! Do tell me about the *ḥanifiyya*, Abraham's religion!'

"'You're asking me about something people don't enquire about nowadays. The time is near for the coming of a prophet who will be sent down with that religion; he will be one of the people of the sanctuary. Go to him and he will take you to it.' He then went into the thicket.

"At this the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented: 'If you have told me the truth, O Salmān, you have met Jesus son of Mary!'"

That, then, is how this anecdote is worded. There is (in its chain of authorities) one man of questionable reliability, he being Sheikh ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b.

Qatāda. That link is also said to have been al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmāra. The tradition is also missing a link, indeed untraceable, between ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Salmān, may God be pleased with him.

As for his words, "If you have told me the truth, O Salmān, you have met Jesus son of Mary," these are very strange, if not unacceptable. For the period involved must, by all accounts, be one of 400 years, perhaps even 600 years by the solar calendar. The longest anyone suggests that Salmān lived is some 350 years. Al-ʿAbbās b. Yazīd al-Baḥrānī related that the consensus of his elders was that he lived for 250 years; they differed as to whether it could have been as much as 350 years. But God knows best. And it seems that he was saying, "You met a (good) follower of Jesus, son of Mary." And that could well be true.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "The man of questionable reliability (in the above chain of authorities) is al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmāra, a weak authority. But if he was correct, then there is nothing unacceptable about it. Because Ibn Jarīr related that Jesus came down again to earth after he had been resurrected and that he found his mother and another woman weeping at the cross of the crucified man. Jesus told them that he had not been killed, and after that he sent his disciples."

He went on: "And if it is possible that he came down once, then it is possible he did so many times. Moreover there is his evident return when he broke the cross and killed the pig and thereafter married a woman of Banū Jidhām and finally was buried in a chamber of the grave (usually referred to as the garden) of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī related in his book *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) this story of Salmān by way of Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as previously given. And he also related it from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm b. Yaḥyā b. Abū Ṭālib.

ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim related to us, as did Ḥātim b. Abū Ṣufra, from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Yazīd b. Ṣūḥān, that he heard Salmān relating how his accepting Islam first occurred. Salmān made a lengthy account of how he had originated in Rāmhurmuz and that he had a wealthy brother who was older than himself. He himself was poor and under his brother's care, and the son of the headman of Rāmhurmuz was his friend, with whom he would visit a teacher. And his friend also used to call upon some Christian worshippers who lived in a cave. Salmān asked his friend to take him to visit them, but the reply was, "You're just a young man, and I'm afraid that you will betray them and that my father will kill them." And so he made him promise that he would not do anything his friend would not like.

So he accompanied his friend and they (the Christians) were six or seven in number. And they looked as if, from all their praying, their souls had left them; they fasted by day and stayed up (praying) at night, and ate trees or whatever they found.

He related of them that they believed in all the previous messengers from God and that Jesus was a worshipper of God, His messenger, and the son of His slave-girl and that God aided him with miracles.

They told him, "Boy, you have a Lord; and will have an afterlife. Awaiting you there is to be a heaven and a hell. And those people who worship fires are unbelievers and in error. God is not pleased with what they do, and they are not in his religion."

Thereafter Salmān went to them often with his friend and eventually joined them totally. But then the ruler of that land expelled them, and he was the father of the young man who had visited them with Salmān. The ruler imprisoned his son at home. Salmān presented their religion to his older brother but the latter said, "I'm personally just busy with making my living."

So Salmān went away with them, and they entered the church at al-Mawṣil, whose people made them welcome. "Then", continued Salmān, "they wanted to leave me there with those people, but I refused to do anything but accompany them. So then they went further until they came to a mountain valley, and the monks of that region hurried down to greet them and to be with them. The monks asked them how it had been away, and also enquired about me, and they praised me highly."

Then there arrived a man much respected among them who addressed them and gave all due praise to God. He made mention of the messengers and what assistance they were given. He also talked of Jesus son of Mary and how he was the slave of God and His Messenger. He enjoined them to be good and forbade them evil. Then when his former companions wished to go further on, Salmān kept with this man and followed him. He would fast by day and stay up at night (praying) from one Sunday to the next. He would go out before them and give them sermons, enjoining good and forbidding evil. This went on for a long period and then he wished to visit Jerusalem, and Salmān accompanied him there.

Salmān went on, "As he walked he would turn towards me, draw near, preach to me, and tell me that I had a Lord, that there were heaven, hell, and an accounting before me, reminding me of approximately what he would preach to the congregation on Sundays. One time he told me, 'O Salmān, God will send a messenger whose name is Aḥmad. He will come up out of Tihāma; he will eat a gift, but not alms. And between his shoulders there will be a seal of prophethood. This is the time now approaching when he will appear. I am an old man, and I don't think I will live until his coming. But if you do, then believe in him and follow him.' 'But what', I asked, 'if he tells me to abandon your faith and practices?' He replied, 'No matter what he orders you, he brings the truth with him, and the wish of the Most Merciful One is in what he says.'"

Salmān then related their arrival in Jerusalem and that his companion worshipped at various places there. Before he went to sleep, the priest told him to wake him up when the shadow arrived at a certain place. But Salmān let him rest a little longer than he had requested and when he awoke he first praised God then reproached Salmān for not having done as he requested. They then left Jerusalem and (Salmān's account continues), "A cripple begged, 'O worshipper of God, I asked of you when you arrived, but you gave me nothing. I am now asking you again.' The priest looked but found no one else. So he took him by the hand and said, 'Stand up, in the name of God.' The man did so, and there was nothing wrong with him, no diseases at all; he was moving as if with the slightest limp. The priest then told me, 'O, worshipper of God, load up my baggage for me so I can go off to my own people and tell them the good tidings.' I got busy doing this, but when I wanted to go over to him, I could not find him. I did not know where he had gone. And whenever I asked anyone about him, they told me, 'He's out ahead of you.'

"Eventually I was met by a caravan of Arabs of Banū Kalb and I made enquiry of them. When they heard my accent one man made his camel kneel and mounted me up behind him, and they brought me to their land.

"There they sold me, and a Christian woman bought me and put me to work in a garden she had.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived."

Salmān related after this how he went to see him (the Prophet) and gave him alms, then a gift to test what his companion had told him, and asked to see the seal. When he did see it he believed at once and informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what he had been told.

The account then tells of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having summoned Abū Bakr, "the trusting", who bought Salmān from the woman and then set him free.

Salmān went on: "Later I asked the Messenger of God one day about the Christians' religion. He replied, 'There's no good in them.' I remembered all those I had accompanied and in particular that good man who had been in Jerusalem with me, and so his words had great impact on me. Then God sent down to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the statement: 'Certainly you will find that the people the most violent in their enmity to those who believe are the Jews along with polytheists. And you will find that the closest of people in friendship to those who believe are those who say, "We are Christians." That is because there are priests and monks among them and because they do not behave with conceit' (*sūrat al-Mā'ida*, V, v.82).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned me, and I was afraid when I came. When I sat before him he recited, 'In the name of God the most compassionate, the most merciful. "That is because there are priests and monks

among them, and because they do not behave with conceit." Then he said, 'O Salmān, those whom you accompanied, and your friend as well, were not Christians; they were Muslims.' I replied, 'By Him who sent you with the truth, he certainly did order me to follow you.' And when I said, 'But what if he tells me to leave your religion and your practices?' he did say, 'Yes; do leave that, for the truth, and what pleases God is whatever he orders you.'"

In this passage there are many strange elements and some differences with the text cited by Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq. Ibn Isḥāq's is stronger in its chains of authorities, better in its narrative, and closer to that related by al-Bukhārī in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. The latter relies on the *ḥadīth* of Muʿtamar b. Sulaymān b. Tarkhān al-Taymī, from his father, from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī, from Salmān al-Fārisī. That account relates dozens of interactions, from master to master, that is, from teacher to teacher, and from guide to guide. But God knows best.

Al-Suhaylī said, "There were 30 changes in all, from one master to the next." But God knows best.

Similarly the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym abbreviated the account of Salmān's conversion in his work *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*). In it he gave many different chains of authorities, and many different phrases. In some of these the name of the woman who made the contract about him was named Ḥalbasa. But God knows best.

An Account of certain strange events relating thereto.

Abū Nuʿaym stated in *al-Dalāʾil* that Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Ghalābī, quoting al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Abū al-Sawiyya al-Minqarī, as did ʿAbbād b. Kassīb, from his father, from Abū ʿAtwāra al-Khuzāʿī, from Saʿīr b. Sawāda al-ʿĀmirī, who said, "I was in love with one of the finest ladies of the tribe. For her I rode every kind of mount, difficult and submissive alike, leaving no place untried in my hopes of business and profit. I left Syria with goods and produce I wanted to sell to the crowds of pilgrims and Arabs and so entered Mecca one very dark night. I stayed until night was over and when I lifted my head I could see a pavilion over against the top of the mountain quilted out of heavy cloth from al-Ṭāʾif. Animals were being slaughtered and others brought. People were eating and others encouraging the cooks to hurry up. There, too, was a man calling loudly from a hilltop, saying, 'O pilgrims, come on over and eat lunch!' There was also a little man over on a path calling out, 'O pilgrims, if you have eaten, pass on till supper.' I was amazed by what I saw and went over there seeking the group's leader. One man saw what I wanted and told me, 'Straight ahead!'

"Then I saw an old man whose cheeks were very red and who seemed to have a star shining forth from his forehead. He had twisted around his head a black

turban from beneath the folds of which his head-parting appeared, sesame seed in colour." (Some accounts give the wording as "sitting on a chair of black *samāsim* wood with a saddle cushion beneath it.") "In his hand he lightly held a rod. All around him sheikhs were sitting, their heads held down, and not one of them was saying a word. Information had reached me in Syria that this was the time for the arrival of the *ummī* (unlettered) Prophet, so when I saw this man I thought it was he. So I said to him, 'Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God!' He replied in anger, 'Stop that! No! I wish I were he.' I asked, 'Who is that sheikh?' 'That's Abū Naḍla, Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf.' So I turned away, saying, 'Now that is glory! Not like that of the house of Jafna!'"

By this he meant the Arab kings of Syria of the Ghassān tribe, who were known as the Āl (family of) Jafna. The office he was describing relative to Hāshim was that of the *rifāda*, namely the feeding of the pilgrims.

Abū Nuʿaym said that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abū Yaḥyā, quoting Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān, quoting ʿAlī b. Qutayba al-Khurāsānī, quoting Khālid b. Ilyās, from Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū al-Jahm, from his father from his grandfather, who said that he heard Abū Ṭālib relate the following about ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He said, "While I was sleeping in the *ḥijr* enclosure, I had visions that scared me really badly. I went to a Quraysh soothsayer and I was wearing a silk shawl and my long hair was brushing my shoulders. When she looked at me, she knew from my face that something was changed; at that time I was the leader of my tribe. She said, 'What is wrong with our master that he has come to us, his face so changed? Is he afraid of some fateful happening?' 'Indeed I am,' I replied.

"Now she never first addressed anyone before they kissed her right hand. She would then place that hand on top of her head and the person would tell her what he wanted. I did not do that because I was the chief of my tribe.

"So I then sat down and said, 'As I lay sleeping last night in the *ḥijr* I had a vision of a tree having grown up, its head touching the sky and its boughs touching both the east and the west. And I never saw any light shine more brightly, 70 times brighter than the sun's light. I saw the Arabs and the non-Arabs alike prostrate before it, while it grew broader, taller, and more dazzling all the time, sometimes dimming but then gleaming again. I saw a group of men of Quraysh who had grasped its branches, while another group of them wanted to cut it down. When they came near it they were fended away by a young man more good and handsome than I had ever seen before. And he was breaking their backs and gouging their eyes. I raised my hand to have my share of the tree but the young man stopped me. 'But who is to have it, then?' I asked. He replied, 'It is for those who climbed it, and they were there before you.' At that I woke up in a fright.

"I saw that the expression on the face of the soothsayer had now altered. She said, 'If your vision was true, then a man will emerge from your offspring who will rule both east and west, a man whom all will follow.'"

After that he – 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, that is – said to Abū Ṭālib: "Maybe you are to be that person."

Abū Ṭālib used to tell this anecdote after the birth of the Messenger of God, following his receiving his mission. Then he said, "As God knows best, the tree was Abū al-Qāsim, the Trustworthy." Someone asked Abū Ṭālib, "So don't you believe?" He replied, "Shame and disgrace!"

Abū Nu'aym stated that Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Ghalābī, quoting al-'Abbās b. Bakkār al-Ḍabbī, quoting Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās that al-'Abbās said, "I went off in a caravan to Yemen to trade. In that party was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. When we were in Yemen I used to prepare the food one day and then go off with Abū Sufyān and others. Then next day Abū Sufyān would prepare the food and do the same as I had. One day when I was to prepare it, he asked, 'Abū al-Faḍl, how would you like to go to my house and send your food to me?' I agreed.

"So I went with the group to his place and I sent off for the food. When everyone had finished eating, they left but he kept me there. He asked, 'Abū al-Faḍl, are you aware that your brother's son claims to be the Messenger of God?' I replied, 'Which one of my brother's sons?' Abū Sufyān said, 'Would you evade me? Which of your brother's sons would it have to be saying that except one?' 'Nevertheless, which one?' I asked. 'He is Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh,' he replied. 'He's done that?' I enquired. 'He certainly has,' he insisted.

"He then took out a letter to him from his son Ḥanẓala b. Abū Sufyān which said, 'This is to tell you that Muḥammad stood up in the open space and said, 'I am the Messenger of God; I summon you to God, Almighty and Glorious is He!' Al-'Abbās replied, 'O Abū Ḥanẓala, I think he's telling the truth!'

"'Easy does it, O Abū al-Faḍl! By God, I don't like him saying that. (Yet) I don't fear any harm for us from his saying that, O son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. By God, Quraysh is always saying something or other is yours, and there's purpose behind each of them! Have you heard of that, Abū al-Faḍl?' 'Yes, I have,' I replied. So he said, 'You're cursed with this, by God!' 'Maybe we're blessed with it,' I responded."

Al-'Abbās went on: "It was only a few days thereafter that 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa brought that information, he being a believer. That news spread in all the assemblies of Yemen. Abū Sufyān used to attend one assembly in Yemen where a rabbi would talk. And the Jew said to him, 'What's this news? I've heard that you have among you the uncle of the man who has been saying these things.'

"Abū Sufyān replied, 'Yes, that's true. I am his uncle.' The Jew asked, 'His father's brother?' 'Yes,' Abū Sufyān told him. 'Well tell me about him,' he said.

"'Don't ask me,' he responded. 'I am not at all pleased at him making that claim, and I don't want to find fault with him, though there are others better than him.'"

"The Jew noticed that Abū Sufyān did not want to diminish his support nor to criticize him.

"'He has no ill will towards the Jews, or the Torah,' the Jew commented."

Al-ʿAbbās stated: "Having been invited by the rabbi, I went and sat in at one of their meetings the next day. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb was there along with the rabbi. I said to the rabbi, 'I've been told that you asked my cousin about one of our men who claims to be the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and that he told you he was his uncle. But he is not his uncle but his cousin. I'm his uncle, his father's brother.'

"'You're his father's brother?' he asked and I stated I was.

"He then approached Abū Sufyān and asked, 'Did he tell the truth?' 'Yes, he did,' he replied.

"Then I said, 'Ask me some questions, and if I lie, he can refute me.'

"He came over to me and said, 'I ask you now, has your brother's son sexual desires or immoral behaviour?'

"'Certainly not, by the God of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib,' I replied, 'and he has never lied or cheated. Among Quraysh he is known as "the Trustworthy".'

"'Does he write by his own hand?' he asked."

Al-ʿAbbās thought it would be better for him if he did write by his own hand, and he wanted to say he did. But then he remembered Abū Sufyān's being there and how he would call him a liar and refute him. So al-ʿAbbās replied, "No, he doesn't write."

He continued, "The rabbi jumped up, and his loose robe fell down as he exclaimed, 'Jews will be slaughtered, Jews killed!'"

Al-ʿAbbās went on, "And when we returned home, Abū Sufyān said, 'O Abū al-Faḍl, the Jews are terrified of your nephew.' I asked him, 'Well, having seen what you have, do you believe in him? If it's true, you could be there early; but if it's not, you'd only be among others like you.'

"He replied: 'I'll not believe in him till I see horses high up on Mt. Kadā'.'"

"'What do you mean?' I asked. 'Just a phrase that came to mind,' he replied. 'Except that I know that God won't allow horsemen to climb up on Kadā'.'"

Al-ʿAbbās said, "But when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Mecca and we looked up at the horsemen high on Kadā', I said, 'Well Abū Sufyān, remember what you said?'

"'Yes,' he replied, 'I certainly do. And thanks be to God for guiding me to Islam.'"

This account is excellent, fully illuminated by the light of truth, even though some people cast doubts on some who reported it. But God knows best.

We have previously given the story of Abū Sufyān's contact with Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt and it is similar to that given here. It is one of the strangest and best authenticated of stories, and one that is clear.

Also there will come the story of Abū Sufyān with Heraclius, the King of Byzantium, when the former was asked to describe the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and how he then thus gave proof of his truthfulness, prophethood, and mission. The King replied, "I knew he was coming, but did not realize he was one of you. If I had known I would survive to his time, I would have striven to meet him. If I had been with him, I would have washed his feet. And if what you say is true, he will govern wherever these two feet of mine are placed." So did it happen, all power and praise be to God.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym gave more instances with lengthy and better reports relating to monks, rabbis, and Arabs; may God have mercy on him and bless him.

The Story of ʿAmr b. Murra al-Juhanī.

Al-Ṭabarānī stated that ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Khuzāʿī al-Ahwāzī related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Dāwūd b. Dalhāth b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sharīḥ b. Yāsir b. Suwayd, the Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), quoting his father, from his father Dalhāth, from his father Ismāʿīl, that his father ʿAbd Allāh related to him from his father, that his father Yāsir b. Suwayd related to him from ʿAmr b. Murra al-Juhanī, who said, "I went on a pilgrimage before the coming of Islam. In my dream, when I was in Mecca, I saw a shining light emerging from the *kaʿba*, and going as far as the mountains of Yathrib and the fertile slopes of Yanbuʿ. I heard a voice coming from amidst the light saying, 'The shadows are dispersed, the light shines bright, and the Seal of the Prophets has been sent.'

"Then another light shone, so that I could see to the castles of al-Ḥīra and to *Abyaḍ al-Madāʾin*, Chosroe's palace. I heard a voice from that light calling, 'Islam has appeared! The idols are destroyed! And all is made whole!'

"I awoke with a start and called out to my people, 'By God, something is certainly going to happen in this tribe of Quraysh!' And I told them what I had seen.

"When we reached home, the news came that a man called Aḥmad had received a mission. So I went to him and told him what I had seen. He then said to me, 'O ʿAmr b. Murra, I am the Prophet sent to all mankind; I summon them to Islam, order them to shed blood and to bring reconciliation, to pray to God

and reject idols, to make the pilgrimage to the *kaʿba*, to fast the month of Ramaḍān, one month out of twelve. For those who respond, there is paradise; for those who rebel, the fire. So have faith, O ʿAmr, and God will protect you from the terror of hell!'

"I said, 'I give testimony that there is no God but God, and that you are the Messenger of God. I have faith in your message as to what is permitted and prohibited, even though that offends many peoples.' I then recited to him verses that I had spoken when I heard of him. We had an idol whom my father worshipped, and I went and destroyed it. Then I joined the Prophet (ṢAAS), speaking the verses,

> 'I gave witness that God is truth, and that I am the first to abandon stone worship.
> I busied myself taking flight to you, crossing wild deserts and sand wastes
> To accompany the best of men in spirit and line, the messenger of mankind's Lord above the stars.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'Welcome to you indeed, O ʿAmr b. Murra.' And I replied, 'O Messenger of God, send me to my people so that God may favour them through me as He did me through you.'

"So he sent me to them, saying, 'Behave with kindness and speak the truth. Be you not churlish, nor arrogant, nor envious.'"

He told how he came to his people, and summoned them to the teachings of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and they all accepted Islam, except for one of their men. ʿAmr then went with them to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who greeted and welcomed them. He wrote for them a document as follows:

"In the name of God the Most Merciful and Beneficent. This document is a safe-passage from God through the words of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) through a truth-telling document and a veracious spokesman, sent with ʿAmr b. Murra al-Juhanī to Juhayna b. Zayd. For you there shall be the lowlands and the slopes, the depths and the sides of the valleys. You shall cultivate their produce and drink their pure water, provided that you affirm that you shall forsake one-fifth (of the harvest) and keep praying the five prayers. (Your rich shall pay the alms to the poor): one ewe for each forty sheep and one ewe for each five camels, or two ewes for any combination thereof. The rich shall not be eligible to receive charity. And God will bear witness that we so agreed, and the Muslims attending will bear witness. (This document is) handwritten by Qays b. Shammās."

He then gave some verses spoken by ʿAmr b. Murra on that subject, as is depicted in the great *musnad ḥadīth* collection. In God we trust, and upon Him we rely.

And God Almighty said, "And when we made a covenant with the prophets and with you and with Noah and Abraham and Moses and Jesus son of Mary, and we made a firm covenant with them" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*, XXXIII, v.7).

Many of our early ancestors said, "When God made his covenant with mankind the day he said, 'Am I not your Lord?', he made a special agreement with the prophets. And He affirmed that that group (consisted) of five great law-giving prophets, the first of whom was Noah and the last Muḥammad (ṢAAS)."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu'aym informed us in his book the *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) through various routes from al-Walīd b. Muslim, that al-Awzā'ī related to him, as did Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was asked, "When was the prophethood required of you?" He replied, "Between the creation of Adam and the blowing of the spirit into him."

Al-Tirmidhī related it similarly through al-Walīd b. Muslim. He defined it as "good, but unique as a *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra; we know of it only from that line".

Abū Nu'aym stated that Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to him, quoting Ya'qūb b. Isḥāq b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥalabī, quoting Abū Ja'far al-Nufaylī, quoting 'Amr b. Wāqid, from 'Urwa b. Ruwaym, from al-Ṣunabiḥī, saying that 'Umar said, "O Messenger of God, when were you made a prophet?" He replied, "While Adam was being formed in the clay."

He then related it from a *ḥadīth* of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim from Qays b. Rabī', from Jābir al-Ju'fī, from al-Sha'bī, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said that someone asked, "O Messenger of God, when were you (made) a prophet?" He replied, "While Adam was between soul and body."

In the tradition we gave in the story of Adam when God extracted from his loins his progeny, He singled out the prophets by a light between their eyes. It is apparent – but God knows best – that it (i.e. the light) was commensurate with their levels and ranks in God's view. If that be the case, then the light of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was greater, stronger, and more evident than that of all the rest.

And this is a great and obvious distinction and indication of his nobility and high worth.

And to that effect there is the *ḥadīth* spoken by Imām Aḥmad who said that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to him, as did Mu'āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ from Sa'īd b. Suwayd al-Kalbī, from 'Abd al-A'lā b. Hilāl al-Salamī from al-'Irbad b. Sāriyya, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "In God's view I was the Seal of the Prophets while Adam was still within his clay. And I shall tell you of the first of it – the prayer of my father Abraham, the glad tidings of Jesus regarding me, the visions my mother saw, and similarly those that the mothers of the believers see."

Al-Layth and Ibn Wahb related this from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, and 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ from Mu'āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ, who added, "his mother saw, when she delivered him, a light from him that illuminated the castles of Syria."

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to him, as did Manṣūr b. Saʿīd, from Badīl, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaqīq, from Maysara al-Fajr, who stated that he said, "O Messenger of God, when were you a prophet?" And he replied, "While Adam was between spirit and body."

The line of transmission of this tradition is also excellent.

Ibrāhīm b. Tahmān related it similarly, along with Ḥammād b. Zayd and Khālid al-Hadhdhāʾ from Badīl b. Maysara.

Abū Nuʿaym related it from Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Aslam, from Muḥammad b. Bakr b. ʿAmr al-Bāhilī, from Shaybān, from al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Sufyān, from Maysara al-Fajr, who said that he asked, "O Messenger of God, when were you a prophet?" He replied, "While Adam was between spirit and body."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym stated in his book *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) that Abū ʿAmr b. Ḥamdān related to him, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān, quoting Hishām b. ʿAmmār, quoting al-Walīd b. Muslim, from Khulayd b. Daʿlaj, and Saʿīd, from Qatāda, from al-Ḥasan, from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), about Almighty God's words, "And when we made a covenant with the Prophets." He said, "I was the first of the Prophets in creation, and the last of them to be sent."

He then related it from Hishām b. ʿAmmār from Baqiyya, from Saʿīd b. Nusayr, from Qatāda, from al-Ḥasan, from Abū Hurayra, traced back similarly.

He also related it through Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūba and Shaybān, from Qatāda who said, "It was related to us that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said the like." And this account is very firm and reliable. But God knows best.

This acknowledges the extremely high regard in which he is held among the heavenly host of angels, that he is recognized among them for having been the Seal of the Prophets even before the soul was blown into Adam. This is because God's knowledge of that was prior, most assuredly before the creation of the earth and heaven. And so all that remained necessary was to make reference to the recognition there was among the heavenly hosts. But God knows best.

Abū Nuʿaym reported from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Rāziq from Maʿmar, from Ḥammām, from Abū Hurayra, the *ḥadīth* being agreed upon as stating, "We are those who will have precedence at Judgement Day and who will be judged before the other creatures, even though they were brought the Scriptures before we were, we receiving them after them."

Abū Nuʿaym added at the end, "And he (ṢAAS) was the last of them to receive a mission, and through him the prophethood ended. He will take precedence on Judgement Day, because he was the first covenanted for prophethood."

He then said, "That *ḥadīth* depicts the high honour of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) regarding God's appointing him to the prophethood before the completion of the creation of Adam. It is likely that it is this affirmation that

God conveyed to His angels, of what there was previously in His knowledge, and His judgement of sending a mission to him till the end of time."

This comment is in agreement with what we previously stated. And so all praise be to God.

In his interpretation of the *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam – about which there is some controversy – al-Hākim related from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "When Adam committed sin, he said, 'O God, I ask you for Muḥammad's sake, won't you forgive me?' God replied, 'O Adam, how did you know Muḥammad when I haven't created him yet?' Adam replied, 'O Lord, because when you created me with your own hand and blew life into me from your spirit, I raised my head and saw on the foundations beneath the throne the writing, "There is no God but God. Muḥammad is the Messenger of God." I knew that you would never have added to your own name anyone but the most precious to you of your creation.' God replied, 'You have spoken the truth, O Adam; he is to me the most precious of my creation. And since you asked in his name, you have my forgiveness. Were it not for Muḥammad, I would not have created you.'"

Al-Bayhaqī said, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam alone gave this tradition, and it is weak. But God knows best.

God Almighty said, "And when God made a covenant with the prophets, saying, 'I brought you the Scripture and wisdom, then a Messenger will come unto you verifying what you have. Let you believe in him well, and aid him!' He said, 'Have you agreed, and accepted my covenant in that?' They replied, 'We have agreed.' He said, 'Then bear witness and I too along with you will bear witness. Whoever revokes this hereafter, those are sinners!'" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*, III, v.81–2).

ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, God bless them, said, "God never sent any prophet without first making a covenant with him (to the effect that) if Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was sent when that prophet was alive, then he would believe in him and aid him. And He ordered him to convey the covenant to his people, that if Muḥammad was sent while they were living, they really would believe in him and aid him to make him victorious."

This is a recognition and an affirmation of his honour and high stature among all the religions and upon the tongues of all the prophets. It is an announcement to them and from them of his being a Messenger to the end of time and of his being the most noble of the messengers and the Seal of the Prophets.

And God has made plain all the facts about him, all information, all secrets pertaining to him. He made his splendour very clear, as well as facts of his birth and homeland through the words of Abraham the "true friend", peace be upon

him, when he finished building the *kaʿba*: "O our Lord, send among them a Messenger from among themselves who will recite to them your signs and teach them the Scripture and wisdom, and purify them. You are the Mighty and the Wise" (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.129).

The first clear and evident sign of his status among the people of the earth came, then, on the tongue of Abraham, the "true friend", the prophet, the next most honoured by God after Muḥammad (ṢAAS).

This why Imām Aḥmad said that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting al-Faraj, meaning Ibn Faḍāla, as did Luqmān b. ʿĀmir, who said that he heard Abū Amāma say that he once asked, "O Messenger of God, what was the beginning of your mission?" He replied, "It was the prayer of my father Abraham, the glad tidings of Jesus, and my mother's seeing a light emitting from her that illuminated the castles of Syria."

Imām Aḥmad alone gave this tradition, and none of the authors of the six (canonical) books (of traditions) included it.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr b. Abū ʿĀṣim related in his book *al-Mawlid* (*The Birth*) through Baqiyya, from Ṣafwān b. ʿAmr, from Ḥajar b. Ḥajar, from Abū Marīq, that a bedouin asked, "O Messenger of God, what event was it that began your prophethood?" He replied, "God took from me the covenant, as he took covenants from the other prophets." And the mother of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw in her sleep that a light was emitting from between her feet that lit up the castles of Syria.

Imām Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār stated that Thawr b. Yazīd related to him from Khālid b. Maʿdān, from the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that they, the Companions, asked, "O Messenger of God, tell us about yourself." He replied, "The prayer of my father Abraham, the glad tidings of Jesus, and (the fact that) my mother saw, when she was pregnant, that a light came from inside her that illuminated Buṣrā in Syria."

The chain of authorities of this tradition is also excellent.

It contains good news for the people of our community in the lands of Buṣrā. It is the first place in Syria to receive the light of the prophethood; and to God all praise and favour are due. That is why it was the first city of Syria to be conquered. It was taken peacefully during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, God be pleased with him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) travelled there twice in the company of his uncle Abū Ṭālib when he was a boy of 12. It was there the story of Baḥīrā the monk was set, as we have related above. The second time he was with Maysara, the freed man of Khadīja, while on a trading expedition on her behalf. Also, it has the spot where the camel known as the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had knelt. Its remains are still there, so they say. Eventually its remains were gathered, and a mosque, famous to this day, was built over it. That is the town where the necks of the camels lit up from the light

of the fire that came from Ḥijāz in the year 654, according to the statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "A fire leaves Ḥijāz that illuminates the necks of the camels at Buṣrā."

And God Almighty stated, "Those who follow the Prophet, the *ummī* (unlettered), whom they find written down with them in the Torah and the Gospel, who orders people to be good and forbids them evil, and who makes lawful for them good things and makes unlawful foul things, who removes from them their burden and the chains that were upon them. And so those who believe in him and honour him and help him and who follow the light that came down with him, those shall be successful" (*sūrat al-Aʿrāf*, VII, v.157).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ismāʿīl related to him, from al-Jurayrī, from Abū Ṣakhr al-ʿUqaylī, who said that a bedouin told him that he had brought in some merchandise to Medina while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was still alive. And when he had finished selling it, he told himself that he should meet that man and listen to him.

The bedouin said, "He met me when he was walking between Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. I followed them until they came to a Jew holding and reading the Torah, and consoling himself with it at the death of a son of his, the best and most handsome of boys. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, 'I beg of you, by Him who sent down the Torah, do you see in your Scripture any description of me and my place of origin?' The man made a gesture with his head, meaning, 'no'. But his (dead) son spoke, saying, 'But yes, by Him who sent down the Torah, we do find in our Scriptures a description of you and of your place of origin! I bear witness that there is no God but God, and that you are the Messenger of God.' And so he said, 'Keep away the Jew from your brother.' Then he (the Prophet) took care of winding the dead boy in his shroud and performed the prayers for the dead over him."

This chain of authorities is excellent, and there are testimonies to its veracity in the *ṣaḥīḥ* from Anas b. Mālik.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated that ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ghiyāth, Abū Baḥr that is, related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muslim, quoting ʿĀṣim b. Kulayb, from his father, from al-Ṣallatān b. ʿĀṣim, who related that his uncle said that he was seated with the Prophet (ṢAAS) when he gazed over at a certain man, a Jew wearing a shirt, trousers, and sandals. The Prophet (ṢAAS) began talking to him. The man asked, "O Messenger of God . . ." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, "Are you witnessing that I am the Messenger of God?" "No," the man said. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked him, "Do you read the Torah?" "Yes," the man replied. He asked, "Do you read the Gospel?" "Yes, the man replied. "And the Qurʾān?" "No," the Jew replied. "But if you want, I will." The Prophet (ṢAAS) then asked, "In what you read of the Torah

and the Gospel, do you find me to be a prophet?" The man answered, "We do find a description of you and of your place of origin. When you came, we hoped you would be one of us. But when we saw you we knew that you were not he." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "Why is that, O Jew?" He replied, "We find it to be written down that, 'There will enter paradise from his nation 70,000'. But with you we see only a few men."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then responded, "My nation is far greater in number than 70,000, and 70,000 more again."

This is a unique *ḥadīth* from such a source, and they (the scholars) have not promulgated it.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, from Sālim, the freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭīʿ, from Abū Hurayra who said that some Jews came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said, "Bring out your most knowledgeable man." They replied, "He is ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣūriyā." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat with him alone and adjured him by his religion and by God's blessings to them, by God who had fed them with manna and quails and shaded them with clouds. "Do you know me as the Messenger of God?" the Prophet (ṢAAS) asked. "Yes indeed, by God," the Jew responded. "And my people know what I know. You are fully apparent in the Torah. But they are envious."

"So what prevents you (from believing)?" he asked.

"I just hate to disagree with my people," the Jew replied. "Maybe they will follow you and accept Islam, then I will."

Salama b. al-Faḍl stated, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Muḥammad b. Abū Muḥammad, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, to the effect that he used to say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote to the Jews of Khaybar as follows, "In the name of God the most merciful and beneficent, from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, the companion and brother of Moses and the corroborator of the message Moses brought. God stated to you, 'O Jews, people of the Torah, you will find in your book the fact that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God; and those who are with him are violent against unbelievers, compassionate among themselves. You see them bowing down and prostrating themselves, desiring grace and approval from God. They have marks on their faces from the effects of prostration. That is how they are compared in the Torah and in the Gospel. (They are) like a plant that emits its shoot, then strengthens it so that it thickens and stands straight on its stem. He (God) gives the sowers delight so that He may enrage through them the unbelievers. God has promised forgiveness and great reward to those of them who believe and do good' (*sūrat al-Fatḥ*, XLVII, v.29). I adjure you by God by that which has come down to you, and by Him who fed manna and quails to your forebears and tribes, who dried up the sea for your forefathers to save you from Pharaoh and his deeds, can you not tell us whether you find in God's revelations to you (the fact) that you

should believe in Muḥammad? And if you do not discover that in your Scriptures, then there is no hatred for you. (But now) what is right has become clear from what is error. And I call you to God and to his Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār related in his book *al-Mubtada'* (*The Beginning*) from Sa'īd b. Bashīr, from Qatāda, from Ka'b al-Aḥbār, and others related from Wahb b. Munabbih, that Bukhtunaṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar), after he had destroyed Jerusalem and kept the Jews in subjugation for seven years, saw strange visions in a dream that terrified him. And so he assembled his soothsayers and wise men and questioned them about those visions of his. They suggested, "If the King first tells us of them, then we can interpret them." But he replied, "I've forgotten them. And if you don't tell me in three days about them, I'll kill the lot of you!"

Off they went very fearful of his threat. Daniel, in gaol at the time, heard of this and told the gaoler, "Go and tell the King, 'We have a man who has knowledge of your visions and can interpret them.'"

So he went to tell the King who summoned Daniel. When he entered, Daniel did not bow down to him, so the King demanded, "What prevents you from prostrating before me?" Daniel replied, "God brought me knowledge, and ordered me not to bow to anyone but Him." Bukhtunaṣṣar then said, "I like those who fulfil their duty to their masters. Tell me about my vision."

Daniel said to him, "You saw a huge idol, its feet on the ground and its head in the sky. Its upper part was of gold, its middle of silver, its lower part of brass, its legs of iron and its feet of clay. While you were looking at it, delighted by its beauty and the intricacy of its workmanship, God cast down a stone from heaven which hit the top of its head and crushed it completely. Its gold, silver, brass, iron, and clay became mixed together so that it seemed to you that even if all men and all the spirits were to try to differentiate its components they would fail. When you looked at the stone that had been thrown, you saw it get bigger and bigger until it filled all the earth so that all you could see was it and the sky."

Bukhtunaṣṣar said, "You are right. That is the vision I saw. What does it mean?"

"Well", replied Daniel, "the idol represents various nations, early, intermediate, and late in time. The stone by which the idol was struck is a religion God will send and reveal to these nations at time's end. And God will send a prophet, an *ummī*, from the Arabs who will conquer with it all the nations and all the religions, as you saw the stone destroy the various components of the idol. It will overcome all the nations and religions, just as you saw the stone overwhelm the entire earth. God will purify the truth and annihilate falsehood through it. Through it He will guide those in error. He will teach the illiterate, strengthen the weak, uplift the humble, and give victory to the disadvantaged."

The account ends the story by Bukhtunaṣṣar releasing the Israelites through Daniel, peace be upon him.

Al-Wāqidī related, with a chain of authorities from al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, the story of the latter's going to al-Muqawkis, King of Alexandria, and of being questioned by him about the qualities of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) similarly to how Heraclius asked Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb. He related how he questioned the Christian bishops in the churches for a description of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and how they did so. It is a long story that is related by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym in *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*).

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went past some Jewish schools and asked them, "O Jews, accept Islam. For, by Him in whose hand is my soul, you will certainly find description of me in your scriptures."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Mūsā b. Dāwūd related to him, quoting Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān, from Hilāl b. ʿAlī, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Yasār who said that he met ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and asked him, "Describe to me the qualities of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that are in the Torah." He replied, "Certainly. He is, by God, referred to in the Torah as he is in the Qurʾān. 'O Prophet, we have sent you to give witness, to bring good tidings, and to warn, and to protect the illiterate. You are my slave and my messenger. I have named you *al-Mutawakkil*, "the manager", a man not rough or uncouth nor one who shouts loudly in the markets. A man who does not pay back evil with evil, but one who forgives and pardons. God will not take him until they set the deviant community aright by them saying, "There is no God but God." By him He will open blind eyes, deaf ears, and closed hearts.'"

Al-Bukhārī related this from Muḥammad b. Sinān from Fulayḥ. He also related it from ʿAbd Allāh (who was the son of Rajāʾ, or as others say the son of Ṣāliḥ) from ʿAbd al-Azīz b. Abū Salama, from Hilāl b. ʿAllūya, and his text is similar to this, with additions.

Ibn Jarīr related it from a *ḥadīth* of Fulayḥ, from Hilāl, from ʿAṭāʾ. His account adds the words, "And ʿAṭāʾ said, 'I met Kaʿb and asked him about that, and he did not disagree by so much as a letter; though he said, "among the merchants". And he gave the line of authorities as Saʿīd, from Hilāl, from ʿAṭāʾ from ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Qaṭṭān related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān, quoting Abū Ṣāliḥ, quoting al-Layth, quoting Khālid b. Yazīd, from Saʿīd b. Abū Hilāl b. Usāma, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Yasār, from Ibn Sallām, who used to say, "We do find a description of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the wording, 'We have sent you as a man to witness and to bring tidings, to warn

and to protect the illiterate. You are My slave and My messenger. I have named him *al-Mutawwakil*, "the manager"; he will be neither rough nor uncouth nor one who shouts loudly in the markets. He will not requite evil with the same but will pardon and make allowance. And He will not take him until he sets the deviant community aright by having them bear witness that there is no God but God. By him He will open blind eyes, deaf ears, and closed hearts.'"

ʿAṭāʾ b. Yasār stated, "Al-Laythī informed me that he heard Kaʿb al-Aḥbār say the same as Ibn Sallām."

My comment is, that this tradition from ʿAbd Allāh b. Sallām is similar, though the account from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr is lengthier. However, he found at the battle of Yarmuk two bags full of the books of the people of the Scriptures, and he used to talk about them a great deal.

And it should be recognized that many of our forebears used to apply the word "Torah" to the books of the peoples of the scriptures. These are in their view more comprehensive than those God revealed to Moses. This fact is attested from the *ḥadīth*.

Yūnus stated from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq that Muḥammad b. Thābit b. Shuraḥbīl related to him, from Ibn Abū Awfā, from Umm al-Dardāʾ who said that she asked Kaʿb al-Aḥbar: "How do you find the description of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the Torah?"

"We find him as Muḥammad the Messenger of God; his name is *al-Mutawwakil*. He is not rough nor uncouth nor one who shouts loudly in the markets. He has been given the keys. Through him, God will give sight to eyes that are damaged, and hearing to ears that are dulled. He will set right twisted tongues, through him, until they give witness that there is no God but God, one and without partner. And through him He will aid and protect the ill-treated."

And this is also related from Kaʿb from a different chain of authorities.

Al-Bayhaqī related, from al-Ḥākim, from Abū al-Walīd al-Faqīh, from al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān who indicated that ʿUtba b. Mukrim related to him, quoting Abū Qaṭan ʿAmr b. al-Haytham, quoting Ḥamza b. al-Zayyāt, from Sulaymān al-Aʿmash, from ʿAlī b. Mudrik from Abū Zurʿa, from Abū Hurayra, that regarding the wording, "And you were not besides Mt. Ṭūr when we called" the tradition gives, "it was called out to them, 'O nation of Muḥammad, I have responded to you before you called to me, and have given to you before you asked me.'"

Wahb b. Munabbih mentioned that God revealed to Dāwūd (David) in the Book of Psalms, "O Dāwūd, there will come after you a prophet named Aḥmad and Muḥammad, a truthful man, a lord; I will never be angry with him, and he will never make me angry with him. I have forgiven him before he disobeyed

me, both his previous and his later sins. His nation is forgiven. I have made gifts to them similar to those I gave to the prophets, and imposed duties upon them that I imposed upon the prophets and the messengers, so that they will come to me on Judgement Day with their light like that of the prophets."

The text continues until the words, "O Dāwūd, I have given preference to Muḥammad and to his nation above all the nations."

Knowledge of the existence of reference to him in the books of the peoples of the Scriptures, a fact known to the religion, is essential. And many verses of the holy Qur'ān give proof of that and we have, praise be to God, made reference to those in the proper places.

One such verse is, "(As for) those to whom we gave the Scripture before it, they believe in it. And when it is recited to them, they say, 'We believe in it. It is the truth from our Lord. We were already submitting Muslims before it'" (*sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*, XXVII, v.52–3).

And Almighty God said, "Those to whom we have brought the book know him as they know their sons. (Yet) a group of them certainly conceal the truth, though they know it" (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.146).

Almighty God also said, "Those who were given the knowledge of it prostrate themselves on their faces when it is recited to them and they say, 'Glory be to our Lord; the promise of our Lord is fulfilled'" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*, XVII, v.107–8). This means that if it were the promise of our Lord that Muḥammad (ṢAAS) exists and be sent, then that is an indisputable fact. And all praise to Him capable of whatever he wishes; there is nothing he is incapable of doing.

And the Almighty said, making reference to the priests and monks, "And when they hear what was revealed to the Messenger, you see their eyes overflow with tears for the truth they recognize. They say, 'O God, we believe, so write us down among those bearing witness' (*sūrat al-Mā'ida*, V, v.83).

In the story of the Negus, Salmān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām and others, as will come hereafter, there are many testimonials to this effect. And all praise and power are to God.

In the explanatory notes relating to the lives of the prophets (in the text *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*: *The Beginning and the End*) we referred to their descriptions of the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of his towns of birth and of refuge, and of his nation. These occur in the accounts of Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and others.

Almighty God has related of the last of the prophets of the Israelites, Jesus, son of Mary, that he stood up among his people and addressed them as follows, "I am the Messenger of God to you, verifying what is in the Torah that came before me and announcing the coming of a messenger who will come to you after me and whose name is Aḥmad" (*sūrat al-Ṣaff*, LXI, v.6).

And in the Gospel there are the tidings of *al-Fārqalīt*, "the Paraclete",[69] by whom Muḥammad (ṢAAS) is meant.

Al-Bayhaqī related from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Yūnus b. ʿAmr, from al-ʿIzār b. Ḥarb, from ʿĀ'isha, God be pleased with her, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "It is written in the Gospel (that he will be) not rough, nor uncouth, not one who shouts loudly in the markets, and does not repay evil with the like, but rather who pardons and forgives."

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān stated that Fayḍ al-Bajalī related to him, quoting Salām b. Miskīn, from Muqātil b. Ḥayyān who said that the Almighty and Glorious God revealed to Jesus, son of Mary, as follows: "Serve me well and listen and obey, O Son of the pure, chaste, virgin. We have created you without a physical father and have made you a sign for the worlds, so worship me. And explain to the people of Surān, in Syraic, and tell those around you that I am the existent truth that will not pass away. Believe in the Arab *ummī* (unlettered) Prophet; he who has the camel, and wears a *midraʿa* (outer garment), and a turban that is his crown, and sandals, and has a cane that is his staff. His hair is curly, his brow is broad, his eyebrows are joined, his eyes are large, his lashes are fine, his eyes are black, his nose is curved, his cheeks are distinct, and his beard is full. The sweat of his face is like pearls; from him the scent of musk emanates. His neck is like a silver vessel, and along his collarbone gold seems to flow. He has hairs that grow long and soft from his throat down to his navel, his stomach bearing no other hair. He is broad of fingers and toes. He overshadows all when he is with others. When he walks he seems to emerge from the rock and flow from a stream. He has few progeny, as if he wanted males as his offspring."

This is also how al-Bayhaqī related this account, through Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān.

Al-Bayhaqī related that ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥakam b. Rāfiʿ b. Sinān said, "Some of my older male relatives told me that they had in their possession a document they had inherited before Islam and still had when God brought Islam. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina they told him of it and brought it to him. In it was written, 'In the name of God, His words are truth while those of evil-doers shall perish. This statement is for a nation that will come at the end of time who will wash their extremities and wear a loincloth around their waists. They will plunge into the seas after their enemies. They will perform prayers that would have saved Noah's people from the flood if spoken then, and ʿĀd's people would not have been destroyed by the wind, and Thamūd's would not have been destroyed by the shouting. In the name of God, His words are truth,

69. For the interpretation of the Comforter or "Paraclete" (The Gospel according to John, 15.23 ff) as referring to the Prophet (ṢAAS), see Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, Vol. I (Turāth al-Islam series), ed. M. al-Saqqā et al., p. 233. A Guillaume's trans., *The Life of Muhammad* (Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 104, may also be consulted.

while those of evil-doers shall perish.' The document then recounted another story. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was astonished at what was read to him from it."

We recounted, regarding the verse in *sūrat al-Aʿrāf*, "whom they find written down along with them in the Torah and the Gospel" (VII, v.157) the story of Hishām b. al-ʿĀṣ al-Umawī when (Abū Bakr) al-Ṣiddīq sent him with a group of men to Heraclius, calling upon him to worship God, Almighty and Glorious is He. He related how Heraclius brought out for them pictures of the prophets in a piece of cloth, from Adam to Muḥammad (ṢAAS). It showed how they had all looked. Then he related how, when he brought out the picture of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) Heraclius stood up to show his respect for him. He then sat down again and gazed at it, contemplating it closely. The group then asked him where he had obtained the picture and he responded, "Adam asked his Lord to show him all the prophets he had produced. And God did reveal their pictures to him. They were kept in the treasury of Adam, peace be upon him, where the sun sets. And *Dhū al-Qarnayn* (Alexander) took them out and gave them to Daniel."

The account continues, "Heraclius then stated, 'O how I wish I could leave my kingdom and were a slave to the worst of your kings till I die.' He then dismissed us, giving us generous gifts, and we left."

When the group returned to Abū Bakr and related to him what they had seen, how he had rewarded them, and what he had said, he wept and said, "Poor man! If God had wished good for him, He would have done so." Then he said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) related to us that they and the Jews would find among them the description of Muḥammad (ṢAAS)."

Al-Ḥākim related this tradition in full. It is written down here from the exegesis. Al-Bayhaqī related it in *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*).

Al-Umawī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Ziyād related to him from Ibn Isḥāq who said that Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAmr b. Umayya related to him, from his father, from his grandfather ʿAmr b. Umayya, who said, "I brought in some slaves from the Negus who had given them to me. They said, 'O ʿAmr, if we saw the Messenger of God, we would recognize him without you telling us.' Abū Bakr passed by, so I asked them, 'Is that he?' 'No,' they replied. ʿUmar went by and I asked, 'Is that he?' 'No,' they responded.

"We went inside the house and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went by and then they called out to me, 'O ʿAmr that is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' When I looked I saw it was he, yet no one had told them so. They recognized him from the writings they had."

We previously recounted the warning made by Sabaʾ to his people, and how he had announced to them the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in poetry we gave earlier in his biography. So there is no need to repeat it. Also we

earlier recounted the words of the two rabbis to Tubba', the Yemeni, when he besieged the people of Medina, telling him that it was to be the place of refuge for a prophet at the end of time. And so he retired from the city and composed verses that include his salutations to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

The Story of Sayf b. Dhū Yazan the Ḥimyarite and his foretelling the coming of the *ummī* Prophet.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Sahl al-Kharā'iṭī stated in his book *Hawātif al-Jānn* (*Calls of the Jinn*) that 'Alī b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. Hakīm, quoting 'Amr b. Bakr – who was the son of Bakkār al-Qa'nabī – from Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim, from Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās who said that when when Sayf b. Dhū Yazan came to power over Abyssinia (Ibn al-Mundhir said that his name was al-Nu'mān b. Qays), that being two years after the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a delegation of Arabs, including poets, went to congratulate and praise him and to recognize his achievements.

Among those who went to him was one delegation from Quraysh that included 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'ān, and Khuwaylid b. Asad, along with other Quraysh leaders. They went to Ṣan'ā' to see him, but he was in Ra's Ghumdān to which Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt made reference in the line of poetry:

> "Drink up, may you enjoy it, with your crown raised upon your head at Ra's Ghumdān, a home for you to stay in."

The chamberlain went in to him and told the King where they were and he gave them permission to attend him. When 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib arrived he asked to speak with the King, who replied, "If you are a man who speaks before kings, then I give you permission to do so now." 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib responded, "God has placed you, O King, in a high, impregnable, lofty, and splendid position, having given you growth in a spot where your roots have developed strong and well, firmly established, and eminently branched, in the most noble of lands, the best of origins. You are, may you be immune to curses, the King of the Arabs, their springtime that their land brings to growth, the head of the Arabs to which you give leadership, their pier upon which they depend, their refuge to which people have recourse. Your forebears were the best ever, and from them you came to us as the best successor. None with such forebears could fail, none perish with you as their successor. O King, we are the people of God's sanctuary, the custodians of His house. He who delighted you by removing the cares that oppressed us has brought us up to you, and so we are a delegation of congratulation, not of complaint."

The King asked, "And who are you who speak?"

He replied, "I am ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim." "Our sister's son?" "Yes." "Approach then." When he had done so the King addressed him and the delegation, saying, "Welcome indeed to you; may you enjoy your stay and find us generous hosts. The King has heard your speeches and of your kinship and accepted your petition. You are welcome at all times. You will be honoured as long as you stay, and awarded gifts when you leave."

The Arab delegation then went off to the guest quarters where they stayed a month having no access to the King but not being given permission to leave. He then again turned his attention fully to them and sent for ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib with whom he sat alone, close by himself. He then said, "O ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, I am going to reveal to you a secret I know that I would not reveal to anyone else. But I believe you worthy of it and will tell you of it. Let you keep it to yourself until God makes His purpose known. For God will achieve His goal.

"I have found in the hidden book and the treasured knowledge we preserve and protect for ourselves alone certain information of vital and critical importance that affects the honour and virtue of mankind in general, your community in particular, and you in person."

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib asked, "O King, the like of you brings joy and good! What is it, O he for whom company after company of bedouins would sacrifice themselves?"

He replied, "When a youth is born in Tihāma who has a sign upon him, a birthmark between his shoulders, he shall have leadership and through him you shall have primacy till Judgement Day."

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib exclaimed, "May you be immune to curses, I have been better rewarded than any visitor before! And were it not for the great dignity, honour and glory of the King, I would ask him whose coming it is he is announcing such as to bring such joy to me."

Ibn Dhū Yazan responded, "This is the time for his birth, or he may have already been born. His name is to be Muḥammad. His father and his mother will die and his grandfather and his uncle will care for him, and hold him always dear. God will send him plainly and He will make us his helpers, through whom God will give power to His allies, humble His enemies, strike people down everywhere, render permissible the most precious of things on earth, destroy the idols, extinguish the fires, worship the All-Merciful, rout out the devil, his word being final, his rule being justice, demanding goodness and acting it, averting from evil and abolishing it."

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib responded, "O King, may your power increase, your glory rise, your kingdom last, and your life be long, such is my origin. And so if power is coming to me plainly, then it has all become somewhat clear to me."

Ibn Dhū Yazan responded, "By the House that has a screen and the marks on the idols, you O ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib are, without doubt, his grandfather."

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib fell down prostrate in worship. The King then said, "Lift your head, calm yourself, and be content. Did you have any prior sense of what I told you?"

"O King," he replied, "I had one son in whom I delighted and whose fond companion I was. I married him to a noble lady of his tribe, Āmina b. Wahb, and she had a son I named Muḥammad. But his father died, then his mother, and I and his uncle brought him up."

Ibn Dhū Yazan then said, "What I told you is as you told me. Take care of your boy and protect him from the Jews; for they are his enemies. God will give them no path to him. Keep what I have told you from the group with you, for I am concerned that they or their children may feel some rivalry at your having the leadership and so scheme and plot his destruction. If I were not aware that I will die before his mission, I would take my men and cavalry and go to Yathrib, the seat of his reign. For I find in previous knowledge and the Scriptures that it will be in Yathrib that he will establish his power, there that he will find those to aid him, and there that his grave will be. If I were not concerned with protecting him from curses and from bodily harm, I would make public all about him despite his youth and would have crushed the Arabs' nobles and leaders under his foot. But I am charging you with that since I do not find inadequate those who are with you."

He then ordered that each one of them be presented with ten male and ten female slaves, one hundred camels, two sets of fine, striped clothing, five rotls of gold, ten rotls of silver, and a receptacle filled with ambergris.

For 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib he ordered ten times that amount. He told him to come back to him after one year, but Ibn Dhū Yazan died before the year had passed.

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib used often to say, "O Tribe of Quraysh, let not any one of you envy me the generosity of the king's gift, large though it was, for it will not last forever. But do envy me the repute, honour and pride there will be for me and for my ancestors to come."

He would be asked, "When will that be?" And he would then reply, "It will one day be known, though after some period."

On this subject Umayya b. 'Abd Shams spoke the verses,

"We brought away good counsel, carrying it in bags on our mounts and on the saddle bags of camels, male and female;

Their grazing grounds stripped bare, rising high up to Ṣan'ā' from a deep ravine,

Leading us to Ibn Dhū Yazan, their appetite carrying them across the scant fodder of the road,

Feeding in their imagination on the lightning flashing constantly.

When they reached Ṣan'ā' they stayed in the home of the king and of ancient dignity."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym related it thus in *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*) through ʿAmr b. Bakīr b. Bakkār al-Qaʿnabī. Then Abū Nuʿaym said, "I was told on the authority of Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Rabbihi b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAfīr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ṣafar b. ʿAfīr b. Zurʿa b. Sayf b. Dhū Yazan who said it was related to him by his father Abū Yazan Ibrāhīm, and by his uncle Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū Rajāʾ, and his uncle Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and by ʿAbd al-Azīz b. ʿAfīr, from his father, from Zurʿa b. Sayf b. Dhū Yazan the Ḥimyarite who said, 'When my grandfather Sayf b. Dhū Yazan gained control over Abyssinia . . .'," and he related it in full.

Abū Bakr al-Kharāʾiṭī stated that Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Qalūsī related to him, quoting al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Faḍl b. Abū Sawiyya that he was informed by his father from his father ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Abū Sawiyya, from his grandfather Abū Sawiyya, from his father Khalīfa, who said that he asked Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Rabīʿa b. Sawāʾa b. Khathʿam b. Saʿd, how was it his father named him Muḥammad. He replied that he asked his father the same question, and he replied, "Four men from Banū Tamīm, including myself, went on a trip. The group consisted of myself, Sufyān b. Mujāshiʿ b. Dārim, Usāma b. Mālik b. Jundab b. al-ʿAqīd and Yazīd b. Rabīʿa b. Kināna b. Ḥurbūṣ b. Māzin. We travelled to see Ibn Jafna, the King of Ghassān. When we were overlooking Syria we alighted at a stream where there were some small trees and we talked together. A monk overheard our conversation and, as he looked down on us, he said, 'That language (of yours) is not the speech of this country.' We replied, 'No, we're from a tribe of Muḍar.' 'From which subtribe?' he asked. 'From Khindif,' we told him. 'Very soon will be the mission of a prophet who will be the very last one of all prophets. Hurry to him and take your chances with him and you'll be wise.' We asked him, 'What is his name?' 'His name is Muḥammad,' he replied.

He went on, "When we came back from the land of Ibn Jafna each one of us had a son and each one named his Muḥammad."

This means that each of them wanted his own son to be this Prophet whose coming had been foreseen.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Kharāʾiṭī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Saʿd related to him, quoting Ḥāzim b. ʿAqqāl b. al-Zahr b. Ḥabīb b. al-Mundhir b. Abū al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Samawʾal b. ʿĀdiyā, quoting Jābir b. Jaddān b. Jamīʿ b. ʿUthmān b. Sammāk b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Samawʾal b. ʿĀdiyā that when death was close to al-Aws b. Ḥāritha b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir, his people of Ghassān gathered around him and said, "You know that God's decree for you is near. We used to tell you in your youth to get married, but you refused. This brother of yours, al-Khazraj, has five sons, but you have none other than Mālik." He replied, "No one shall perish who has left behind the like of Mālik. He who is capable of drawing fire out of stone is capable of giving progeny to Mālik, and fine heroic progeny too. Everyone, in any case, is headed for death."

He then went to Mālik and said, "O son, (if it is a matter of choice, then choose) death over infamy, punishment over blame, stoicism over rage. The grave is better than poverty. And those few in number are those humiliated. Those who can attack are those who can escape. And defending women is part of being honourable. Time is of two days – one for you and one against. If it's going for you, don't overdo it, if against you don't give up. Either state will exhaust itself. Neither crowned kingship nor despised ridicule are permanent. Greet your day well, and God will bless you." He then spoke the following verses:

"I witnessed the taking of prisoners at the battle of Al-Muḥarriq, and I lived (to see) God's punishment for the sin (of Thamūd) at al-Ḥijr

I never saw any man, king or pauper, who was not on his way to the grave.

All glory be to Him who destroyed Thamūd and Jurhum; He will leave for me my progeny till time's end,

So that they will delight the kin of ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir (and protect them) against those who seek revenge.

And even if time had not worn me out and turned my head grey – for greyness comes with age –

We do have a Lord sitting high upon his throne who knows what good and evil there will be.

Has it not come to my people that God has a message by which good and happy people can succeed

When the Messenger was sent out from Ghālib's tribe at Mecca, between Mecca and al-Ḥijr?

There; so seek his victory for your country, O tribe of ʿĀmir, for happiness is in victory."

Thereupon, so the account states, he died.

CHAPTER ON THE CRIES OF THE SPIRITS, CONSISTING OF WHAT WORDS OF INSPIRATION THE SPIRITS GAVE TO THE TONGUES OF SOOTHSAYERS, AND WHICH WERE TO BE HEARD BY THE IDOLS.

We previously reported the words of Shiqq and Saṭīḥ to Rabīʿa b. Naṣr, King of Yemen, announcing the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of his being,

"A chaste messenger to whom revelation comes from the All-High."

Regarding his birth, there would come the words of Saṭīḥ to ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, "when many recitations have been made, Lake Sāwa dried up, and the sceptre-bearer has appeared", by which he was referring to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as we will explain in detail.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān al-Juʿfī related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting ʿAmr – he being Muḥammad b. Zayd – that Sālim told him from

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar who said, "I never heard ʿUmar ever say of anything, 'I think it so' without it being as he thought it would."

"While ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was seated one day, a handsome man passed by. ʿUmar said, 'Either I'm mistaken or that man has not adopted Islam, or maybe he was a soothsayer. Bring him to me.'

"So he was summoned and told the same. He commented, 'I never thought I would meet a Muslim man in the manner I did today!'

"'I invite you to tell me about yourself.'

"'I was a soothsayer in the old days before Islam,' he told him.

"'And what was the strangest thing your female *jinni* friend, your channel, brought you?'

"'Once, in the market, she came to me and I recognized that she was in a state of panic. She said, "Do you not see the spirits and their despondency, their despair after their decadence, and their clinging to their fast mounts and to the cloth under their saddles?"

"ʿUmar said, 'He spoke true. While I was asleep near their gods a man came with a calf that he sacrificed. And I then heard a voice cry out louder than any I had ever heard before. It said, "O Jalīḥ, a success! An eloquent man! He says, 'There is no God but God!'" Everyone jumped up, and I said, "I'll not leave till I know what's behind this!" Then (the voice) called out, "O Jalīḥ, a success, an eloquent man! He says 'There is no God but God!'" So I arose, and soon thereafter it was said, 'This was a prophet.'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gave this tradition.

The man speaking here was Sawwād b. Qārib al-Azdī, called al-Sadūsī, of the people of al-Sarāt of the Balqāʿ mountains. He had the honour of being a Companion and envoy of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Abū Ḥātim and Ibn Mandah stated that Saʿīd b. Jubayr and Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī quoted him. Al-Bukhārī said, "He had the honour of being a Companion." Similarly Aḥmad b. Rūḥ al-Baṛdhaʿī, the *ḥāfiẓ*, included his name among the Companions, quoting al-Dārquṭnī and others besides these two. The *ḥāfiẓ* ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Saʿīd al-Miṣrī said that his name was spelled, "Sawād", not "Sawwād" b. Qārib. ʿUthmān al-Waqqāṣī related from Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī that he was a Yemeni noble man.

Abū Nuʿaym mentioned him in *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*). The account relating to him was also told by others at greater length but based upon al-Bukhārī's account.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that a reliable source related to him, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb, the freed-man of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, that it was told to him that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, was one day sitting in the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when an Arab came in looking for

him. When 'Umar looked at him he commented, "That man is still a polytheist, still an unbeliever, or maybe he was a soothsayer before Islam."

The man greeted him, then sat down. 'Umar addressed him, "Have you become a Muslim?" "Oh yes, O Commander of the Faithful," the man replied. "Were you a soothsayer before Islam?" 'Umar asked.

The man replied, "Glory be to God, O Commander of the Faithful, you're casting suspicion on me; and you are receiving me with words I never heard you use to any other of your subjects since you came to power."

"O God, forgive me," exclaimed 'Umar. "Before Islam we were involved in things far worse than that. We worshipped idols and adopted images until God favoured us with His Messenger and with Islam."

"Yes, by God, O Commander of the Faithful. I was a soothsayer before Islam."

"Then tell me what your channel had informed you."

"It came to me one month or so before Islam and said, 'Do you not see the spirits and their despondency, their despair for their religion, and their clinging to their fast mounts and to the cloth under their saddles?'"

Ibn Isḥāq commented that the preceding quotation was rhymed prose and not poetry.

"At that, 'Umar said, addressing the people around him, 'I swear, I was once near an idol, before Islam, along with a group of Quraysh. An Arab had sacrificed a calf and we were waiting for him to divide it up so we would have our share. Then I heard a voice louder than I had ever heard before coming out from the calf's belly. This was a month or so before Islam. The voice said, 'O Dharīḥ, success is won! A man is crying out and saying, "There is no God but God."'"

Ibn Hishām commented, "Another version has the words as, 'A man is crying out, his language eloquent, and saying, "There is no God but God."'"

He went on, "A scholar learned in poetry recited to me the lines,

> 'I was surprised at the spirits and their grief and their gripping their cloth-blankets on their mounts
>
> Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the believing spirits are not like the impure ones.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Ya'lā al-Mawṣilī stated that it was related to him by Yaḥyā b. Ḥijr b. al-Nu'mān the Syrian, and also by 'Alī b. Manṣūr al-Anbārī, from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Waqqāṣī, from Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī, who said that while 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God bless him, was one day seated, a man passed him by and someone asked, "O Commander of the Faithful, do you know this passer-by?" "Who is he?", he asked. They replied, "That is Sawwād b. Qārib whose channel came to him and told him about the rising of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

ʿUmar sent for him and asked him whether he was Sawwād b. Qārib, and the man replied that he was.

"Are you still a soothsayer, as you were?" asked ʿUmar.

The man became angry and replied, "No one greeted me that way since I became a Muslim, O Commander of the Faithful."

"O glory be to God!" exclaimed ʿUmar, "the polytheism we used to follow was far worse than the soothsaying you were involved in! But tell me what it was your channel told you of the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

"Certainly, O Commander of the Faithful. One night I was between sleep and wakefulness when my channel came to me, kicked me and said, 'Up you get, O Sawwād b. Qārib, listen to what I have to say and comprehend, if you can. A messenger has been sent from the tribe of Luʾayy b. Ghālib calling people to God and to His worship.' He then recited these verses,

'I was surprised at the spirits and their intentions and their gripping their saddle-bags on their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the honest spirits are not like the lying ones.

So head to the finest men of Hāshim, their best men are not like their hindmost.'

"I told it, 'Let me sleep. I'm very sleepy now.'

"The next night back he came and kicked me, saying, 'Up you get, O Sawwād b. Qārib, and listen to what I am saying. And comprehend, if you can. A messenger has been sent from the tribe of Luʾayy b. Ghālib, calling men to God and to His worship.' He then recited these verses,

'I was surprised at the spirits and their knowledge, and their gripping their baggage on their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for believing spirits are not like those that disbelieve.

So head for the finest men of Hāshim, amidst their hills and rocks.'

"'Leave me alone to sleep,' I pleaded, 'I'm very sleepy.'

"The third night, again it came and kicked me, saying, 'Up you get, O Sawwād b. Qārib, and listen to what I am saying. And comprehend, if you can. A messenger has been sent from the tribe of Luʾayy b. Ghālib, calling men to God and to His worship.' He then recited the verses,

'I was surprised at the spirits and their perceptions, and their gripping their cloth blankets on their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the gracious of the spirits are not like the foul ones.

So head for the finest men of Hāshim, and raise your eyes to their head.'

"So I got up, saying, 'God has put my heart to the test.' I readied my camel for travel and went off to the city – by which he meant Mecca – and there I saw

the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) amidst his Companions. I approached him and said, 'Listen to what I have to say, O Messenger of God.' 'Let's hear it,' he replied. So I recited to him the following verses.

'My channel came to me after rest and sleep, and I never experienced him to be untruthful.

Three nights and each time he would say, "A messenger has come out to you of (the tribe of) Luʾayy b. Ghālib".

So I tucked up my waist-wrapper, for travel, and my strong and swift she-camel carried me across the deserts

And I bear witness that there is nothing besides God, and that you are safe from any conqueror

And that you are the messenger with closest access of all to God, O you born of the finest and best of men.

So order us to do whatever you are told, O best man ever to walk, even if what comes is such as to make the hair grey;

Intercede for me when intercession time comes, for none but you can help Sawwād b. Qārib.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions were most pleased at what I had said, their pleasure being evident in their faces.

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb jumped from his place and came close to him and said, 'I wanted to hear that from you. Can your channel come to you today?'

"But after I had read the Qurʾān, then never again; God's book does away with any need for spirits.

"ʿUmar then said, 'Once we were in a quarter of Quraysh known by their name of the Dharīḥ family. They had sacrificed a calf and the butcher was cutting it up when we heard a voice emitting from its stomach. We could not see anything (there), however. It said, 'O family of Dharīḥ, success is won. A voice is crying out, its tongue eloquent, giving witness that there is no God but God.'"

This account is abbreviated, as that of al-Bukhārī shows. They do substantiate that the one hearing the voice from the calf was ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Sahl al-Kharāʾiṭī stated, in his work that he compiled on the cries of the spirits, that Abū Mūsā ʿImrān b. Mūsā al-Muʾaddib related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, quoting Saʿīd b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Waṣṣābī, from his father, from Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, who said that Sawwād b. Qārib al-Sadūsī came in to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, and the latter said to him, "By God, O Sawwād b. Qārib, I adjure you to say whether nowadays your soothsaying benefits you." He replied, "Glory be to God, O Commander of the Faithful, you've never greeted anyone else the way you have me!" "Glory be to God indeed, O Sawwād," he replied, "our

polytheistic practices were worse than your soothsaying. By God, O Sawwād, I've heard a most strange account relating to you." "Yes indeed, O Commander of the Faithful, strange it certainly was." "Tell me about it," asked ʿUmar.

"Well, I was a soothsayer before Islam. One night when I was asleep, my channel came to me, kicked me and said, 'O Sawwād, listen to what I will tell you.' 'Go on,' I said. It then recited,

'I was surprised at the spirits and their concern, and how they gripped their blankets on their mounts
Heading for Mecca seeking guidance, for those of them that believe are not like those that are evil.
So travel to the best of Hāshim and raise your eyes to their head.'

"But I went to sleep, not caring at all what he had said. Then he came back the second night, kicked me and said, 'Up you get, Sawwād b. Qārib and listen to what I say.' 'Well let's hear it,' I said. He then recited,

'I was surprised at the spirits and their intentions and their gripping their saddlebags on their mounts
Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the honest spirits are not like the lying ones.
So head for the finest man of Hāshim, for their foremost men are not like their hindmost.'

"His words did intrigue me, somewhat, but I went to sleep. The third night he came again, kicked me and said, 'O Sawwād b. Qārib, are you going to comprehend or not?'"

"'How?' I asked. He explained, 'A prophet has come forth in Mecca calling for worship of his Lord. Go and join him. Listen to what I tell you.' 'Let's hear it,' I said. Then he recited,

'I was surprised at the spirits and their fright, and how they gripped their cloth blankets to their mounts
Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the spirits who believe are unlike those who disbelieve.
So travel to the best of Hāshim, between their hills and rocks.'

"So I realized that God wished me well. I went and got a striped garment I had, unsewed it, put it on and placed my feet in the saddle stirrups of my camel and rode off till I reached the Prophet (ṢAAS). He then suggested to me that I become a Muslim, and I did so. I told him what had happened, and he said, 'When the Muslims are all gathered, tell them this.' So when all were assembled, I got up and recited the following verses,

'My channel came to me after rest and sleep, and I never knew him to be untruthful;
Three nights, and each time he would say, "A messenger has come to you out of Luʾayy b. Ghālib."

So I tucked up my waist-wrapper for travel, and my strong and swift she-camel carried me across the deserts,

And I know that there is nothing besides God, and that you are safe from any conqueror

And that you are the Messenger with closest access of all to God, O you born of the finest and best of men.

So order us to do whatever you are told, O best messenger, even if what comes is such as to make the hair grey.'

"The Muslims," he concluded, "were delighted with this."

"Well," asked 'Umar, "do you have any sense of that now?" "Since God has taught me the Qur'ān now, then no."

Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī related this anecdote from his father, from 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ. He said that when Sawwād b. Qārib came to 'Umar, the latter asked, "O Sawwād b. Qārib, what remains from your being a soothsayer?"

He got angry and retorted, "O Commander of the Faithful. I don't think you greeted any Arab like that before."

When 'Umar saw the anger in his face, he said, "Look Sawwād, the polytheism we were previously involved in was worse." Then he went on, "Tell me, Sawwād, that story I've so wanted to hear from you."

"Certainly. Once I was tending some camels of mine at al-Sarāt. One night when I was asleep a channel I had came to me, kicked me and said, 'Up you get, Sawwād b. Qārib! A prophet has appeared in Tihāma who calls people to the truth and to the straight path.'" He then related the story as given above, adding one last line to the poetry. It read:

"And intercede for me on a day when no relative than you will be of any use for Sawwād b. Qārib."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him: "Go to your people and speak these verses to them."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir related this story through Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from al-Ḥakam b. Ya'lā b. 'Aṭā' al-Muḥāribī, from 'Abbād b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr who said that Sawwād b. Qārib al-Azdī recounted to him, "I was sleeping up on a mountain of al-Sarāt when someone came and kicked me . . ." And he went on to tell the story too.

It was also related through Muḥammad b. al-Barrā', from Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh, from Abū Isḥāq from al-Barrā', who said that Sawwād b. Qārib stated, "I was living in India when one night my channel came to me . . ." and he told the whole story. Then, after reciting the final piece of poetry, he said, "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed so loud his back teeth were visible, and he commented, 'You did well, Sawwād!'"

Abū Nu'aym stated in his book *Dalā'il al-Nabuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far related to him, quoting

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥasan, quoting ʿAlī b. Ḥarb, quoting Abū al-Mundhir Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmānī, who said that they had a man called Māzin b. al-ʿAḍūb who was custodian of an idol at a village called Samāyā, in ʿUmān. Banū al-Ṣāmit revered this idol, along with Banū Ḥuṭāma and Muhra, who were related to Māzin through his uncles on his mother's side, her name being Zaynab d. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rabīʿa b. Khuwayṣ, of Banū Namrān.

Māzin said, "One day we brought a ewe to the idol for slaughter, it being our sacrifice, and I heard a voice emanating from the idol saying, 'O Māzin, hear and rejoice. Goodness has emerged and evil been submerged. A prophet has been sent from Muḍar with God's greatest religion. Abandon something carved from stone and you will be saved from scorching fire.'

"I was extremely scared to hear this.

"Then, a few days later, we sacrificed another ewe, and heard a voice from the idol say, 'Come to me, come close and hear what you cannot ignore. This is a prophet who has been sent; he has brought truth revealed. Believe in him so that you will avoid the heat of a fire that will flame, a fire set alight by the stone.'"

Māzin continued, "This is amazing, I thought. And this is good intended for me. Then a man from Ḥijāz arrived, and I asked him what news there was back home. He replied, 'A man called Aḥmad has emerged who tells everyone who comes to him to respond to God's Messenger.'"

"This news relates to what I heard, I thought. So I rushed to the idol and broke it into small pieces. I then mounted up and rode off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God then opened my heart to Islam, which I accepted. I spoke the verses,

> 'I broke Yājur into pieces, there now being a Lord through whom we would see false guidance and delusion,
>
> Through the Hāshimite, who led us out of our error, his religion having been unknown to me.
>
> O rider, tell ʿAmr and its brothers that I detest those who said, "My Lord is Yājir."'"

By ʿAmr here he means al-Ṣāmit, the silent one. By "brothers" he means Ḥuṭāma.

"I said, 'O Messenger of God, I'm a man who is crazy for pleasure, for women and wine. But now the years are pressing hard, the money is gone, the concubines have thinned out, and I have no son. Please pray to God to alleviate my suffering, to make us modest, and to grant me a son.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then spoke a prayer: 'O God, exchange his pleasure-seeking with Qurʾān readings, his immorality with morality, his sin and corruption with chastity, make him modest, and grant him a son.'"

Māzin went on: "And so God alleviated my suffering and 'Umān became fertile. I married four noble women, learned by heart a portion of the Qur'ān, and God granted me my son Ḥayyān." He then recited the verses:

"My mount galloped towards you, O Messenger of God, traversing the deserts from 'Umān to al-'Arj,
So that you would intercede for me, O you who are the best of those who walked on earth; and God would forgive me, and I return victorious.
To people whose religion I contradict; their beliefs and likes are different from mine.
I was a man crazy over wine and women all my youth, until my boyhood almost wore out;
He substituted fear and anxiety for the wine, and gave me chastity for immortality, and reinforced my virtue.
So my interest and intent turned to the holy fight, and to God I direct my fasting, to God my pilgrimage."

He went on, "So when I came back to my people, they censured me and cursed me, and set one of their poets to attack me. And I realized that if I responded in like kind, I would only harm myself.

"So I moved away from them. Then a great delegation of them came to me; I had been formerly in charge of their affairs. They told me, 'O Cousin, we hate what has happened. If you can put it all aside, then return and be in charge of our affairs. And we'll not bother you or whatever is in your religion.'

"So I did return with them and spoke the lines,

'Your hatred for us is bitter in taste, whereas our dislike for you, O my people, tasted like buttermilk;
Time (fate) would not notice if your faults were laid out, but all of you when our faults are extolled are keenly aware;
Our poet does not answer you back, while your poet is eloquent and flamboyant in cursing us.
Towards you, you should know, there is in (our) hearts only irritation, while in yours there is hatred and loathing.'"

Māzin ended: "Then God led them all to Islam."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu'aym related from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Uqayl, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, "The first news of the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina was as follows. A certain woman of Medina had a channel who would come to her in the form of a white bird. It alighted on a wall they had and she asked it, 'Why don't you come on down so that we can talk together and exchange news?' It replied, 'A Prophet has been sent in Mecca who has prohibited fornication. And so our pleasure is prevented.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz related to him, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, as follows, "The first news that arrived in Medina about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was that a woman called Fāṭima had a channel (a male *jinn*) that came to her one day but stood on a wall. She asked it, 'Aren't you coming down?' 'No, a Messenger has been sent who has prohibited fornication,' he replied.

"One of the early Muslims related the same account also. He mentioned that the woman's channel was called Ibn Lūdhān, and stated that he had been absent from her a long time, and then when he did come she reproached him and he replied, 'I went to the Messenger and heard him forbidding fornication; so good-bye to you!'"

Al-Wāqidī stated that Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, from ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda who said that ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān stated, "We left in a camel caravan for Syria, before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission. When we were on the outskirts of Syria where a female soothsayer lived, she stood in our way and said that her channel came to her and stopped at her door. So she asked him to come in, but he replied, 'There's no way for that; Aḥmad has come forth and an unendurable situation has arisen.'"

ʿUthmān continued, "Then I left and, upon returning to Mecca discovered that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had announced his mission in Mecca and was calling people to God the Almighty and Glorious."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zuhrī related to him, saying, "It used to be that inspired voices were heard; but when Islam came these were banned."

There was a woman of Banū Asad named Saʿīra who had a spirit companion. When it learned that inspired voices were not being allowed, he came to her and entered her chest where he made such an uproar that she lost her mind. From inside her chest he began shouting, "Embracing has been banned. Companionship has been abolished! And an unendurable situation has arisen! Aḥmad has forbidden fornication."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Kharāʾiṭī stated that Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Balawī – in Egypt – related to him, quoting ʿUmāra b. Zayd, quoting ʿIsā b. Yazīd, from Ṣāliḥ b. Kīsān, from someone who told it to him, from Mirdās b. Qays al-Sadūsī, who said, "I was present with the Prophet (ṢAAS) when the subject of soothsaying came up and the changes that had occurred in it as a result of his coming forth. I said to him, 'O Messenger of God, some of that used to go on among us. I can tell you about a slave-girl we had called al-Khulaṣa about whom nothing but good was known until she came to us and said, "O tribe of Daws something very strange has happened to me; did you ever know anything except good (about me)?" We asked, "What's wrong?" She replied, "I was out with my sheep when a cloud overshadowed me, and I had

some strange experience, some sense of a man with a woman. I was afraid I might be pregnant." Eventually came the time for her to give birth, and she did produce a boy who had lop-ears like those of a dog. He remained with us till the age when he would play with other boys. Then one day he jumped into the air, threw off his waist wrapper and began screaming out at the top of his voice, saying, 'Yā wayla, yā wayla, yā ʿawla yā ʿawla, woe on the sheep, woe on Fahm who is the fire brand, there are horsemen, by God, behind the mountain path, and among them are youths who are handsome, noble."'

"So we mounted up, our weapons ready, and asked, 'O you, woe to you, what do you see?' He asked, 'Is there some menstruating girl among you?' 'Who can find one for us?' we asked. An old sheikh of ours said, 'Yes, I have a daughter of a chaste mother.' We told him to bring her at once. So the sheikh brought the girl and (he) went up the mountain, telling her: 'Throw off your clothes and go out in front of them.' He then told our men, 'Follow on after her.' Then he said to one of our men called Aḥmad b. Ḥābis, 'O Aḥmad b. Ḥābis you get the first rider!' So Aḥmad charged and struck the first rider, felling him. And they were defeated and we plundered them. Then we built a house over them which we named 'Dhū al-Khulaṣa'. And this boy never told us anything that did not come out as he said.

"Until your mission, that is, O Messenger of God. One day he told us, 'O tribe of Daws, Banū al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb has encamped.' So we rode off, with him telling us, 'Urge your horses on at speed, and stuff the enemy into their graves! Sweep them away in the morning and drink wine in the evening!'

"We met them in battle, but they utterly defeated us. So when we returned to him we demanded, 'What's wrong with you? What have you done to us?' When we looked at him we saw his eyes all red and his ears standing straight up. He was absolutely furious, almost exploding with anger. Then he left.

"We rode away and eventually forgave him, and nothing happened for a while. Then he summoned us and said, 'How would you like to go on a raid that will give you glory, and provide you fine booty so that you'll have a real treasure?' 'We need that more than anyone,' we replied. So he said, 'Then mount up.' We did so and asked, 'What next?' He replied: 'Attack Banū al-Ḥārith b. Maslama!' Then he said, 'Stop.' So we did, and he said, 'Attack Fahm!' Then he went on, 'But you've no bad blood with them; attack Muḍar; they have horses and cattle.' Then he said, 'No; attack Durayd b. al-Ṣimma. They're few in number and under protection.' Then he said, 'No; instead go after (the tribe of) Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa. first, lodge them at the estate of ʿĀmir b. Saʿṣaʿa, then do battle with them!'

"So we engaged them in battle but they defeated us, indeed humiliated us. So when we returned we asked him, 'Woe on you! What are you doing to us?' He replied, 'I just don't know; he who was telling me the truth is now lying to me. Imprison me in my house for three days, then come back.'

"We did that. Then, after three days, we returned to him and let him out. And to our surprise he was like a stone of fire! He said, 'O Daws, heaven is protected! And the best of prophets has come forth!' 'Where?' we asked. 'In Mecca; and I am dying, so bury me on a mountain top, for I shall burst into flames. If you leave me (unburied) I will be a source of your shame. When you see me catch fire and flame, then throw three stones at me and with each one say, "In your name, O God." Then I will die down and go out.'

"And he did die and burst into flame! We did what he had told us, throwing three stones and saying after each one 'O God, in your name!' And he did die down and go out.

"Things went on as before until the pilgrims came and told us of your mission, O Messenger of God."

Very strange!

Al-Wāqidī related to us, from his father, from the son of Abū Dhi'b, from Muslim b. Jandab, from al-Naḍr b. Sufyān al-Hudhalī, from his father, who said, "We left for Syria on a camel caravan and when we were between al-Zarqā' and Mu'ān, having stopped there to rest for the night, along came a horseman, seemingly somehow between earth and sky, who called out, 'Get up, all you who sleep! This is no time to rest! Aḥmad has come forth and put all the spirits to flight!'

"We were terrified, though brave men we were, all having heard this.

"So we travelled back to our people and when we arrived we found them discussing a conflict in Mecca among Quraysh about a Prophet who had come forth from among them, from the 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib family, whose name was Aḥmad."

Abū Nu'aym related this.

Al-Kharā'iṭī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Balawī – in Egypt – related to him, quoting 'Umāra b. Zayd, 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Alā', quoting Yaḥyā b. 'Urwa, from his father, who said that a group from Quraysh, including Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy, Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb and 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith, were once at a place where they had an idol around which they would assemble. That particular day they had set aside as a holiday each year. They would worship it and make sacrifice of camels to it and then feast, drink wine, and say prayers to it. When they went into it that night, they saw it to be overturned onto its face. They disliked that, so they took it and set it back up as before. Soon, however, it tumbled over violently, but they set it back straight as before. Again, for a third time, it fell over.

Seeing this they were both amazed and very worried. 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith said, "Why is it turning upside down so much? This must be because something has happened." This was occurring during the night when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born.

'Uthmān then spoke the following verses,

"O festival idol, around whom assemble the chiefs of delegations come from far and near,

You turn upside down if defeated; tell us why. Is this unimportant, or do you turn in anger?

If this is for some sin we have committed, we will acknowledge it and give up this sin,

But if you have been defeated and turned over in abasement, then among idols you are no Lord, no master."

They then set the idol back in its position. When they did so, a great voice rang out from inside the idol, saying,

"It fell over because of a newly born, light from whom illuminated all the mountain sides of all the earth, in east and west,

To which all the idols, without exception, fell down and at which the hearts of all the kings of the earth, without exception, trembled in fear.

And the fires of all the Persians died down and went out, the king of the Persians himself spending a night of great anxiety.

The soothsayers of the unknown having been abandoned by their spirits, from them no information coming, true or false.

O Quṣayy, come back from your error, come over to Islam and to the wide-open house."

When they heard this they conferred together in private and some of them said, "Let us be truthful to one another and keep our secret among one another."

All of them said, "Yes indeed!"

Waraqa b. Nawfal told them, "By God, you all know that your people have no religion. They have made an enormous mistake and abandoned Abraham's religion. What purpose is there in a stone you circumambulate that does not hear, nor see, nor can do any good or harm? O my people, adopt a religion!"

The account proceeds, "And so thereupon they left, travelling all over asking about the *ḥanifiyya*, the religion of Abraham, God bless him."

As for Waraqa b. Nawfal, he became a Christian, studied the Scriptures and so became very learned.

'Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith travelled to the emperor, became a Christian and lived there in high estate with him.

Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl tried to leave but was gaoled. Eventually, however, he did leave, travelling far and wide till he reached al-Raqqa, in the Arabian peninsula. There he met a learned monk whom he told what he wanted to know. Then the monk said, "You are seeking a religion to which you won't find anyone to lead you. But the time is near for a prophet who will come forth from your land and who will be sent with the *ḥanifiyya* religion."

When he was told this Zayd headed back for Mecca but the Lakhmites attacked and killed him.

As for ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, he stayed in Mecca until the Prophet (ṢAAS) was sent. He left thereafter with the others who went to Abyssinia. Once there, he became a Christian and abandoned Islam. He remained there till he died, still a Christian.

There is testimony for this in the earlier account given of the life of Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl.

Al-Kharāʾiṭī stated that Aḥmad b. Isḥāq b. Ṣāliḥ Abū Bakr al-Warrāq related to him, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, quoting his father, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Anas al-Sulamī, from al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās who said he was one day busy impregnating a milch-camel at midday when a white dove appeared before him with a rider on its back all dressed in clothing as white as milk. The rider said to him, "O ʿAbbās b. Mirdās, don't you see that the heavens have assembled their guards, that war has choked on its own breath, that the mounts have their riding blankets saddled, and that there (has come) he who brought piety and devotion on Monday, the night of the third day, the master of the furthest-riding camel?"

Al-ʿAbbās then said, "So I returned in a fright, very scared by what I had seen and heard. Then I went to an idol we had called al-Ḍimār that we used to worship; it would address us from inside its belly. I swept up all around it, anointed it and kissed it, and then a voice sounded from inside it saying,

> 'Tell all the tribes of Sulaym that al-Ḍimār is gone, and that the people of the mosque have triumphed.
>
> Al-Ḍimār is dead, though once he was worshipped, before prayer with the Prophet Muḥammad.
>
> He who inherited the prophethood and the right path following the son of Mary is from Quraysh, rightly guided.'"

He continued, "So off I went until I reached my people and told them what had happened. Then I left, along with 300 of my men of Banū Ḥāritha, to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was at Medina. We entered the mosque and when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw me he said, 'O ʿAbbās, how did your acceptance of Islam come about?' I then told him the story. He was delighted, and thereupon I and my men all adopted Islam."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym related this in the *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*) from an account of Abū Bakr b. Abū ʿĀṣim, from ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān.

He then recounted it again through al-Aṣmaʿī, who said, that al-Waṣṣāfī related to him, from Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir, from Qabīṣa b. ʿAmr b. Isḥāq al-Khuzāʿī, from al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī, who said, "My adoption of

Islam first came about this way. My father Mirdās, when near death, recommended to me an idol named Ḍimār he had. So I placed it in a building and established a visitation time, once each day. Now when the Prophet (ṢAAS) came forth, I heard a voice calling out through the night that scared me. So I hurried to Ḍimār seeking its help and heard a voice coming from its belly that said,

'Tell to the tribe of all Sulaym that *al-Anīs* (the close friend)[70] is gone and that the people of the mosque live on.

"'Ḍimār has perished, and he was once worshipped, before the Scripture (was sent) to the Prophet Muḥammad.

"'He who has inherited the prophethood and the right path, after the son of Mary, is from Quraysh, rightly guided.'"

He went on, "I kept this from my people. After they had returned from the battle (of the siege of Medina) I was out with my herd on the side of the ravine at Dhāt ʿIrq, asleep, when I heard a voice. Then I saw a man riding on a dove's wing and saying, 'The light appeared on the night before Tuesday along with (the birth of) the master of the she-camel named *al-ʿAdbā'*,[71] at the house of Banū al ʿAnqā'.' And another voice, from the left, replied, 'Tell the disheartened spirits that the mount has put on its saddle blankets, that heaven has been protected by its guards.'

"I jumped up in fright at this and knew that Muḥammad was a messenger. So I rode my mare as fast as I could till I reached him and pledged him my allegiance. Then I went off, burned Ḍimār in fire, returned again to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and recited to him the following verses:

'By your life, by my making Ḍimār as partner with the Lord of the worlds
And by my leaving the Messenger of God with the Aws tribe around him, those being his helpers;
I am like someone who left the easy ground and sought out the difficult one, to find his path into the most difficult of matters,
So I believed in God, whose servant I am, and opposed those who have begun seeking destruction.
And I turned my face towards Mecca, seeking to declare allegiance to the blessed Prophet of the most noble men,
A Prophet who came to us after Jesus, with a message of truth in which there is the conclusive word.
Entrusted with the Qur'ān, the first Intercessor and the first Messenger to respond to the angels,
He restored the bonds of Islam after they had been broken, making them firm and establishing the rituals.

70. He is referring to the idol Ḍimār.
71. The camel of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was so named.

I meant you, O best man of all the world; you have been situated at the top of all heights and possessed all eminence and honour.

You are the purified one of Quraysh; when they fade away you will remain blessed for the ages.

When the two tribes Kaʿb and Mālik trace their lineage we find you of pure descent, and your fertile women too.'"

Al-Kharāʾiṭī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Balawī, in Egypt, related to him, quoting ʿUmāra b. Zayd, quoting Isḥāq b. Bishr and Salama b. al-Faḍl, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq who said that it was related to him by a sheikh from among the Companions whose name was ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd, from the family of Muḥammad b. Maslama, that he said that he was informed that men of Khathʿam used to say, "This is what drew us to Islam. We used to be a people who worshipped idols. One day we were at an idol of ours when a group came to seek the idol's advice in settling a dispute among them. Suddenly a voice called out to them:

'O people possessed of bodies, old men and young alike, what are you with your perplexed minds to rely on idols for judgements?

Are all of you in confusion, sleeping, or do you not see what I see: a shining light, clearing up the darkness, has emerged to view from Tihām?

That is a prophet, Lord of mankind, who has brought Islam after disbelief.

The All-Merciful has honoured him by making him a leader, and a messenger whose words are truthful.

The most just of all judges, he commands prayer and fasting

And piety and reconciliation and drives people away from evil.

And from immorality, idol worship, and sin; he is from Hāshim among the elite of leaders

Announcing (his mission) in the sacred land.'

"And when we heard this, we broke away from the idol, came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and accepted Islam."

Al-Kharāʾiṭī stated that ʿAbd Allāh al-Balawī related to him, quoting ʿUmāra, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-ʿAlāʾ, quoting Muḥammad b. Akbar, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, that there was a man from the Banū Tamīm called Rāfiʿ b. ʿUmayr, a highly skilled tracker, the best of all men in travelling at night, and the most intrepid in danger. The Arabs therefore used to call him "Duʿmūṣ of the Arabs", a name implying his skill in following a trail and his bravery. He recounted how he first adopted Islam, as follows, "One night I was travelling over deep sand when I felt very sleepy. So I dismounted, tied my camel down, rested my head on its leg and went to sleep. Before falling asleep I said a prayer: 'I seek protection from the master (spirit) of this valley against being harmed or disturbed by evil spirits.' In my sleep I saw a young man creeping up on my camel, a spear-head in his hand with which he was going to stab her in the throat. At that I

awoke in alarm and, though I looked in all directions, I could see nothing. I told myself it was just a dream. So I went back into a light sleep and saw the same as I had before. Again I awoke, walked all around my camel but saw nothing. Once more I slept, saw the same and awoke to find my camel trembling. Again I slept, saw the vision once more and awoke to find my camel in a disturbed state. I turned around and there was a young man just like I had seen in my dream, carrying a spearhead in his hand which was being restrained by an old man who was reciting:

'O Mālik b. Muhalhil b. Dithār, easy does it, my mantle and waist-wrapper be your ransom,

Leave the human's camel alone, don't harm it and choose instead whatever of my bulls you want.

You're showing me a side of yourself I never knew, not to honour my relationship to you and my honour.

Going up to him with a poisoned spearhead! Woe to you for doing so, O Abū al-Ghaffār.

If it were not for shame and your family being neighbours, I'd tell you things of me I've not disclosed.'

"After he had spoken thus, the young man responded:

'Did you want to raise and drop our reputation for no contemptible action, O Abū al-ʿIzār?

They never in the past had a lord among them; it is Banū al-Akhyār who are best.

So go your way, O Muʿakbar; however, the protector was Muhalhil b. Dithār.'

"While they were thus disputing three bulls emerged from the wilderness and the old man said to the young one, 'Go on now, nephew, just take any one of these you want in compensation for the camel of my human friend here.' So the young man did take one bull and left with it. Then the old man turned to me and said, 'When you go down into some valley or other and are afraid, then say, "I take refuge in God, the Lord of Muḥammad, from the terror of this valley." Don't seek the protection of any spirit because they're all finished.' I asked him, 'Who is this Muhammad?' He replied, 'He is an Arab prophet, neither of the east nor of the west, who was sent down on a Monday.' 'Where does he live?' I asked. 'Yathrib, where there are palm trees', he replied. So I rode off on my mount as soon as dawn broke and rode on and on till I entered Medina (i.e. Yathrib). The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw me and he told me my story before I told him anything about it! He invited me into Islam, and I did accept Islam."

Saʿīd b. Jubayr commented, "We used to think that it was about him that God revealed the words, 'There were human men who used to seek protection from spirit men, and so made them more malicious'" (*sūrat al-Jinn*, LXXII, v.6).

Al-Kharāʾiṭī related, through Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād b. Abū Ḥanīfa, from Dāwūd b. al-Ḥusayn, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿAlī, who said, "If you should be in a valley where you fear lions, then say 'I seek protection from Daniel and the well against the evil of the lion.'"

Al-Balawī recounted, from ʿUmāra b. Zayd, from Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq who said that Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith related to him, from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbās, the story of ʿAlī's killing the *jinn* in the well which had a flag that was at al-Juḥfa. This happened when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him to get water; they (the *jinn*) wanted to prevent him and so they cut up the bucket. He then went down to them; this is a long and very objectionable story. But God knows best.

Al-Kharāʾiṭī stated that it was related to him by Abū al-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. Muṣʿab the Damascene and others, and also by Sulaymān, son of the daughter of Sharaḥbīl the Damascene, and by ʿAbd al-Quddūs b. al-Ḥajjāj, as by Khālid b. Saʿīd, from al-Shaʿbī, from a man who said that he was once attending an assembly with ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. There also present were a group of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who were discussing the virtues of the Qurʾān. One of them referred to the final verses of *sūrat al-Nahl* (XVI). Another suggested *sūrat Yā Sīn* (XXXVI). ʿAlī said, "How about the *Āyat al-Kursī*? ('The Throne Verse', *sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.255). It has 70 words, each one of which has a blessing."

One of those present was ʿAmr b. Maʿdī Karib who was never lost for a comment. He asked, "Where do you stand regarding the invocation, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent'?" ʿUmar said, "Tell us an anecdote, O Abū Thawr?" (addressing ʿAmr).

He responded, "One time, before Islam, I felt terribly hungry, so I urged on my horse into the wilderness, but all I found were some ostrich eggs. As I went further I came across a bedouin sheikh in a tent with a girl beside him who was as beautiful as the rising sun. He also had some young goats. I addressed him, saying, 'Surrender, may your mother be bereft of you!' He raised his head to me and replied, 'Now lad, if you need hospitality, then dismount. If you want help, I'll help you.' But I replied, 'Surrender!' He then recited the following verses,

> 'We offered you hospitality out of kindness on our part, but you were not converted, in ignorance, acting as the unlucky do.
>
> You came and insulted us and were rude. And your throat would be slashed before you get what you hoped to get from my daughter.'"

He went on: "And then all of a sudden he leapt at me, saying, 'In the name of God, the Most Merciful, the Most Beneficent.' Suddenly I felt as if I were beneath him in submission. He then asked, 'Well, shall I kill you or let you go?' 'Let me go,' I said. Then he stood back from me. But at that point my spirit

persuaded me to try again, so I said, 'Surrender! May your mother be bereft of you!' He responded with the verses:

> 'In the name of God and the All-Merciful, we were victorious there, and by the Most Beneficent it was we conquered.
>
> But the determination of a haughty man will do no good when once we go forth to battle.'

"He then leapt at me, while I was there under him in submission. 'Well,' he said, 'should I kill you or let you go?' 'Let me go,' I replied. He stood back from me and I hurried some small distance away. But then I said to myself, 'O 'Amr, can this old sheikh really defeat you? By God, better you be dead than alive.' So I went back to him and said again, 'Surrender! May your mother be bereft of you!' Again he leapt at me, saying, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent,' and again I suddenly found myself there in submission beneath him. Again he asked, 'Should I kill you or let you go?' Again I replied, 'Let me go.' 'Impossible! Now girl, bring me the sharp dagger.' She brought it to him and he lopped off my forelock! When the Arabs defeated a man and lopped off his forelock they would be placing him into servitude. So I stayed with him for a time as his servant. He then said to me, 'O 'Amr, I want you to ride out into the desert with me. I have fear of you yet am fully confident in the words, "In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent."'

"So off we went till we came to a valley that was overgrown, awesome and spirit-ridden. He cried out at the top of his voice, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent!' Immediately every bird there left its cover and flew off. He repeated the same cry and every single lion there fled its den. Again he made the cry and all of a sudden there before us was an Abyssinian who had come out at us from the valley, standing there like a tall palm tree. The sheikh said to me, 'O 'Amr, when you see us both go off alone together, then say, "May my master overcome him through the words 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent.'"' But when I saw them alone together I said, 'May my master overcome him through al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā.' So the sheikh did nothing. He then came back to me and said, 'You realize you disobeyed me?' 'Yes,' I replied, 'but I won't do it again.' He then said, 'When you see us alone together, then say, "May my master overcome him through the words 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent.'"' 'All right,' I agreed. So when I saw them go off alone together I did say, 'May my master overcome him through (the words) "In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent."' The sheikh then threw himself upon the Abyssinian, sliced at him with his sword, slit his stomach open and drew out from his insides something in the form of a black candle. He then said, 'O 'Amr, this is his deceit and his rancour.' He then asked me, 'Do you know who this girl is?' 'No,' I answered.

'This', he replied, 'is al-Fāriʿa, daughter of al-Salīl al-Jurhumī, a leader of the demon spirits. Those are all her people, her relatives. Every year one man of them makes an attack on me, but God helps me defeat him through the words, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent."' He then said, 'You saw how I treated that Abyssinian. Now I'm really hungry, so get me something to eat.' I rode my mount off into the desert but only found some ostrich eggs. These I brought back for him but found him asleep. Beneath his head there was something that looked like a piece of wood. When I drew it out it was a sword, its size being one hand-span by seven. I struck his legs off with one blow which severed them along with his feet. He sat up on his haunches and cried out, 'May God destroy you! How treacherous you are, traitor!'"

ʿUmar then asked, "What did you do then?"

"Well," ʿAmr replied, "I just kept hitting him till I had chopped him up into little bits." He remained silent in sorrow a while, then went on, reciting the verses:

"Through deceit and from close by you took Islam's brother; I never heard the like in Arabs of former times.

(Even) the non-Arabs would be shamed in their honour to do as you did; may you perish for what you did to this able Lord.

Yet I am amazed that you were able to murder him; and that you did not care how (well) he treated you when you sinned.

He was a chief who had forgiven you often and whose hands clung to you at his place of death.

Yet if I had been acting during Islam as they have done to polytheists and those of the cross,

Then you would have attained by my justice a terrible fate such as to make its sufferer call out in grief and woe."

"And what happened to the slave girl?" he asked. ʿAmr replied, "I then went to her. When she saw me, she said, 'What happened to the sheikh?' 'The Abyssinian killed him,' I replied. 'You lie!' she cried. 'You killed him, by betraying him!' Then she recited the verses:

'O eyes, weep well for the brave warrior, then weep copious droplets more;

Do not tire of weeping, for fate has deceived you (in taking) a trustworthy man who had truth and was patient.

A man who was pious, stately and wise, a man worthy of glory on Judgement Day.

How sad I am that you let ʿAmr live, for time has given you up to your fate.

By my life, if you had not sought him out in betrayal, you would have faced a lion as sharp as a sword.'

"What she said greatly angered me so I drew my sword and entered the tent to kill her. But in the tent I found no one. So I herded up the cattle and came home."

This is a curious anecdote.

It is obvious that the sheikh was a demon spirit, one of those that adopted Islam and learned the Qur'ān, one thing he used being the invocation "In the name of God the most Merciful, the most Beneficent." He would seek protection by speaking it.

Al-Kharā'iṭī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Balawī related to him, quoting 'Umāra b. Zayd, saying that 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Alā' related to him, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from his grandmother Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr, who said, "Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl and Waraqa b. Nawfal used to tell how they went to the Negus after the retreat of Abraha from Mecca. They would say, 'When we went in to him, he told us, "O you two men of Quraysh, tell me truthfully. Was there born among you a boy whose father wanted to sacrifice him and who had divining arrows cast about him, but who was saved and had many camels sacrificed for him?"

"'Yes,' we replied. 'Do you have knowledge of him then, and of what became of him?' We replied, 'He married a woman named Āmina, daughter of Wahb; he left her pregnant then went away.' 'Do you know if a child was born or not?'

"Waraqa b. Nawfal replied, 'I will tell you, O King. I had spent a night at an idol of ours around which we used to circumambulate and worship. Suddenly I heard a voice emanating from its belly that said, "The Prophet is born and so the kings are abased, falsehood is averted and polytheism is dead."

"'The idol therupon tipped over on to its face.'

"Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl then spoke, 'I had a similar experience, O King.' 'Let's hear it,' he was told. He related as follows, 'On just such a night as he told of, I left my people, who were talking about Amīna's being pregnant, and went to Mt. Abū Qubays, wanting to be alone there because of something that was bothering me. Suddenly I saw a man descend from the skies who had two green wings. He stood atop Mt. Abū Qubays, then looked down over Mecca and said, 'Satan is humiliated and the idols are cast down. The 'Trustworthy One' is born.' He then spread out a cloth he had with him and floated away on it to the east and west. I saw that he had lit up all beneath the sky and a light was shining so brightly that it almost blinded me. I was awed by what I had seen. The man who had called out flapped his wings and flew down to the *ka'ba*, a light shining from him that illuminated all Tihāma. He then spoke, "The earth is aflame and has reached its springtime." He then gestured towards the idols that were in the *ka'ba* and they all fell down.'

"The Negus said, 'Let me tell you now what happened to me. I was asleep that same night you mentioned, alone in a pavilion, when out from the ground came a neck and a head which said, "Woe has befallen the warriors with elephants! flocks of birds cast clay stones at them. The criminal aggressor al-Ashram has

perished! And the *ummī* prophet has been born, he from Mecca, from the sacred quarter. Whoever responds to him will be glad; whoever scorns him will be sad." He then entered the earth and was gone. I tried to scream, but couldn't say a word. I then tried to get up, but could not do so. I struck the pavilion with my hand and my family heard this and came to me. I told them, "Keep the Abyssinians away from me." They did so. And then I regained use of my tongue and feet.'"

If God Almighty wills it, I will now give accounts, in the stories relating to the birth, concerning the visions of Chosroe of the collapse of 14 balconies of his palace, of the extinguishing of his fires, of the visions of his soothsayer, and Saṭīḥ's interpretation of these through the help of ʿAbd al-Masīḥ.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir related in his history work dealing with the life of al-Ḥārith b. Hānīʾ b. al-Mudlij b. Ibn al-Miqdād b. Zamal b. ʿAmr al-ʿUdhrī, from his father, from his grandfather, from his father, from Zamal b. ʿAmr al-ʿUdhrī, who said, "The Banū ʿUdhra had an idol called Ṣamām whom they venerated. And it was kept with Banū Hind b. Ḥirām b. Ḍabba b. ʿAbd b. Kabīr b. ʿUdhra, its guardian being a man called Ṭāriq. People used to make sacrifice near it. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came forth we heard a voice that said, 'O Banū Hind b. Ḥirām, the truth has come forth and Ṣamām has gone; Islam has done away with idol worship.' We were very alarmed and awed by this. Nothing more happened for several days, but then we heard a voice saying, 'O Ṭāriq; the truth-telling Prophet has been sent with spoken inspiration. A man has emerged in the land of Tihāma announcing the truth; those who support him will live secure, while those who desert him will regret it. This now is my farewell until Judgement Day.'

"'At that', Zamal said, 'the idol fell forward on its face. So I bought a riding camel and rode off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) along with a group of my tribesmen. I recited to him the following verses:

> 'To you, O Messenger of God, I directed (my mount), driving it hard over high rough ground and sandy lowlands
> To give strong help to the best of men, to tie a rope of yours to my own,
> And I testify that there is nothing besides God, and that I will worship Him so long as my shoes weigh down my feet.'

"'So I accepted Islam and pledged my allegiance to him. We told him what we had heard, and he responded, "That was demon-spirit talk."'

"He then said, 'O you Arabs, I am the Messenger of God to you and to all mankind. I call upon you to worship God alone. I tell you I am his Messenger and his servant and that you must make pilgrimage to the *kaʿba*, fast for one month out of twelve, that being Ramaḍān. Those of you who respond to me shall have paradise as your abode. Whoever opposes me will have hell-fire as his final destiny.'

"He went on, 'So we accepted Islam and he made a pact with us. He wrote a document for us as follows: "In the name of God, the most Merciful and most Beneficent; this is from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Zamal b. ʿAmr and to those in particular who accepted Islam with him. I am sending him to his people intentionally. Whoever accepts Islam is on the side of God and his Messenger. Whoever refuses can have a truce for two months. Witnessed by ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Anṣārī."'"

Ibn ʿAsākir at this point made the comment, "Very strange!"

Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawī stated in his history of the Prophet's wars that Muḥammad b. Saʿīd – meaning his uncle – told him that Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir said that he was told that Ibn ʿAbbās said that a demon-spirit called out to Abū Qubays, saying,

> "O people of Fihr! May God find your views repugnant; how petty minds and intelligence are
>
> When they disregard those slandering the religion of their fathers, those noble guardians!
>
> He has allied with the spirits, the spirits of Buṣrā against you, along with the men of the palm trees and the forest
>
> You are about to see the horsemen running (right and left) swiftly killing people in sheepskin garments.
>
> Is there any noble man among you, who has the spirit of a free man, a man of illustrious parents and relatives,
>
> A man to strike a blow that will be a warning and a rupture from anxiety and worry?"

Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "This poetry became a refrain for the people of Mecca, and they would recite it to one another. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'This is a devil who speaks to people through the idols; his name is Misʿar; and God will confound him.' Nothing else happened for three days and then a voice cried out on the mountain:

> 'We killed Misʿar in three days when he disgraced the spirits and advocated evil.
>
> I slashed at his head with a sharp sword drawn because he reviled our Prophet made pure.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'This is a genie whose name is Samij; when he believed in me, I renamed him ʿAbd Allāh; he told me he spent three days searching for him (Misʿar).' ʿAlī said, 'May God reward him well, O Messenger of God.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym stated in the *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*) that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā b. Abū Ḥarb al-Ṣaffār, quoting ʿAbbās b. al-Faraj al-Riyāshī, quoting Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Thābit, from his father,

from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bahrām, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me on a mission to Ḥaḍramawt[72] before his migration. On the way, during the night, I heard a voice cry out,

'O Abū ʿAmr, insomnia afflicted me, sleep fled and slumber was impossible
At thought of a group of men who came before and now are gone; and all mankind have their palaces disappear.
They passed away, moving to their deaths, destined (to their graves) not to a watering place.
They left, while I remained behind, alone, with no one to assist me,
Futile, unable to even deal with an issue that a child could handle (with ease).
After all, I am not remaining with a people whose tombs are like those of Thamūd
And ʿĀd and the centuries are all equal to death, all being mere stalks after harvest.'

"Another voice then called out, 'O Kharʿab, "soft twig", has wonder taken your senses? Wonderful, wonderful things are happening between Zahra and Yathrib.'

"'What's happened there, O Shāḥib?' He replied, 'The Prophet of peace has been sent with the best of words to all of humanity. And he has left the holy places for the date palms and forts.'

"He asked, 'What's it all about, this Prophet with a mission, the Revealed Scripture and this "chosen" *ummī*?' He replied, 'He is a descendant of Luʾayy b. Ghālib, son of Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna.' The second voice replied, 'O what a pity! I'm too old for this, my time is all gone. Al-Naḍr b. Kināna and I used to aim at the same target, drink cold milk together. Early one cold morning I accompanied him out from Dawḥa; he arose with the sun and set with it too, with him telling what he heard and verifying what he saw. If this man is of his descent then the sword is sheathed, fear has gone, sexual immorality is over, and usury is no more.'

"'Then tell me what will be?' He replied, 'Distress, misery, and hunger are over. Strength and bravery are over, except for what is to remain in the tribe of Khuzāʿa. Oppression, sufferings, along with high character are gone, except for what is to remain in the tribes of Khazraj and Aws. Conceit and arrogance are gone too, along with calumny and perfidy, except for what is to remain in Banū Bakr, meaning Ibn Hawāzin. Regrettable and sinful deeds are over, except for what is to remain in Khathʿam.'

"'Tell me what else will be?' He replied, 'If goodness is defeated and the free woman suppressed, then leave the land of migration. If the peace is disrupted and family ties are broken, then leave the holy land.' 'Tell me what will be?' He replied, 'Were it not for ears that hear, eyes that shine, I would tell you what

72. Part of south-western Arabia, on the Arabian Sea.

would fill you with dread.' Then he went on, 'Nowhere have I slept in peace, O Ibn Ghawt, without a morning arriving for us.'

"He went on: 'And then he screamed like a woman in labour. Dawn then broke and I went to look. And what I saw was a small iguana and a snake, both dead.

"It was only through this incident that I learned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had migrated to Medina."

Abū Nuʿaym then related this story from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī, from al-Naḍr b. Salama, from Ḥassān b. ʿUbāda b. Mūsā, from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bahrām, from Shahr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, as follows, "After we pledged our allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on *ʿAqaba* night, I left for Ḥadramawt on business. That having been concluded, I started back. Some distance along the way I fell asleep and awoke in a fright to hear a voice shouting, 'O Abū ʿAmr, insomnia has afflicted me, sleep has fled and my slumber is interrupted.'" And he recounted the whole incident as given above.

Abū Nuʿaym stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī, quoting al-Naḍr b. Salama, quoting Abū Ghazīyya Muḥammad b. Mūsā, from al-ʿAṭṭāf b. Khālid al-Waṣṣābī, from Khālid b. Saʿīd, from his father, who said that he heard Tamīm al-Dārī say, "I was in Syria when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission. I left on some business and on the way night fell. I said, 'I claim to be under the protection of the chief spirit of this valley for this night.' When I went to bed, I heard someone I could not see calling out, 'Seek God's protection. For no spirit can give anyone protection from God.' 'By God,' I exclaimed, 'what are you saying?' The voice replied, 'The Messenger of the *ummīs*, the Messenger of God, has come forth. We prayed behind him at al-Ḥajūn. We accepted Islam and became his followers. The tricks of the demon-spirits are over, and they have been pelted with shooting stars. Hurry to Muḥammad, the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds, and accept Islam.'"

Tamīm went on, "When morning came I went on to Ayyūb's monastery, where I asked to see a monk and told him what had happened. He said, 'They spoke the truth to you. He is leaving the holy place, and the place where he is migrating is holy. He is the best of prophets. Do not let anyone beat you to him.'"

Tamīm continued, "I took the trouble to travel hurriedly until I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and then accepted Islam."

Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl stated, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Hudhalī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Sāʿida al-Hudhalī, from his father, who said, "We were at our idol named Suwāʿ, having brought some sheep of ours to him. They consisted of 200 ewes that were afflicted with mange. We brought them close to him seeking his blessing. Then I heard a voice calling out from the belly of the idol, 'The tricks

of the demon-spirits are no more; we have been pelted with shooting stars – all for a Prophet whose name is Aḥmad!'

"'You have misled us, by God!' I exclaimed. I turned the face of my sheep away, urging them towards my people, and I then saw a man who told me of the appearance of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Abū Nuʿaym mentioned this account as such, without elaboration. He then stated that ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Sindī, quoting al-Naḍr b. Salama, quoting Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Makhzūmī, quoting Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān, from Ḥakīm b. ʿAṭāʾ al-Ẓafarī, who is of Banū Sulaym, descended from Rāshid b. ʿAbd Rabbihī, from his father, from his grandfather, from Rāshid b. ʿAbd Rabbihī, who said, "The idol known as Suwāʿ was at al-Miʿlāt, one of a group worshipped by the tribes of Hudhayl and Banū Ẓafar b. Sulaym." Banū Ẓafar dispatched Rāshid b. ʿAbd Rabbihī with a gift for Suwāʿ from Sulaym.

Rāshid went on, "At dawn I attended an idol before the idol Suwāʿ. As I did so, all of a sudden a voice rang out from its belly, 'How strange! How very strange that a prophet should come forth from the family of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who would ban fornication, usury and sacrificing to idols! And the skies are being guarded and we are being pelted by shooting stars! How strange! How very strange!' Then another idol screamed out from deep within itself, 'Al-Ḍimār has been abandoned, and he used to be worshipped! The Prophet Aḥmad has come forth. He says the prayers, orders the payment of alms, fasting, piety, and kindness to relatives.' Then another voice shouted from the belly of another idol:

> 'He who has inherited the prophethood and the true religion after Mary's son is of Quraysh, rightly guided
> A prophet come to inform of what is past, and what is today the truth, or tomorrow.'"

Rāshid went on: "Next dawn I attended Suwāʿ and there were two jackals licking all around it and eating what had been sacrificed to it. And they were directing their urine on to it."

At this Rāshid b. ʿAbd Rabbihī spoke the verse:

> "Is this a lord upon whose head two jackals urinate? Whoever has jackals urinate upon him is disgraced!"

"This occurred at the time of the emergence of the Prophet (ṢAAS), his migration to Medina and his acceptance by the people. And so Rāshid left and made his way to the Prophet (ṢAAS) in Medina, taking along a dog he had with him. Now at that time Rāshid's name was *Ẓālim*, tyrant, evil-doer, and that of his dog *Rāshid*, rightly guided. The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked him what his name was. He replied 'Ẓālim'. 'And what is your dog's name?' 'Rāshid,' he replied.

'Well,' said the Prophet (ṢAAS), 'Now your name is Rāshid and your dog's Ẓālim!' And the Prophet (ṢAAS) laughed.

"And so Rāshid pledged his allegiance to him and remained in Mecca with him. He then made a request to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to receive the land fees for Wahāṭ, and he described it to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him the land fees right for the heights above Wahāṭ, along with control over *sha'wa al-faras*, the 'horse bridle', monument and over the rituals there of throwing stones at it three times. He presented him with a waterskin filled with water and spat in it. He told him, 'Empty it out at the top of the tract, and don't deny people access to its overflow.' And so he did. He therefore channelled the water into an open ditch which still flows to this day. Around it he planted palm trees. It is said that all Wahāṭ uses it for their water supply and that the people there call it 'the water of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' The people of Wahāṭ also wash in it. Rāshid's stone-casting site was attended by many travelling parties, called the 'caravans of the stone'. One morning Rāshid went to Suwā' and demolished it."

Abū Nu'aym stated that Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to him, quoting 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Khuzā'ī al-Ahwāzī, quoting Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Dāwūd b. Dalhāth b. Ismā'īl b. Musri' b. Yāsir b. Suwayd, the Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from his father, from his father Dalhāth from his father Ismā'īl, that the father of the last-mentioned, 'Abd Allāh, related to him from his father Musri' b. Yāsir that his father Yāsir related to him, from 'Amr b. Murra al-Juhannī who used to tell the following, "Once, before Islam, I went on pilgrimage with a party from my tribe. At Mecca, during my sleep, I saw a blinding light emitting from the *ka'ba*, so strong that it lit up Mt. Yathrib and the mountains overlooking the town. I heard a voice in the light that said, 'The shadows have been dispelled, the light now shines bright, and the last of the prophets has been sent.'

"Then another light shone forth by which I could see the castles of al-Ḥīra and Chosroe's palace. I also heard a voice in the light that called out, 'Islam has appeared, the idols have been demolished and reconciliation has come.'

"I awoke with a start and said to my people, 'By God, in this Quraysh quarter something tremendous is going to happen!' And I told them what I had seen. When we got back home a man arrived who told us that someone named Aḥmad had received a mission. I went to that man, and told him what I had seen. He told me, 'O 'Amr b. Murra, I have been dispatched to all mankind to invite them into Islam, to command them not to shed blood, to bring about reconciliation, to worship God, to reject the idols, to make pilgrimage to the *ka'ba*, and to fast one month in twelve, Ramaḍān that is. For those who respond there will be paradise. Whoever disobeys will go to the fire. So you, 'Amr b. Murra, you believe and God will spare you from the fires of hell.'

"I therefore said, 'I bear witness that there is no God but God and that you are the Messenger of God. I believe in all you have brought us regarding what is lawful and what is disallowed, even though that will give offence to many people.' I then recited to him some verses I had composed when I had heard of him. We used to have an idol, and my father was its guardian. I went to it and demolished it and then joined up with the Prophet (ṢAAS). I recited,

'I bore witness that God is truth and that I will be the first to abandon the stone idols;
I then hurried to depart to you, travelling over ravines and flat lands towards you.
To attend the very best of men in spirit and in ancestry, the messenger of man's sovereign above the stars.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'Welcome indeed, O ʿAmr b. Murra.' I replied, 'O Messenger, may my father and mother be sacrifice for you! Send me back to my own people, so that God may give me to benefit them as he has given you to me.'

"So he did send me to them, saying, 'Speak only what is right; do not be harsh, nor arrogant, nor envious.'

"When I went to my people, I told them, 'O you, Banū Rifāʿa, and you too, Banū Juhayna, I am a messenger to you from the Messenger of God. I invite you to paradise and warn you of the fire. I command you not to shed blood, to enourage reconciliation, to worship God, to reject the idols, to make pilgrimage to the *kaʿba*, to fast during Ramaḍān, one month in twelve. Those who respond will go to paradise. Those who disobey will go to the fires. O people of Juhayna, God, all praise be to Him, has made you better than your forebears. He made you hate, in your state of ignorance, the obscene practices which others have found acceptable. They used to unite two sisters, men would marry their fathers' wives, and they would allow warfare during the sacred month. So respond to this Prophet (ṢAAS) sent to you from Banū Luʾayy b. Ghālib, and you will attain respect on earth and honour in the hereafter. Hurry! Hurry to do this, so that you will find favour with God.'

"They did all respond, except for one man. He arose and said, 'O ʿAmr b. Murra, may God embitter your life for you! Do you order us to reject our gods and break apart our community by abandoning the religion of our forefathers in favour of what this Qurayshite from Tihāma advocates? No; and you are neither welcome nor honoured here!' He then spoke the verses,

'Ibn Murra has come here and made a speech, but it's not a speech of someone wanting goodness.
I consider his words and deeds will be one day, however long the wait, mere winds.
Are we to deprecate our elders now gone? Whoever seeks for that will never achieve success.'

"To that ʿAmr b. Murra responded, 'Whoever is the liar, may God embitter his life, silence his tongue, and blind his sight!'

"'ʿAmr b. Murra went on: 'And by God, by the time he died his mouth had dropped, he had lost all taste for food, and he was blind and dumb.'

"'ʿAmr b. Murra and those others of his people who had accepted Islam then went to the Prophet (ṢAAS). He welcomed and honoured them and wrote for them a document, the text of which was as follows, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent, this document is from God through the tongue of the Messenger of God and is a trustworthy document, a spoken truth, (sent) with ʿAmr b. Murra al-Juhanī to Juhayna b. Zayd: "You shall have the low-lying flat and fertile lands and the sides and backs of the valleys, and all their vegetation and their pure water to drink. Provided that you forsake one fifth (of the harvest), and perform the five daily prayers. Your rich shall pay alms (to the poor): one ewe for each forty sheep, and one ewe for each five camels, or two ewes for any combination thereof. The rich shall not be eligible to receive charity. The Muslims present here witness this document (written by) Qays b. Shammās, may God bless them all."'"

That was when ʿAmr b. Murra spoke the following verses,

"Did you not see that God has made his religion apparent and made plain the proof of the Qurʾān to ʿĀmir,

A document from the Merciful one, a light for our community and our descendants in desert and town alike.

To the best of all walking on the earth, its very best when troubles loom thick.

We obeyed the Messenger of God when the enemy tribes were torn apart by sharp swords and valiant knights.

We are a tribe walled about by our glory, when during warfare the heads of great men are brought in.

We are the warriors, entertain the battle with strong arms and shining swords in the hands of our valiant raiders;

Around him you see the *anṣār*, his followers, protecting their prince with their spearpoints and the flats of their swords;

When warfare goes on at every great event, grinding with its mill the strongest of lions,

His complexion remains serene, his face gleaming like the light of the full moon amidst the stars."

Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā al-Umawī stated in his *Maghāzī* collection that ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh, quoting al-Mujālid b. Saʿīd, and al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Shiʿbī, quoting a sheikh of Juhayna, who said, "One of our men became extremely sick, so ill that we dug his grave and prepared to bury him. He passed out, then opened his eyes and came to again and asked, 'Have you dug my grave?' 'Yes,' we told him. He then asked, 'What did al-Fuṣal do?'

making reference to a cousin of his. We replied, 'Ṣāliḥ passed by a while ago and asked after you.' 'He's soon going to be put in my grave; a spirit came to me after I became unconscious and said, "Weep to Hubal; don't you see your grave is being made ready and that your mother is almost bereft of you? What do you think? Supposing we were to reverse it away from you and then filled the grave with stones and threw in it al-Fuṣal who passed by and said he would take your place, thinking he would not do so. Will you thank your Lord and pray and abandon the religion of those who worship idols and who go astray?" "Yes," I replied. The voice said, "Get up; you are made healthy."'"

He went on, "So the man was cured and al-Fuṣal died and was put in his grave."

Al-Juhaynī stated, "And I saw that man of the Juhayna tribe after that; he was praying, cursing the idols and striking them."

Al-Umawī said that ʿAbd Allāh related to him, saying that once, when ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, was in a gathering where they were discussing the spirits Khuraym b. Fātik al-Asadī said, "Should I tell you how I came to adopt Islam?" "Yes, do," he said.

"I was once searching for a young she-camel of mine, following a trail of hers that went up and down till finally I was at Abraq al-ʿAzzāf. There I tied my camel-mount down and spoke the words, 'I claim protection from the chief spirit of this place; I claim protection from the leader of this valley.' When I had done so, a voice called out the following verses,

'Woe to you! Seek protection with the Lord of majesty, glory, exaltation, and precedence
And then recite verses from (*sūrat*) *al-Anfāl*, saying that God is One, and do not worry.'

"I was dumbfounded, but once regaining my wits, I said,

'O voice what is it you say? Is it truth you have, or falsehood? Make plain, may God guide you, what is the way?'

"It spoke again:

'This is the Messenger of God, he who does good deeds, at Yathrib, who calls to salvation,
Who commands piety, prayer and restrains people from sins.'

"I said, 'I'll not rest till I come to him, and believe in him.' I then set my foot in the stirrup of my mount and spoke the verses,

'Guide me, guide me on the right course, may you never hunger or lack shelter so long as you live.
May you never cease being a lord of strength; don't keep the good you were granted from all the spirits as long as you live.'

"He replied,

'May God accompany you and lead your mount; may He enhance your wage and protect your soul;

Believe in Him, may my Lord grant you success, and give him a great victory as he will you.'

"'Who are you; may God forgive you. Tell me so I can inform him when I come to him.' He replied, 'I am Mālik b. Mālik and am his chief over the spirits of Naṣībīn. Your camel is being protected until I reunite it with your people, if God wills it.'"

The narrator went on, "So I travelled on till I reached Medina; it was a Friday and people were on their way to the mosque. There the Prophet (ṢAAS) was upon the *minbar*, the pulpit, looking wonderful as he addressed the congregation. I told myself I would make my camel kneel at the door of the mosque until he prayed. Then I would go in to him, accept Islam and tell him of it. When I had set my camel down, out to me came Abū Dhar who said, 'Welcome, indeed welcome! We heard of your having become a Muslim, so come on in and pray.'

"I did so, and later went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he told me of my accepting Islam. I commented, 'Praise be to God!' He said, 'By the way, your friend did keep faith with you, that being his nature. He did lead your camel back to your people.'"

Al-Ṭabarānī related this anecdote in his discussion of the life of Khuraym b. Fātik in his encyclopedia. There he stated that al-Ḥusayn b. Isḥāq al-Yasīrī related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Shāmī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūsā al-Iskandarī, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Saʿīd b. Abū Saʿīd al-Maqburī, from Abū Hurayra, who said that Khuraym b. Fātik said to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, "O Commander of the Faithful, may I tell you how I came to accept Islam?" "Certainly," he replied.

He then recounted it as above except for saying, "Then Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, 'the trusting', came out and said, 'Come inside. We have heard about your accepting Islam.' I replied, 'But I don't know how to cleanse myself properly.' So he taught me how and afterwards I went in to the mosque where I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looking really happy and saying, 'There is no single Muslim who has performed the ablutions, and done so properly, who then has prayed, learned it by heart and understood it, who will not enter paradise.'

"'Umar then told me, 'Bring us some proof of this (your conversion) or I will punish you severely.' So a sheikh of Quraysh, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, testified on my behalf and his testimony was accepted."

The same source then related this anecdote from Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba, from Muḥammad b. Taym, from Muḥammad b. Khalīfa, from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, from his father, who said, "ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said

to Khuraym b. Fātik, 'Tell me some *ḥadīth* I will enjoy.'" He then related the story exactly as in the first version.

Abū Nuʿaym stated that Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to him, quoting Abū ʿAbd al-Mālik Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Qurashī al-Dimashqī, quoting Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the son of Shuraḥbīl's daughter, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Ayyāsh, from Yaḥyā b. Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Daylamī, who said that a man came to Ibn ʿAbbās and said, "We have heard that you, in reference to Saṭīḥ, maintain that God created him. But why would He have created of mankind anyone like him?" He replied, "Yes, God did create Saṭīḥ al-Ghassānī out of flesh over strips of palm bark. He had no bones or sinews except for his skull and his two hands. He was folded over from his feet to his collarbone as a robe is folded; the only part of him that moved was his tongue. When he wanted to travel to Mecca, he was carried on a board and brought there. Four men of Quraysh went out to greet him, they being ʿAbd Shams and Hāshim, the sons of ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy, al-Aḥwaṣ b. Fihr, and ʿUqayl b. Abū Waqqāṣ. They pretended different identities and told him, 'We are men of Jumaḥ who have come to you. We heard of your arrival so thought we would come to you; our doing so is a right of yours and a duty of ours.' ʿUqayl presented him with an Indian platter and a straight Rudaynī lance which were placed by the door of the holy *kaʿba* to determine whether or not Saṭīḥ would see them.

"Saṭīḥ spoke: 'O ʿUqayl, give me your hand.' ʿUqayl did so and Saṭīḥ continued, 'O ʿUqayl, by the hidden world, by Him who forgives sins, by the pact that is fulfilled and by the *kaʿba* that is built, you have presented me with a gift, the Indian platter and the straight Rudaynī spear.' They replied, 'You are right, O Saṭīḥ!' He then said, 'By Him who brings joy, by the rainbow, by all other joys, by the orphan lying prostrate, by the palm trees, the fresh plants, and by the dates, the crow as it passed by presented itself and made known that your group is not of Jumaḥ, and that their ancestry is of great Quraysh.' They replied, 'You are right, O Saṭīḥ! We are of those who guard the holy *kaʿba*; we have come to visit you because of what we have learned of your knowledge. So tell us what will happen in this time of ours and what will come hereafter; perhaps you do have knowledge of that.'"

He replied, "Now you are telling the truth! Take the following from me and from what God has inspired me with. You, O Arabs, are in the age of senility; your mental perception is the same as that of the non-Arabs. You have neither knowledge nor understanding. But from your descendants there will come people of understanding who will seek out all kinds of knowledge. They will destroy the idols, reach the dam, kill foreigners, and seek after booty."

They then asked, "But who will those men be, Saṭīḥ?" He replied, "By the pillared house, by security, and by tranquillity, after you there will be your descendants; it is they who will destroy the idols, forbid the worship of Satan,

worship the All-Merciful alone, spread the best of all religions, honour the building (the *ka'ba*), and ask judgements of the young heroes."

"Whose progeny will they be?" they asked.

"By the most noble of all, by Him who communicates with the nobles, by Him who moves the winding dunes, by Him who multiplies by doubling, thousands will arise from the line of 'Abd Shams and 'Abd Manāf, and there will be disputation over this."

"O Saṭīḥ," they commented, "what misery there will be for them, from what you tell us you know. From what land will those men come?"

He replied, "By Him who will remain everlasting, by Him who will reach eternity, there will come forth from this land a young man who will guide to what is right, who will reject the idol Yaghūth and illusion, who will be innocent of worshipping what is repugnant; he will worship one Lord alone. And then God will cause him to die, with all praise. From the earth he will be missed; in heaven he will be witnessed. After him *al-ṣiddīq* ("the trusting", i.e. Abū Bakr) will come to rule; when he judges he speaks the truth and in restoring right he is neither foolish nor intemperate. Then he will be followed to power by *al-ḥanīf*, ("the true believer", i.e. the Caliph 'Umar), he who puts to the test and is lordly, a man who disavows violent language, who gives hospitality to guests, and who is wise and prudent in his judgements. Then there will follow him a man who will be demanding and invite others to the cause, and various groups and factions will assemble about him. Then they will kill him out of envy and rage; the old man will be seized and hacked to pieces and men will speak orations over him.[73] Then will follow *al-nāṣir*, "the protector", a man who will confuse right opinion with that of the unfriendly ones. Soldiers will rule over the earth. Then after him his son will reign, and take what he gathers yet gain little praise. He will consume his wealth and eat alone. Those after him of his progeny will expand that wealth. Following him will rule a number of kings; doubtless there will be much blood spilled over them. After them will come the beggars, who will soon be folded up like cloth. Then will come a strong and ruthless man, who destroys justice, subjugates Egypt and conquers the earth with brutality. Then will come a man short of stature, who will have a mark on his back, die violently and so good-bye! Then for a while a young man will rule who will leave the kingdom ruined. His brother will succeed him and continue the same way, concerning himself with wealth-gathering and speech-making. After him a fool will rule, a worldly, comfort-loving and spoiled man. His intimates and family will advise him, then rise up against him, depose him from rule and kill him. Then after him will rule *al-sābi'*, "the seventh", who will leave the kingdom a wasteland. His sons in his rule will be like those who are deformed, all of them. After that,

73. The assassinated Caliph 'Uthmān is clearly implied.

every destitute fellow will hunger for rule. He will be followed by the greedy one. A group of Qaḥṭān will favour Nizār when they meet at Damascus, in two groups between Bunyān and Lubnān. Yemen at that time will consist of two parties, those engaging in consultation, and those holding back. Nothing will be seen except failure and disintegration, prisoners in chains surrounded by swords and horses. Thereafter dwellings will be demolished, widows will be plundered, pregnant women will miscarry, and earthquakes will occur. Wā'il will seek the Caliphate and Nizār will be furious. Slaves and evil men will be favoured, while the best of men will be in disfavour. Prices will rise, in the month of Ṣafar, and people will kill each other. Then they will move into trenches which will have hair-cloth and trees to block the rivers, and he will defeat them early in the day. The best will appear, but neither sleep nor decision will avail them. (This will continue) until he enters one of the chief cities, where death and fate will overcome him. The archers will come and assemble on foot, to kill the mail-clad warriors and to capture the defenders. The evil-doers will perish; there he will be seized, at the headwaters. Then religion will die out, all things fall into disarray, the Scriptures are disbelieved, the bridges are demolished, and the only ones who escape are those on islands in the seas. Then the seeds will go bad, the bedouin will appear, there not being among them anyone to warn them against what is immoral and sinful, at a time of great difficulty, if people had decency, but alas! Wishful thinking will do no good."

They asked, "What then, Saṭīḥ?" He replied, "Then there will appear a man from the people of Yemen, a man like a strong, thick rope, and through him God will abolish dissension."

The above material is a strange relic. We have recorded it here for its peculiarity, and for the references to the dissensions and battles it includes.

The story of Shiqq and Saṭīḥ with Rabī'a b. Naṣr, king of Yemen, and how he announced the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has been given above. Similarly we already recounted the story of Saṭīḥ with his nephew 'Abd al-Masīḥ, when the king of the Banū Sāsān sent him when the palace was shaken, the fires were extinguished, and the high priest had his visions. All that occurred on the night of the birth of him who, by his *sharī'a*, superseded all other religions.

CHAPTER ON THE MANNER OF THE BEGINNING OF THE REVELATION TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST REVELATION TO HIM FROM THE GLORIOUS QUR'ĀN.

This occurred when he was 40 years of age.

Ibn Jarīr recounted, from Ibn 'Abbās and Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib, that his age at the time was 43.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from 'Uqayl, from Ibn Shihāb, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from 'Ā'isha, God be pleased with her, who said, "The first indication of revelation to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in the form of true visions in his sleep. Every vision he had came like the breaking of dawn.

"He then developed a liking for solitude. He would spend time alone in the cave Ḥirā', where he would seek religious purification through devotions. He would stay there many nights and then return to his family for more provisions to continue doing so; then he would come down to Khadīja and repeat the same.

"Eventually the truth came to him while he was there in that cave Ḥirā'.

"The angel came and told him, 'Read!' He replied, 'I don't read.' He then said, 'The angel then overpowered me and choked me until I could bear it no more, and then he released me. Again he said, 'Read!' Again I replied, 'I don't read.' Once more he overpowered me and choked me till I could bear it no more, then he released me and said, 'Read!' I replied, 'I don't read.' Again he overpowered me and choked me a third time until I could bear it no more. Then he released me and said, 'Read in the name of your Lord who created; He created man from a clot. Read! Your Lord is the most noble, He who taught by the pen. He taught man what he did not know' (*sūrat al-'Alaq*, XCVI, v.1–5).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned home with this, his heart palpitating. He went in to Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid, and said, 'Wrap me up! Wrap me up!' They did so until the terror left him.

"He then spoke to Khadīja, telling her what had happened, saying, 'I was afraid for myself.'

"Khadīja replied, 'Oh no! I swear by God He would never abuse you. You maintain family ties, you are hospitable to guests, you support the weak, provide for the poor and help out when tragedy strikes.'

"Khadīja then hurried off with him to Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, who was her cousin. He had earlier become a Christian, and used to write the Hebrew script, copying out from the Bible in Hebrew whatever God inspired him to write. He was an old man by then, and he was blind.

"Khadīja told him, 'O cousin! Listen to your nephew!' Waraqa then addressed him, 'O nephew, what did you see?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told him what he had seen. Waraqa commented, 'This was the angel Gabriel who used to come down to Moses. How I wish I were a young man again! I hope I am still alive when your people exile you!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) exclaimed, 'Are they to exile me?' 'Yes,' he replied, 'no one has ever received what you have without being treated as an enemy. If I am alive when your time comes, I will give you every help.'

"Not long thereafter Waraqa died, and the revelation waned for a period, so that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was so depressed – as we have been told –

that he would frequently feel like throwing himself down from the summits of high mountains. Whenever he reached the top of a mountain, to throw himself down, Gabriel would appear and say, 'O Muḥammad, you are in truth the Messenger of God!' This would relieve his distress and he would return down. And if the inspiration was again long in coming, he would feel and do the same."

Another account gives the same wording, except that it substitutes the word "when" for the word "whenever" above.

The account is given in full in this way in the *Bāb al-Taʿbīr* (*The Chapter on Expression*) in al-Bukhārī's work.

Ibn Shihāb stated that Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān informed him that Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī said, in relating matters concerning the revelation period, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "While I was walking, I heard a voice from the sky. I raised my sight and there was the angel who had come to me at Ḥirāʾ seated on a throne between the sky and the earth. I was terrified and returned home, saying, 'Wrap me up! Wrap me up!' And so God revealed the verse, 'O you who are all wrapped up! Arise and give warning! And glorify your Lord! Purify your garments! And shun idolatry!' (*sūrat al-Muddaththir*, LXXIV, v.1–5). And the revelation became stronger and continued uninterrupted."

Al-Bukhārī added that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf and Abū Ṣāliḥ gave this tradition a further link, from al-Layth. And Hilāl b. Raddād added a link, from al-Zuhrī. Yūnus and Maʿmar, moreover, gave in the prior text the word *bawādir*, "emotions", in place of the word *fuʾād*, "heart".

This tradition was related by Imām al-Bukhārī, God be pleased with him, in various parts of his work. We have discussed it at length in our first commentary on al-Bukhārī, in the book on *The Beginnings of the Revelation*, in terms of both its chain of authorities and its text. And to God is all praise and grace.

In his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, Muslim derives this tradition from an account of al-Layth, and through Yūnus and Maʿmar from al-Zuhrī, just as al-Bukhārī attributes it to their authority. In our own commentaries we referred to the additions made by Muslim and to his accounts of it. And to God be praise. Muslim's account of the above goes as far as the above words of Waraqa, "I will give you every help."

The statement, given above, of ʿĀʾisha, mother of the believers, that, "the first indication of revelation to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in the form of true visions. Every vision he had came like the breaking of dawn" corroborates what Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār related from ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr al-Laythī, to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "And Gabriel brought me while I was asleep a piece of silk brocade cloth with writing on it. He told me, 'Read!' I replied, 'What should I read?' Thereupon he choked me till I thought it meant death. But then he released me." He related the rest of ʿĀʾisha's statement in the same words.

This came as a prelude to the awakening that followed. The Prophet (ṢAAS) is reported to have expressly stated this in the book on the *maghāzī*, the military campaigns, by Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from al-Zuhrī; therein it states that he saw all that in a dream, and that the angel appeared to him thereafter when he was awake.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu'aym al-Aṣbahānī stated in his work *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) as follows, "Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba, quoting Janāb b. al-Ḥārith, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ajlaḥ, from Ibrāhīm, from 'Alqama b. Qays, who said, 'The first visitation to prophets is during their sleep, so that they will remain calm; revelation comes thereafter.' This comment comes directly from 'Alqama b. Qays himself. It is an appropriate one that is substantiated by both what preceded and what followed it."

A DISCUSSION OF THE AGE OF THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) AT THE TIME OF HIS RECEIVING THE MISSION AND THE DATE THEREOF.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Abū 'Adī related to him, from Dāwūd b. Abū Hind, from 'Āmir al-Sha'bī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission when he was 40 years old. The angel Isrāfīl was entrusted with his prophethood for three years, during which he would teach him words and facts; the Qur'ān was not revealed then. After those three years Gabriel was entrusted with his prophethood and the Qur'ān was revealed through his voice over a 20-year period, 10 in Mecca and 10 in Medina. The Prophet (ṢAAS) died when he was 63 years old.

This chain of authorities back to al-Sha'bī is a correct one. It establishes that Isrāfīl was entrusted with him for a 3-year period after his age of 40, and that Gabriel came thereafter.

Sheikh Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Shāma, however, has stated, "'Ā'isha's account does not refute this. It is possible that first of all he did receive visions, and that Isrāfīl was put in charge of him during the period he spent alone in Ḥirā', casting words at him at speed and not actually staying with him, and teaching him gradually. This was so until Gabriel came to him and taught him, after having throttled him three times. And so 'Ā'isha related what had happened to him with Gabriel and did not tell what had occurred with Isrāfīl in order to shorten the account. Or she did not know about the story of Isrāfīl."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Hishām recounted to him, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās who said, "The Qur'ān was revealed to the Prophet (ṢAAS) when he was 43 years of age. He stayed in Mecca for 10 years and lived in Medina for 10. He died at the age of 63."

Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd and Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib related the same. Then both Aḥmad b. Ghundar and Yazīd b. Hārūn related from Hishām, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn

ʿAbbās, that he said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission and the Qurʾān was revealed to him when he was 40 years old. He stayed in Mecca for 13 years, and in Medina for 10. He died at the age of 63."

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting ʿAmmār b. Abū ʿAmmār, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) lived in Mecca for 15 years, for 7 of which he was seeing the light and hearing the voice, and then for 8 years while he was receiving revelation. He lived in Medina for 10 years."

Abū Shāma stated, "The Messenger of God used to see strange visions before his mission."

On this same subject there is the material in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, on the authority of Jābir b. Samura, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "I know a rock in Mecca that would greet me before I received my mission. I still know it now." The statement ended thus.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only preferred the seclusion and being alone from his people because of the clear error in which he saw them engaged. This was in their worshipping and prostrating before idols. His liking for being alone increased as God's revelation to him came closer (ṢAAS).

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq recounted, from ʿAbd al-Mālik b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Sufyān b. al-ʿAlāʾ b. Ḥāritha – who was, he said a very attentive listener – from a certain scholar who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to go out to Ḥirāʾ for one month every year and pray alone, he being one of those Quraysh men who would, in the *jāhiliyya*, practise this prayer in seclusion. He would feed the poor who would come to him. Having left there he would not re-enter his own home without first circumambulating the *kaʿba*."

This was related similarly from Wahb b. Kaysān, to the effect that he heard ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr telling ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr a similar account.

This shows that it was a custom for religious-minded men of Quraysh to go and stay on Ḥirāʾ for prayer. This is why Abū Ṭālib spoke the following line in his famous ode:

> "By Thawr and by Him who established Thabīr in its place, and by those who ascend to Ḥirāʾ, and then descend."

This is the correct form for the recitation of this verse, as mentioned by al-Suhaylī, Abū Shāma and our Sheikh, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī, God be pleased with them all. Some reciters made a mistake in this verse, making it read, "and by those who go up to ascend in *ḥar*, 'heat', and descend." This version is weak and incorrect. Though God alone knows best.

The word Ḥirāʾ is sometimes treated as contracted or lengthened, declined or indeclinable. It is a mountain in the heights over Mecca, three miles distant from

it, to the left side of the path to Minā. It has a summit that overlooks the *ka'ba* to one side, and the cave is on that side. How splendid is the verse of Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjāj:

> "But no, by the Lord of the secure (pigeons) dwelling (at the *ka'ba*), and by the Lord of a corner Ḥirā', sloping downwards . . ."

The explanation (by al-Bukhārī) that *al-Taḥannuth* means devotion, is one interpreted from the context. Otherwise, the truth of *al-Taḥannuth*, as interpreted from its form, lies in what al-Suhaylī suggested, namely, "entering into *al-ḥinth*", i.e. sin or perjury. However, a few words in the language were heard to mean "the departure from" rather than "entering into". These words have a form like the verb *taḥannatha*, i.e. "he left the state of *ḥinth*". Examples would be *taḥawwaba*, i.e. "he abstained from crime", and *taḥarraja*, i.e. "he kept away from sin", and *ta'aththama*, i.e. "he abstained from iniquity". Similarly there is *tahajjada*, a word meaning to give up *al-hujūd*, sleep to attend prayer. Also there are *tanajjasa*, "he left an impure state", i.e. he cleaned himself, and *taqadhdhara*, "he avoided foul actions". Abū Shāma cited this example.

Ibn al-A'rābī was asked about his interpreting *yataḥannathu* as meaning "he performs his devotions", and he replied, "Well, I don't actually know that, but there is the example of *yataḥannafu*, derived from the word *al-ḥanifiyya*, signifying the religion of Abraham, peace be upon him."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The Arabs say *al-taḥannuth* and *al-taḥannuf* (as having the same meaning), where the letter *f* has replaced the letter *th*. This is similar to the change from *jaddafa* to *jadhdhafa*, both meaning "he rowed a boat". As Ru'ba's verse goes,

> ". . . if my stones were with *al-ajdhāf* . . .", by which he means *al-ajdāth* (the graves).

Abū 'Ubayda related to me that the bedouin say *fumma* for *thumma*, meaning "then".

I would add that some commentators say *wa fūmuhā* when they mean *wa thūmuhā*, when referring to *thūm*, i.e. "garlic".

The scholars differ over the devotion to prayer of the prophet (ṢAAS) before his mission, whether he was following some religion, and what that was.

Some say that it was the religion of Noah.

Others suggest that of Abraham, it being the most similar as well as the most powerful.

Others say that of Moses, yet others that of Jesus.

Others say that all that is established is that he did have a religion, and that he followed and observed it.

For the interpretation of these statements and the circumstances in which they were made, one should look elsewhere in works on the origins of Islamic jurisprudence. But God knows best.

The words "eventually the truth came suddenly to him while he was in the cave Ḥirāʾ" mean that it came to him abruptly and unexpectedly. As God stated, "And you had no hope that the Book would be delivered to you, but it is a mercy from your Lord" (*sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*, XXVIII, v.86).

The first portion of this holy chapter, namely "Read in the name of your Lord who created; He created man from a clot. Read! Your Lord is the most noble, He who taught by the pen. He taught man what he did not know" (*sūrat al-ʿAlaq*, XCVI, v.1–5) was the first part of the Qurʾān revealed, as we established in the commentary and in what will follow; it came on a Monday.

It has been similarly affirmed in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, on the authority of Abū Qatāda, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about fasting on Mondays. He replied, "That is a day on which I was born, and a day on which I received revelation."

Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "Your prophet Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was born on a Monday, and he was made a prophet on a Monday."

ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr, Abū Jaʿfar al-Baqīr, and several other scholars similarly stated that he received revelation on a Monday; this is a matter undisputed among them.

It is said, moreover, that that occurred during the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal; it has also been previously stated from Ibn ʿAbbās and Jābir that he was born on the 12th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, received his mission on the same date, and also on that day he was raised to heaven.

It is also widely believed that he received his mission in Ramaḍān, as has been stated by ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and others.

Ibn Isḥāq stated this, using as evidence God's statement "the month of Ramaḍān, during which the Qurʾān was revealed as a guidance to mankind" (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.185). And it is said that this was on the 10th.

Al-Wāqidī attributed to Jaʿfar al-Bāqir, to whom his chain of authorities extended, the words, "The beginning of the revelation to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) occurred on Monday, the 17th of Ramaḍān; others, however, say it was the 24th."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Saʿīd, a freed-man of the Banū Hāshim, related to him, quoting ʿUmrān Abū al-ʿAwwām, from Qatāda, from Abū al-Malīḥ, from Wāthila b. al-Asqaʿ, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "The tablets of Abraham were revealed on the first night of Ramaḍān, the Torah on the 6th of Ramaḍān, and the Bible on the 13th of Ramaḍān, while the Qurʾān was revealed on the 14th of Ramaḍān."

Ibn Mardawayh related much the same in a tradition back to the Prophet

(ṢAAS) that is based on the authority of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh.

Therefore, a majority of the Companions and followers of the Prophet (ṢAAS) have concluded that the *laylat al-qadar*, the "night of destiny", was the 24th.

Regarding Gabriel's order "Read!", the reply was, "I don't read." The truth is that this statement, "I don't read", is a negation, that is, it implies, "I am not a man who knows how to read well." Among those who prefer this interpretation are al-Nawawī and, before him, Sheikh Abū Shāma.

Those who interpret this as interrogatory are incorrect, because the prefixed *bā'*, as in *mā anā biqārī*, i.e. "I don't read", is not added if the intent is to affirm.

The first interpretation is substantiated by what Abū Nuʿaym related from a *ḥadīth* that comes down through al-Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān from his father who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, fearful and shaking, "I have never read a document; I don't do that well. I neither read nor write." And so Gabriel seized him and choked him violently. He then released him and told him, "Read!" Muḥammad (ṢAAS) then replied, "I don't see anything to read; and I don't read, or write."

It is also read in the form *fa ghaṭṭanī* or *wa ghaṭṭanī* in the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, or *qad ghaṭṭanī*. These all mean "he choked me". The phrase *ḥattā balagha minnī al-juhd*, "till I could bear it no more", is read either with a *ḍamma* or with a *fatḥa* on the *j* (i.e. *al-juhd* or *al-jahd*); also with a *fatḥa* or a *ḍamma* on the third letter, *d*, for either the nominative or the accusative case (i.e. *al-juhdu* or *al-juhda*). He, Gabriel, did this to him three times.

Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī stated, "Gabriel only did that to test his patience and to discipline him so that he would be agreeable to bear the burdens of prophethood placed upon him. Because of these burdens he would be gripped by a feverish condition and have a high temperature, that is, he would breathe hard and sweat profusely."

Others say that Gabriel acted in this way for various reasons. He wanted to awaken him to the gravity of what was being placed upon him by treating him in such a distressing fashion. As God Almighty stated, "We are indeed placing upon you a heavy message" (*sūrat al-Muzzammil*, LXXIII, v.5). This is why, when revelation came to him, his face would turn red and he would breathe heavily and fast, like a young camel, while his forehead would stream with perspiration on an extremely cold day.

Regarding the statement quoted above, "The Messenger (ṢAAS) returned home to Khadīja with this, his heart palpitating", there is a variant reading of *bawādir* for the word *fu'ād*, "heart", that is. Abū ʿUbayda explains this word as referring to the flesh between the shoulder and the neck. Others interpret the word as referring to veins that tremble because of fear.

Some readings substitute the word *baādiluhu*, singular *bādila* or *bādil*, for

that which palpitates. This would refer to the area between the neck and the collarbone. Others interpret it as the base of the breast, or as the flesh of the breast. There are also other interpretations of the word.

Regarding the phrase, "Wrap me up! Wrap me up!", when his terror had calmed he asked Khadīja, "What is wrong with me? What was it appeared to me?" and then related what had happened. He then said, "I was afraid for myself." This was because he had witnessed something he had never experienced or imagined before.

That was why Khadīja said to him, "Be of good cheer! Oh no! I swear by God, He would never abuse you." The word for "abuse" here is from *al-khizy* (disgrace); others say the word is from *al-ḥuzn*, meaning sadness, that is, "He would never sadden you."

This statement relates to her knowledge of the fine behaviour characteristics God had instilled in him, and that those endowed with the qualities of goodness would not be abused in this world or the hereafter.

She then made reference to those exemplary traits that made his fine character. She said, "You maintain family ties, you are truthful." The Prophet (ṢAAS) was famous for that among those both who agreed and disagreed with him.

The words *wa taḥmilu al-kalla*, i.e, "you carry the burden", that is, you do so for others imply "you provide for those in need what will alleviate their burden of supporting their family".

The phrase *wa taksibu al-maʿdūma*, translated here as "you provide for the poor", means that you hurry to do good by giving to the poor before others do so. The poor are called by the term *al-maʿdūm* because they are lacking in their lives, their existence or "non-existence" (a meaning also of this word) being the same. As a certain poet said,

> "He who is relieved by death did not die; there are those who are dead though they are still living."

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Tihāmī said, as was reported from him by *al-qāḍī*, the judge, ʿIyāḍ, in the exegesis of Muslim,

"The poor can be considered dead, their clothing a threadbare winding-sheet, their shelter the grave."

Al-Khaṭṭābī stated, "The correct text is *tuksib al-muʿdim*, meaning 'you give generously to them' or that you provide earnings for the poor by giving them money by which they can live."

Our teacher, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī, preferred to interpret "al-maʿdūm" here as referring to the money being given, that is he gave money to those without it.

Some interpret this phrase to mean, "you earn by doing business with goods that are *maʿdūm*", meaning unavailable, or valuable and scarce. But this is far-fetched and contentious and contrived without basis. Such interpretations are

rarely found laudable and 'Iyāḍ and al-Nawawī and others find these interpretations weak. But God knows best!

The words *wa taqrī al-ḍayf* translated above as "you are hospitable to guests", mean that you honour them by offering them food and good accommodation.

The phrase *tu'īnu 'alā nawā'ib al-ḥaqq* (the final word here being also given as *al-khayr*) translated above as "and help them out when tragedy strikes", means that if someone is struck by misfortune, you assist them; that is, you stand by them till they find some means of livelihood.

Regarding the words, "Khadīja then hurried off with him to Waraqa b. Nawfal . . . he was an old man by then, and blind."

We gave some information concerning Waraqa in material above relating to Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, God have mercy on him. We told how he had become a Christian before the coming of Islam and how he had left and travelled to Syria accompanied by Zayd b. 'Amr, 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith and 'Ubayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh. All of these became Christians because they found Christianity to be at that time the religion closest to the truth.

Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, however, considered that there were certain innovations, changes, corruptions and interpretations that had occurred in it that prevented him from embracing it. The rabbis and monks told him, moreover, about a prophet whose time was near.

He therefore returned seeking information about this, while continuing to believe in one God, as he had before. But death cut him down before the mission of Muḥammad (ṢAAS).

Waraqa b. Nufayl did adopt Christianity, and used to try to prognosticate it in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as we have said above, from the way in which Khadīja would describe and characterize him. She told Waraqa of the fine, pure qualities he had, and of the signs and indications there were upon him.

Therefore when there occurred as above, she took the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "O Cousin, listen to what happened to your nephew." And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) related to him what he had seen, Waraqa replied, "By the All-Glorious God, this was the angel Gabriel who came down to Moses!"

He did not mention Jesus, though he came later, after Moses, because the system of religion of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was to be a completion and fulfilment of that sent to Moses, upon both of whom be peace. The valid opinion of the scholars, in what they say on this point, is that the *sharī'a* complemented, and also abrogated, certain things in the system of Moses. As God said, "And so that I may make permissible to you some of what was forbidden to you" (*sūrat Āl-'Imrān*, III, v.49).

This comment made by Waraqa is similar to that made by the spirits, namely, "O our people, we have heard a book revealed after Moses verifying what was

before it, guiding to the truth and to the straight path" (*sūrat al-Aḥqāf*, XLVI, v.30).

Waraqa then commented, "How I wish I were a young man again!" This implies, "How I wish I were a lad endowed with faith, useful knowledge, and good work to do."

The phrase: "I hope I am still alive when your people exile you", implies "so that I can leave with you and help you".

To this the Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, "Are they to exile me?" According to al-Suhaylī he said this because to be parted from one's homeland is very painful. To this Waraqa replied, "Yes, no one has ever received what you have received without being treated as an enemy. If I am alive when your time comes, I will give you every help." That is, "I will strive hard to help you always."

The words, "Not long thereafter Waraqa died" mean that his death came shortly after this event; may God have mercy on him and bless him. For what is told of him here constitutes credence in what had occurred, faith in the revelation that had come, and good intent for the future.

The Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan related to him, from Ibn Lahīʿa, quoting Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, that Khadīja asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about Waraqa b. Nawfal. He replied, "I saw him; and on him I saw white clothing. And if he were among those of hell, he would not have on white clothing."

This chain of authorities is good, but al-Zuhrī and Hishām related it from ʿUrwa in an incomplete line. So God alone knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaʿlā recounted, from Shurayḥ b. Yūnus, from Ismāʿīl, from Mujāhid, from al-Shaʿbī, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about Waraqa b. Nawfal and he replied, "I saw him; and I saw on him white clothing. I observed him in the heart of paradise and he was wearing a silken robe."

He was asked about Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, and he replied, "He will be resurrected on Judgement Day as one nation by himself." He was asked about Abū Ṭālib and he replied, "I drew him forth from a deep pool in hell to a shallow shore of it."

He was asked about Khadīja because she died before the rules and ordinances prescribed in the Qurʾān. He said, "I saw her beside a river in paradise in a house made of reeds where there was no noise or hardship."

The chain of authorities for this is good, and there are testimonies corroborating some of it in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that ʿUbayd b. Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Do not revile Waraqa; I have seen a garden or two for him."

Ibn 'Asākir related this similarly from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Sa'īd al-Ashajjī, from Abū Mu'āwiyyā', from Hishām, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, and this chain of authorities is excellent. And it is also told in a similar way through a chain that is incomplete.

The two *ḥufāz* al-Bayhaqī and Abū Nu'aym related in both their works entitled *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) from a *ḥadīth* of Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Yūnus b. 'Amr, from his father, from 'Amr b. Sharaḥbīl, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Khadīja, "When I was left to myself, I heard a cry and, by God, I feared that something terrible was going to happen."

She replied, "God forbid! He would never do anything to you! By God, you behave with loyalty, you maintain the ties of kinship, and speak truthfully."

And when Abū Bakr came in, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was no longer there so she recounted it all to him, saying, "Good old friend, go with Muḥammad to Waraqa."

When the Messenger of God came in, Abū Bakr took his hand and said, "Let's go at once to Waraqa." He asked, "Who told you?" "Khadīja." And so they went at once to Waraqa and related it to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "When I am all alone I hear a voice behind me saying, 'Muḥammad! O Muḥammad!' So I rush off outside." Waraqa told him, "Don't do that. When it comes, stay right there to hear what it says to you. Then come and tell me." And when he was alone, the voice did call out again, saying, "Muḥammad! O Muḥammad! Say, 'In the name of God the most Merciful, the most Beneficent; praise be to God, Lord of the worlds . . .' And it continued right on (to the end of the *sūrat al-Fātiḥa*; I) to the words, *wa lā al-ḍālīna*, 'nor those who go astray'. It then said, "Say: 'There is no God but God!'"

So he went to Waraqa and told him that. Waraqa replied, "Rejoice, then rejoice again! I bear witness that you are he of whom the son of Mary spoke. What you have is like what came to the angel Gabriel for Moses. You are a Prophet from God. You will be ordered into the struggle some time hereafter. And if I live that long, I will fight along with you!"

When he died the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I saw the priest in heaven wearing silken garments, because he believed in me and believed what I said." He was referring to Waraqa.

This text is from al-Bayhaqī, and its chain of authorities is not fully complete. It is also strange that according to this account it was the *surat al-Fātiḥa* (Qur'ān, I) that was revealed first.

We have given above some of the poetry of Waraqa that shows his concealed faith in him, his confidence in it and his dedication to it. This was when Khadīja told him what had happened when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been with the youth Maysara, and how the cloud had been sheltering him in the

extreme heat. Waraqa spoke some verses on that occasion, as we have already given above. These were:

"I persisted, being determined to recall both a matter that often inspired my tears
And a description from Khadīja, following (another) account; my waiting has been long, O Khadīja.
In the heart of Mecca, with my hoping because of your words, that I would see some solution.
From what you related as the words of a priest who was a monk, words I would hate to be wrong,
That Muḥammad will one day prevail and defeat whomever opposes him
Making a light appear in the land by which he will bring change to all creation.
Those who oppose him will meet defeat, while those who aid him will achieve success.
Would that I be there to witness, for I'll be the first of them in participating.
Sharing in that which Quraysh will hate, however much they bluster in their Mecca.
I aspire, through him whom they all hate, to reach the Enthroned One, even if they descend, aside.
Is it folly to not disbelieve in Him who chooses, He who raised the stars?
If they and I survive, things will happen at which the disbelievers will be sorely discomfited."

He also spoke the following verses in another ode:

"By news of veracity you foretold of Muḥammad, telling them about him, an adviser being absent,
Informing that the son of ʿAbd Allāh, Aḥmad, is sent to all men on earth.
My thought of him is that he will be sent to speak the truth, just as the two slaves Hūd and Ṣāliḥ were sent
And Moses and Abraham, so that a brightness will be seen and a clear emanation of the truth.
And there will follow him the two tribes of Luʾayy b. Ghālib, both the young men and the lordly greybeards.
And if I survive until his age arrives for man, then I will greet him in joy and love.
If not, then I will certainly, O Khadīja please know this, be travelling somewhere above the broad earth."

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq, that Waraqa also spoke the following:

"If it be true, O Khadija, then know that your account to us means that Aḥmad is sent.
And Gabriel will bring to him, Michael being with them both, from God a revelation that relieves the heart sent down.
Through him there will succeed those who have success through repentance, and through him will suffer those in distress, those deceived and led astray.

Two groups of them there will be: one will go to God's gardens, and the other will be kept in pain within the enclosures of hell.

If they call out in woe therein, iron staffs will be inserted in their heads in succession, and be put in flames.

And so, glory be to Him at whose order the winds blow, and Who in all time does as He wishes,

He whose throne is above all the heavens, and He whose decrees made for those He has created may not be changed."

And Waraqa also said,

"O for men and the changes of time and fate, though in whatever God decrees there is no change

Until Khadīja calls me to tell her of a matter I see will come to people unawares.

She told me of something of which I had in the past, long, long ago already heard,

That Aḥmad would be visited by Gabriel and told, "You are sent forth to humankind."

And I replied,

"Perhaps what you wish for, God will fulfil for you; so hope for good and be patient!

Send him to us that we may question him about what it is he sees asleep, and when awake."

So when he came to us, he gave a wondrous speech, so as to make the skin creep, and the hair stand tall.

(He said) "I saw God's trusted servant facing me, in a figure made complete from the most magnificent of forms.

Then he continued on, while fear made me panic for what would save me from the anguish I was in."

I said, "I think, and I don't know if what I think will come true, that he will be sent forth to recite chapters to be revealed,

"And it will pain you if you call openly to them to engage in the struggle with neither inducement nor threat."

In his *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*) the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave the text of these verses thus: I have doubts over whether they truly stem from Waraqa. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that ʿAbd al-Mālik b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Sufyān b. al-ʿAlāʾ b. Jāriyya al-Thaqafī related to him – and he had a fine ear and memory – on the authority of a scholar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), after God wished to honour him by the beginning of the prophethood, would walk far off to do his business, out of sight of dwellings. As he went off into the pathways of Mecca and deep into its valleys, every rock and tree he passed would greet him, saying, "Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God!" Hearing this, he would turn all around yet see nothing but the trees and rocks. This situation prevailed, with

him seeing and hearing as long as God wished, until ultimately Gabriel brought God's honour upon him during Ramaḍān in Ḥirāʾ.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Wahb b. Kaysān, the freed-man of the Zubayr tribe, related to him, that he heard ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr say to ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr b. Qatāda al-Laythī, "Tell me, ʿUbayd, how was the beginning of the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when Gabriel first came to him?" ʿUbayd replied, in my presence, talking to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and the others there with him, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to take up residence in Ḥirāʾ in seclusion for one month each year. This practice, known as *al-taḥannuth*, i.e. 'pious devotion', was one performed by Quraysh before the coming of Islam.

"While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was dwelling there for that month of each year, he would feed all the poor who came to him. When the period of that month of devotion was concluded, the first thing he would do was go to the *kaʿba*, circumambulating around it seven times or so before proceeding to his own home.

"This was so until that month came of the year when God honoured him with his mission. That month, it being Ramaḍān, he went off as usual for his devotions at Ḥirāʾ, his family accompanying him. Then came the night when God did honour him with his mission, thereby having mercy on all men. Gabriel came to him then with the command of God Almighty.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'He came to me while I was asleep, carrying a brocade cloth with writing upon it. He told me, "Read!" "Read what?" I asked. He then choked me so hard I thought I would die, but he released me and said, "Read!" "Read what?" I asked, so he choked me so hard I thought I would die. He then released me and said, "Read!" I asked, "What should I read?" I only said this to spare myself his doing the same to me again.

"'Then he said, "Read; in the name of your Lord who created. He created man from a clot. Read! Your Lord is the most noble, He who taught by the pen. He taught man what he did not know."

"'So I recited this, and then he had finished with me and left me. I awoke from my sleep, and it was as though a document had been inscribed into my heart.'

"He went on: 'I then went off into the mountains where I heard a voice from the sky saying, "O Muḥammad, you are the Messenger of God, and I am Gabriel!"

"'I raised my head up to the sky to look, and there was Gabriel in the image of a man, with his feet placed evenly across the horizons of the sky. He was saying, "O Muḥammad, you are the Messenger of God, and I am Gabriel."

"'I stood there looking up at him, neither advancing nor retreating, and began turning my head in all directions, but wherever I looked I still saw him.

"'I remained standing there thus, neither advancing nor retreating, until Khadīja sent her messengers to look for me. And they went all the way to Mecca and returned again to her while I still stood there where I was. Then he (Gabriel) left me.

"'I now returned to my family and sat down close beside Khadīja. She asked me, "Where were you, O father of al-Qāsim? I swear, I sent my messengers all the way to Mecca and back looking for you."

"'I then told her what I had seen, and she said, "Rejoice and be brave; by Him in whose hands Khadīja is, I hope you will be the prophet of this nation."'

"She then arose, dressed, and went off to Waraqa b. Nawfal to tell him what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had reported to her. Waraqa exclaimed, 'Holy of Holies! By Him in whose hands Waraqa is, if you have told me the truth, Khadīja, the Archangel Gabriel has come to him just as he did to Moses. He is to be the prophet of this nation! Tell him to be brave!'

"Khadīja returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him what Waraqa had said.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed his period of secluded devotion, he did as always, going first to the *kaʿba* and circumambulating it. There he met Waraqa b. Nawfal who was also performing the circumambulation, and Waraqa asked him, 'O nephew, tell me what you saw and heard.'

"He did tell him, and Waraqa commented, 'By Him who bears my soul in His hand, you certainly will be the Prophet of this nation. You have been visited by the Archangel who came to Moses. You will certainly be called a liar, reviled, sent into exile and fought. If I live till that time, I will give God my help, and He will know it.' Waraqa then brought his head down over him, and kissed him on the top of his head. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thereupon went off home."

This is the account given by ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr, just as we have told it. It serves as a prelude to the awakening that followed it, and introduces the statement of Khadīja, God bless her, who said, "Whenever he saw visions they came to him as the breaking of dawn."

It is probable that this dream came after what he had seen while awake on the morning following that same night. It is also possible it came some time after that. God knows best.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, as follows, "From what we have been told, the first thing he saw – meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) – were visions God revealed to him while he was asleep. These greatly disturbed him and he told his wife Khadīja of them. God protected her from scepticism about them, opening her heart to belief. And so she said, 'Rejoice! For God has never done anything but good.'

"Thereafter he went off, but returned later to tell her how he had seen his stomach split open, and it had been washed and cleaned and all restored as before. To this she said, 'By God, I swear that this is good; so rejoice!'

"Then Gabriel appeared before him while he was on the heights above Mecca, sitting him down on a wonderful seat of honour. The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to say, 'He sat me down on a rug of *durnūk*, velvet, that was decorated with pearls and precious stones.' Gabriel then announced to him the mission from God the Almighty and Glorious, and put the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at ease. Gabriel then said to him, 'Read!' He replied, 'How shall I read?' Gabriel answered, 'Read: in the name of your Lord who created. He created man from a clot. Read! your Lord is the most noble, He who taught by the pen. He taught man what he did not know.'"

He went on, "And people claim that 'O you who are all wrapped up!' is the first *sūrat* revealed to him. But God knows best."

He went on, "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepted the mission from his Lord, and obeyed the commandment Gabriel had brought him from God.

"And when he was returning back home, every tree and rock he passed greeted him. And so he went back to his family in good spirits, convinced that he had seen something stupendous. When he went in to see Khadīja, he said, 'You remember what I told you I saw in a vision? Well, Gabriel has now appeared plainly before me. My Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, sent him to me.' He then told her what Gabriel had told him to do and what he had heard him say. She responded, 'Rejoice! For God will never bring you anything but good. And so accept the order that has come to you from God, for it is the truth. And rejoice, for you are in truth the Messenger of God.'

"She then left her home and set off to visit a youth who belonged to ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa b. ʿAbd Shams, a Christian originally from Nineveh, who was called ʿAddās. She said to him, 'I adjure you by God to tell me, do you have any knowledge about Gabriel?' He replied, 'Holy! Holy! How is it that mention is made of Gabriel in this land, all of whose people are idol worshippers?' She replied, 'Tell me what you know of him!' 'Gabriel', he replied, 'is God's trusty servant, God's intercessor between Himself and the prophets. He it was who accompanied Moses and Jesus, upon both of whom be peace.'

"Khadīja then came back from visiting him and went to see Waraqa b. Nawfal. She told him of what had happened to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and what Gabriel had commanded to him. Waraqa said to her, 'O fond daughter of my brother, I just don't know. Perhaps your companion is the prophet who is awaited by the People of the Book (i.e. Scriptures), about whom they find it written in their Torah and Bible. But I swear by God, that if this is he and he openly proclaims his mission while I am still live, I will express my dedication to

God by obedience to His Messenger and by giving him every assistance in maintaining fortitude and in achieving victory.'

"Thereafter Waraqa, God have mercy on him, died."

Al-Zuhrī stated, "Khadīja was the first person to believe in God and to give credence to His Messenger (ṢAAS)."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, after having given the account we have reported above, "The reference here to his stomach being split open probably refers to his relating what was done to him when he was a boy, that is, its being opened while he was with Ḥalīma. It is also possible that it was split open a second time, and then again a third, when he was transported up to heaven. But God knows best."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir related in his biography of Waraqa, with a chain of authority back to Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī, as follows, "We have heard that God Almighty sent Muḥammad as a Prophet at the start of the 50th year after the rebuilding of the *ka'ba*.

"The first aspect of God's making him a Prophet and honouring him, was a vision he saw. He related that to his wife Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid, and she told him, 'Rejoice! For, I swear by God, He will never do you anything but good.'

"One day when he was in the cave Ḥirā', where he would seclude himself from his people, Gabriel came down to him. As he approached, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was mightily afraid, so Gabriel placed one hand on his chest and the other on his back between his shoulders and said, 'O God, unburden him, and give him relief! Cleanse his heart! O Muḥammad, rejoice! For you are the Prophet of this nation. Read!' The Prophet of God (ṢAAS) then replied, trembling with fear, 'I have never read any document; I don't read well. I neither write nor read.'

"At this Gabriel took hold of him and choked him hard, then released him and said, 'Read!' And the same happened as before. Then Gabriel seated him upon a soft rug of the *durnūk* type of such richness and splendour as to remind him of pearls and precious stones. Gabriel then told him, 'Read: in the name of your Lord who created . . .' and so on to the end of the verses. He then said to him, 'O Muḥammad, do not be afraid. You are the Messenger of God!'

"Then he left. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was overcome by anxiety and he asked himself, 'What am I to do? And what can I say to my people?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose afraid, but Gabriel appeared before him in all his splendour. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw a sight that filled him with wonder, and Gabriel told him, 'O Muḥammad, be you not afraid! Gabriel is God's messenger. Gabriel is God's messenger to His prophets and His messengers. Be secure in God's nobility. You are the Messenger of God.'

"As the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went home every tree and rock bowed down before him, saying, 'Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God!' And so his soul was calmed, and he was sure of God's having honoured him. When he reached his wife Khadīja, she saw from his face that something had happened, and that scared her. She arose to him and, when close, began wiping his face and saying, 'You've probably been seeing and hearing things like those before today.'

"He replied, 'O Khadīja, you know what I've been seeing in my sleep and the voice I've been hearing while awake and that so disturbed me? It was Gabriel! He has appeared plainly before me, spoken to me and made me read some words that gave me fear. He then came back to me and told me that I am the prophet of this nation. So I came back home and on my way trees and rocks turned to me and said, "Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God!"'

"Khadīja said, 'Rejoice! For, by God, I well know that God will not do you anything but good. I bear witness that you are the prophet of this nation whom the Jews await. My servant Nāsiḥ and the monk Baḥīrā both told me this and advised me more than 20 years ago to marry you.' And she stayed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until he had eaten, drunk, and laughed.

"She then went off to see the monk, who lived close by to Mecca. When she drew near and he recognized her, he said, 'What is wrong, O mistress of all the women of Quraysh?' She replied, 'I have come to you for you to tell me about Gabriel.'

"He replied, 'Glory be to God, our most holy Lord! How is it that Gabriel is mentioned here, in this land whose people worship idols? Gabriel is the trusted servant of God, and his envoy to His prophets and to His messengers. It is he who was the companion of Moses and Jesus.'

"And so she knew how much God was honouring Muḥammad.

"Then she went to a slave of ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa called ʿAddās, and questioned him. He told her the same as the monk had, and more besides. He said, 'Gabriel was with Moses when God drowned Pharaoh and his men. He was also there when God spoke to Moses on Mt. al-Ṭūr. And he it was who accompanied Jesus, son of Mary, and he through whom God aided Jesus.'

"She then left ʿAddās and went to Waraqa b. Nawfal whom she asked about Gabriel. He told her the same. He then asked her what was the matter, and she made him swear not to divulge what she would tell him. He so swore, and she told him, 'The son of ʿAbd Allāh related to me – and he is truthful and never, I swear it, either told a lie or was accused of lying – that Gabriel came down to him in Ḥirāʾ, told him he was the prophet of this nation, and made him recite some verses he had been sent with.'

"Waraqa was dumbfounded at this, and said, 'If Gabriel has actually placed his feet upon earth, he has done so for the best of people thereupon. And he never came down for anyone except a prophet. For he is the companion of all the

prophets and messengers, the one whom God sends down to them. I believe what you tell me of him. Send for 'Abd Allāh's son, so that I may question him, hear what he says and talk to him. I am afraid it may be someone other than Gabriel, for certain devils imitate him and by so doing can mislead and corrupt some men. This can result in a man becoming confused and even crazy whereas before he had been of sound mind.'

"Khadīja arose and left him, confident that God would never do anything but good to her husband. So she returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him what Waraqa had said. God Almighty then sent down the words: '*Nūn*. By the pen, and what they write! You are not, by grace of God, mad!' and so on to the end of these verses (*sūrat al-Qalam*, LXIII, v.1). He then told her, 'Absolutely not, by God! It was Gabriel!' She told him, 'I'd like you to go to him and inform him, so that God might give him guidance.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did go to Waraqa who asked him, 'Did he who came to you appear in lightness or in the dark?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) described Gabriel to him and his majesty, and what he had revealed to him.

"Waraqa then said, 'I bear witness that that was Gabriel, and that these were words spoken by God. He has ordered you to convey certain things to your people. It is a matter of prophethood, and if I live on into your era, I will follow you.' He then said, 'Rejoice, O son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib!'

The account went on, "And Waraqa's words became widely known, along with the fact that he had given credence to the Messenger of God. This fact distressed most of his people.

"And thereafter the revelation faltered. So people said, 'If he had come from God, he would have continued. But God is displeased with him.' And so God sent down the *sūras* of *al-Ḍuḥā* (XCIII) and *A Lam Nashrah* (*al-Inshirāḥ*, XCIV) in all their entirety."

Al Bayhaqī stated that the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Abū al-'Abbās, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Ishāq and Ismā'īl b. Abū Ḥakīm, the freed-man of the Zubayr family, who related to him that Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid, said once to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) regarding his explanation of how God honoured him with his prophethood, "O cousin, can you tell me about this companion who comes to you when he actually does come?" "Yes," he replied. "Then do tell me when he comes," she asked.

And while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was with her, he was visited by Gabriel. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him, he said, "Khadīja, this is Gabriel." "Do you see him now?" she asked. "Yes, I do," he replied. "Now come over and sit by my right side." He changed his position and sat. She asked,

"Do you see him now?" "Yes," he replied. "Now change your position and sit in my lap." When he did this, she asked, "Well, do you see him now?" "Yes," he replied. She then exposed her head and removed her veil, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) still sat there in her lap. Then she asked, "Do you see him now?" "No," he answered. "This is no devil then, cousin; this is an angel! Take heart and rejoice!" She then believed in him and gave witness that it was the truth he brought.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "I told ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥasan this story and he commented, 'I heard my mother Fāṭima relate this account from Khadīja, except that I heard her say, 'She took the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) inside her shift, and it was then that Gabriel, upon whom be peace, went away.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This was something that Khadīja did to settle the matter, to preserve her faith and affirm her credence."

The Prophet (ṢAAS) was secure in what Gabriel had said to him, in the verses he had revealed to him which we have recounted several times, and in the fact of the trees and rocks having made salutation to him.

Muslim stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, and Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Jābir b. Samura, God be pleased with him, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I know one rock in Mecca that used to greet me even before I received my mission; I still know it now."

Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī stated that Sulaymān b. Muʿādh related to him, from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Jābir b. Samura, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "There is in Mecca a rock that used to greet me on the nights when I was receiving my mission; I recognize it when I pass by it."

Al-Bayhaqī related, from a tradition of Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī al-Kabīr, from ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God in Mecca, walking in various parts of the town, and no tree nor mountain received him without saying, 'Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God.'"

And in another account he said, "When I entered the valley in his company, he would not pass by a single rock or tree without its saying, 'Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God'; I heard this."

Division

Al-Bukhārī stated in his account given above, "then the revelation waned, so that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was so depressed, as we have been told, that he would often feel like throwing himself down from the summits of high mountains. Whenever he reached the top of a mountain to throw himself down, Gabriel would appear to him and say, 'O Muḥammad, you are in truth the Messenger of

God.' This would relieve his distress and he would return down. And if the revelation was again long in coming, he would feel and do the same. When he would reach the mountain summit, Gabriel would appear and speak to him as before."

In both the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a tradition from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, who said that he heard Abū Salama ʿAbd al-Raḥmān relate from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) talking about the intermission in the revelation, say, "While I walked, I heard a voice from heaven. I raised my sight towards the sky and there I saw the angel who came to me in Ḥirā', seated upon a throne amidst the sky. I knelt down before him in fear, right down to the ground, then went to my family and said, 'Wrap me up! Wrap me up!' And so God sent down, 'O you who are wrapped up! Arise and give warning! And glorify your Lord! Purify your garments! And shun idolatry!' (*sūrat al-Mudaththir*, LXXIV, v.1–5).

"He went on, 'And then the revelation became stronger and continued uninterrupted.'"

The above verse was the first of the Qur'ān sent down after the intermission in revelation, though not the very first of all, which was the verse, "Read: in the name of your Lord who created" (*sūrat al-ʿAlaq*, XCVI, v.1).

It is established on the authority of Jābir that the first verse to be revealed was, "O you who are wrapped up." It is perhaps appropriate to interpret his words as we have suggested, for in the sequence of what he states, there is evidence for the angel having come down earlier, as he recognized him from earlier. Moreover, in Jābir's words making reference to the "intermission in the revelation", there is a proof that revelation did precede this instance. But God knows best.

It is established in both the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from an account of ʿAlī b. al-Mubārak, as well as in the works of Muslim and al-Awzāʿī, both of whom also quote Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr as having said, "I asked Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 'Which part of the Qur'ān was revealed before?' He replied, 'The verse, "O you who are wrapped up."'"

"I asked, 'And the verse, "Read in the name of your Lord who created?" He replied, 'I asked Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh which verse of the Qur'ān came earliest, and he replied, "It was 'O you who are wrapped up.' So I asked him, 'What about "Read in the name of your Lord who created?"'" and he answered, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I spent a month in seclusion in Ḥirā' and when it was over I went down into the heart of the valley. I heard a voice calling out to me and I looked ahead, behind me and to left and right, but I saw nothing. Then I looked up at the sky and there he was, on a throne in the air. I was seized by a trembling" – or he used the word "anxiety" instead of the word "a trembling" – and went on to Khadīja. She ordered them and they wrapped me

up. And then God revealed the verse, 'O you who are wrapped up . . .' and so on till the verse, 'and purify your garments.'"'"

According to a variant account he used the words, "And there was the angel who had come to me in Ḥirāʾ seated on a throne between the heavens and the earth, and I knelt down before him."

This is a plain reference to his prior coming to him and to his having made revelation from God to him, as we have stated. But God knows best.

There are some who claim that the first revelation that came after the intermission was the *sūrat* beginning, "By the morning hours and by the night when it darkens, your Lord has not forsaken you, nor is He displeased" (*sūrat al-Ḍuḥā*, XCIII, v.1–3) and so on to the end of the *sūrat*. This is what Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated.

Some Qurʾān reciters state that this is why the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said the words "*Allāhu Akbar*" ("God is most Great!") when he received the first part of it, out of joy.

This statement is suspect, since it is refuted by the previous account of the two authors of the *ṣaḥiḥ* collections, to the effect that the first to be revealed of the Qurʾān after the intermission was, "O you who are wrapped up" but that the *sūrat* beginning "by the morning hours" came after another intermission of a few nights.

This is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections and elsewhere, as well as from the account of al-Aswad b. Qays, from Jandab b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was indisposed and did not get up for one, two or several nights. A woman commented, 'So your spirit soon abandoned you, then!' And so God revealed the verses, 'By the dawn and by the night when it darkens, your Lord has not forsaken you, nor is He displeased.'"

And it was thereby that the revelation transpired for mankind, whereas it was by the former circumstances that the prophethood came about.

Some authorities state that the intermission lasted for approximately two years, or two years and a half.

What is apparent – though God alone knows best – is that it was a period comparable to that related to Mikāʾīl; al-Shaʿbī and others made this observation.

This does not refute that Gabriel first brought him revelation, in the verses, "Read in the name of your Lord who created."

Thereafter Gabriel became associated with him, following the revelation of "O you who are wrapped up, arise and give warning! And glorify your Lord. Purify your garments! And shun idolatry!"

Thereafter the revelation intensified and continued; that is, it came uninterrupted, little by little.

At this time the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began devoting himself totally to

the mission, with energy and determination. He summoned all to God, both near and far, slaves and free men alike. And all of intelligence, excellence, and good favour believed in him, while all who were stubborn and intransigent continued to oppose and disobey him.

Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, "the trusting", was the first free man to believe in him, while ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib was the first youth to do so.

The first woman to believe was Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid, his wife.

Of the freed men, the *mawālī*, his own *mawlā* Zayd b. Ḥāritha al-Kalbī was the first. May God be pleased with all the above.

We have previously written about the faith of Waraqa b. Nawfal, and how he reacted to the revelation and died during the intermission period. May God be pleased with him.

Section: On preventing the demons and evil spirits from eavesdropping when the Qurʾān was revealed, so that none of them would acquire any of it, even so much as a syllable, and deliver it through the speech of his human associates, which would have led to complications and a confusion of the truth.

It was God's mercy, grace and kindness to His creation that He excluded them from heaven. God Almighty spoke of them in His words, "and that we tried heaven, but found it filled with a strong guard and shooting stars. We used to sit in seats there to listen, but now any of us who eavesdrops finds a shooting star in wait. And we do not know whether harm is meant for those on earth, or whether their Lord intends guidance for them" (*sūrat al-Jinn*, LXXII, v.8–10).

The Almighty said, "And the devils have not brought it down. This would not be right for them; and they could not. They are kept away from hearing it" (*sūrat al-Shuʿarā*, XXVI, v.210–12).

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym stated that Sulaymān b. Aḥmad – he being al-Ṭabarānī – related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Abū Maryam, quoting Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Firyābī, quoting Isrāʾīl, on the authority of Abū Isḥāq, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The devils would ascend to heaven to listen to the revelation. Having memorized the statement, they would then make nine additions to it. The statement itself would be true, but their additions thereto would be false.

"When the Prophet (ṢAAS) was given his mission, their seats were denied them. They complained of this to Satan. And prior to that they did not have shooting stars fired at them. Satan told them, 'This is due to some event on earth.'

"He therefore sent his forces down and they found the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) standing between two mountains and praying. They went back to him (Satan) and told him. He then said, 'That is what has occurred on earth.'"

Abū ʿUwāna gave an account from Abū Bishr, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn

ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left with others on a trip to the market of ʿUkāẓ. At this time the devils were being denied access to information from heaven and shooting stars had been sent against them. The devils had returned to their own people who asked them what was wrong. They replied, 'We've been denied access to information from heaven, and shooting stars have been fired at us.' Their people told them, 'This has to be because something has happened. So go and search the ends of the earth!'

"One group set off towards Tihāma and passed over a date plantation where he was, while on their way to ʿUkāẓ. He was with his Companions there performing the dawn prayer. When the devils overheard the Qurʾān, they listened to it and said, 'It is this that has denied us access to information from heaven.'

"So they returned home and told the rest: 'O our people, we have heard a wonderful Qurʾān that leads to right guidance; we believe in it, and will never associate another deity with our Lord' (*sūrat al-Jinn*, LXXII, v.1–2). And so God revealed to His Prophet (ṢAAS) the words: 'Say: "It was revealed to me that a group of *jinn* listened and said, 'We have heard a wonderful Qurʾān'"' (*sūrat al-Jinn*, LXXII, v.1)."

This account was included in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba stated that Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl related to him, from ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Every single tribe of *jinn* had places where they would sit and listen. When revelation began the angels would hear a sound like that of metal being cast against stone.

"When the angels heard this, they would fall down prostrate and not raise their heads until revelation had come. When it had, they would ask one another, 'What was it your Lord said?' And if it related to matters in heaven, they would say, 'He spoke the truth; and He is the All-High, the Almighty.' But if it related to matters on earth, dealing with the future, with death or other worldly affairs, they would talk about it and say, 'It would be so, and such.' The devils would listen to this and transmit it down to their human companions.

"Now when the Prophet Muḥammad (ṢAAS) received his mission, they were chased away with shooting stars. The first to learn of this were the tribe of Thaqīf. Those with livestock began making sacrifice. Those with sheep would slaughter one each day, those with camels would slaughter one similarly. They made haste to their flocks to do this. But some said, 'No, don't do this. If it is the stars people use to find their way, (then it is right to make sacrifice) but otherwise it is just happening because of some specific event.' When they looked, they found that nothing had happened to the stars used for navigation. And so they ceased making sacrifice.

"And God sent the *jinn* into motion, and they heard the Qurʾān. When they were there present, they said, 'Listen carefully!'

"The devils would go off to Iblīs (Satan) and inform him. He told them, 'This is some event that has occurred on earth. Therefore bring me some dust from every part of it.' And when they brought him some from Tihāma, he said, 'This is the site of the event.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this tradition, quoting al-Ḥākim, through Ḥammād b. Salama, from ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib.

Al-Wāqidī stated that Usāma b. Zayd b. Aslam related to him, from ʿUmar b. ʿAbdān al-ʿAbsī, from Kaʿb, who said, "No stars had been cast since the ascension of Jesus until the time when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became a prophet. Quraysh then saw sights they never before witnessed. And so they began releasing their flocks and freeing their slaves, thinking that it meant the end of the world. News of these actions of theirs reached the people of al-Ṭāʾif, and Thaqīf did the same (as Quraysh).

"What Thaqīf had done became known to the slave of Yālayl b. ʿAmr, and he asked them, 'Why have you done what I see?' They replied, 'There have been shooting stars, and we have seen them falling from the sky.' He observed, 'But it's hard to replace properties once they have gone; don't be in a hurry and observe. If they are stars that are recognized, then it does mean destruction for us. But if they are stars that were unknown stars, then it's all because of some event that has occurred.'

"So they made observations, found they were unknown stars and told him of this. He commented, 'Well, there's still some time left then. This is because of the appearance of a prophet.'

"Soon thereafter Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb came for his animals and ʿAbd Yālayl went to him and told him about the stars. Abū Sufyān then commented, 'Muḥammad son of ʿAbd Allāh has come forth and made a claim that he is a prophet who has been sent.' ʿAbd Yālayl then said, 'Well, that's why there have been shooting stars.'"

Saʿīd b. Manṣūr stated, from Khālid b. Ḥusayn, from ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī, who said, "The stars were not cast until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission. People then released their flocks and set free their slaves. So ʿAbd Yālayl said, 'Observe; and if it is stars that are known, it means the end of mankind is near. But if they are not known, then it is happening because of some event that has occurred.' And so they did make observations and found them to be unknown. They therefore ceased what they had been doing and soon thereafter news came to them of the emergence of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī and al-Ḥākim gave the wording of this account through al-ʿAwfī from Ibn ʿAbbās, he having said: "The world's heavens had not been guarded over throughout the period between Jesus and Muḥammad (ṢAAS)."

Perhaps what is meant by this negative statement is that the heavens had not

been under strict guard. This must be held more likely, because of what is well established in a *ḥadīth* through ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, from Ibn ʿAbbās, God be pleased with him, who said, "On one occasion when the Messenger of God was sitting down, a shooting star occurred and it became light. He then asked, 'What was it you used to say when shooting stars were going on?' They replied, 'We would say: "A great man has died; a great man is born."' He commented, 'No, but . . .' He then made the statement we reported elsewhere (in part one of the work *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya* (*The Beginning and The End*), relating to the creation of the heavens and the stars therein at the first Creation. And all praise be to God.

Ibn Isḥāq related the story of the shooting stars in his biography of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Of the leader of Thaqīf, he said that he used the words, regarding observation of the stars, "(to see) whether they are the most prominent stars of the skies, or other ones". But Ibn Isḥāq named this man as ʿAmr b. Umayya. God knows best.

Al-Suddī stated, "The heavens were only guarded when there was a prophet on earth, or when a religion of God was appearing. The devils, prior to Muḥammad (ṢAAS), used to take seats in the skies above the world and overhear what was going on in heaven.

"When God sent Muḥammad (ṢAAS) as a prophet, one night they had stars shot at them. This terrified the people of al-Ṭāʾif, and they told one another that the people of heaven had been destroyed! This was because of the violence of the fires in the sky and the great variety of the shooting stars. So they began setting their slaves free and releasing their livestock. At this ʿAbd Yālayl b. ʿAmr b. ʿUmayr told them, 'Woe upon you, O people of Ṭāʾif! Secure your property and observe the most prominent stars. If you see them to be still set in their places, then the people of heaven are not destroyed, but it's all because of the son of Abū Kabsha.[74] But if you don't see them there, then the people of heaven have perished.'

"And when they looked, they did still see them and so they secured their property.

"That night the devils were terrified and went to Satan and he told them, 'Bring me a handful of earth from every place.' When they did so, he sniffed it and said, 'Your man is in Mecca.'

"He then dispatched seven of the spirits of Naṣībīn and they came to Mecca and found the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the Harām (Holy) Mosque reciting the Qurʾān. They approached him so eager to hear it that their bodies almost touched him. They then accepted Islam, and God sent down revelation to his Prophet (ṢAAS) about them."

74. The unbelievers of Mecca used to refer to the Prophet as "the son of Abū Kabsha".

Al-Wāqidī stated that Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, from the son of Abū Ḥakīm – by whom he meant Isḥāq – from ʿAṭā' b. Yasār, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission, all the idols were overturned. So the evil spirits went and told him (Satan), 'Every single idol on earth has been overturned.' He responded, 'This is due to a Prophet who has been given a mission. Look for him in villages in the countryside.' They did so, but reported to him that they could not find him. He then said, 'I'll do it.' And so he went off and looked for him. A voice called out to him, 'Go to *Janbat al-Bāb*' – the 'gate quarter' – meaning Mecca. He looked for him there and found him at *Qarn al-Thaʿālib*. Satan then went off to the devils and told them, 'I found him, and Gabriel was with him. What's your opinion?' They answered, 'We'll make earthly pleasures delightful in people's eyes and so make them covet them.' 'So no problem then,' he commented."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ṭalḥa b. ʿAmr related to him, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, who said, "When the day came when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became a Prophet, the devils were denied access to heaven and shooting stars were fired at them. So they went to Satan and when they told him this he commented, 'Some event has occurred. This is a Prophet who has come forth to them in the Holy Land, the place where the tribe of Israel came from.'

"So the devils went off to Syria, then returned and told him, 'There's no one there.' Satan responded, 'I'll do it.'

"Then he went off to look for him in Mecca. And there was the Messenger of God in Ḥirā', and Gabriel was there with him. Satan returned to his evil spirits and told them, 'Aḥmad has received his mission and Gabriel is with him. What is your opinion?' They replied, 'Earthly delights; we'll make them attractive to people.' He replied, 'That will do it.'"

Al-Wāqidī said that Ṭalḥa b. ʿAmr related to him, from ʿAṭā', from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The devils used to listen to the revelation. And when Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was assigned to his mission, they were prevented from doing so. They complained about this to Satan, and he responded, 'Some event has occurred.' He then went on up above Abū Qubays, the very first mountain placed on the face of the earth, and saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at prayer behind the shrine. He told himself, 'I'll go on down and break his neck!' So he strutted off towards him. But Gabriel was there with him, and charged out at Satan sending him flying in all directions. So the devil took to his heels."

Both al-Wāqidī and Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī also related this, from Rabbāḥ b. Abū Maʿrūf, from Qays b. Saʿd, from Mujāhid. Their account was similar, with the variation, "Gabriel kicked the devil and threw him down to Aden."

Section: On the manner in which the revelation came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

It has previously been related how Gabriel came to him on both the first and second occasions.

Mālik stated, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, God bless her, that al-Ḥārith b. Hishām asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) "O Messenger of God, how does revelation come to you?"

He replied, "Sometimes it comes like the ringing of a bell, it being then most painful. When it leaves me I remain conscious of what he spoke. Sometimes the angel appears before me as a man who addresses me, and I am fully aware of what he is saying."

ʿĀʾisha, God bless her, stated, "I saw him (ṢAAS) when revelation came to him on the extremely cold day. Then it left him, and his forehead was bathed in perspiration."

The authors of the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections derived this *ḥadīth* from the account of Mālik.

Imām Aḥmad related it from ʿĀmir b. Ṣāliḥ, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa in a similar manner.

ʿAbda b. Sulaymān and Anas b. ʿIyyād related it similarly from Hishām b. ʿUrwa.

Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī related it from Hishām, from his father, from al-Ḥārith b. Hishām who said, "I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'How does revelation come to you?'" He related the same *ḥadīth* as above, but made no reference to ʿĀʾisha.

In the *ḥadīth al-ʾifk*[75] she stated, "By God, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not get up, nor did any member of the family leave, until revelation came down to him. He underwent the agony that used to seize him (on such occasions) with sweat emerging like pearls from him, even though it was a winter's day, because of the heavy burden of the revelation that came down upon him."

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Yūnus b. Salīm, who said that Yūnus b. Yazīd dictated to him, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUrwa b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Qārī, who said, "I heard ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb say, 'When revelation came down to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), it would be heard like the buzzing of a bee near his face.'"

The tradition in its entirety was recounted in the section[76] on the revelation of the Qurʾānic verse, "and the believers have succeeded" (*sūrat al-Muʾminūn*, XXIII, v.1).

75. ʿĀʾisha's account relating to certain slanderous charges made against her, see Volume III.

76. See Ibn Kathīr: *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Karīm* (*The Exegesis of the Glorious Qurʾān*), Vol 3, p.237.

Al-Tirmidhī related this, quoting al-Nasā'ī from ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

After giving it, al-Nasā'ī commented, "It is objectionable; we know of only Yūnus b. Salīm as having related it, and him we do not recognize."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim and others, it is recounted by al-Ḥasan, from Hiṭṭān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Raqāshī, from ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would become in pain when revelation came to him, and his face would look very serious." According to one account, this wording should be "and his eyes would close; we recognized that in him."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is the account of Zayd b. Thābit that relates to the circumstance when the verse "Those of the believers who sit still are not on equality with . . ." (*sūrat al-Nisā'*, VI, v.95) was revealed; and when the son of Umm Maktūm complained of his disabilities, the next verse came down: "except for those with disabilities".

His account states, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated with his thigh right next to mine while I was writing. When revelation came, his leg almost crushed mine."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, there is an account by Ḥammām b. Yaḥyā, from ʿAṭā', from Yaʿlā b. Umayya, who is quoted as saying, "Umar said to me, 'Would you like to look at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while revelation is coming to him?' He raised the edge of his robe from his face while he was receiving revelation at al-Jiʿrāna, and he was all flushed. And he would moan like a newborn calf."

It was established in the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of ʿĀ'isha relating to when revelation came concerning the *ḥijāb* (the wearing of the veil) that Sawda went out thereafter to the privies, by night. ʿUmar spoke to her, saying, "We can recognize you, O Sawda!" She then went back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and questioned him, while he was sitting having supper and holding his milk (mug) in his hand. God then sent down revelation to him, while the milk was in his hand. He then raised his head and said, "You women have been given permission to go out and attend to your needs."

This shows that revelation did not fully absent his feelings from him. This is proven by his being seated; and the milk, moreover, did not drop from his hand (ṢAAS)!

Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī stated that ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr related to him, quoting ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When revelation came down, the body and face of the Messenger of God would become pale; he would ignore those with him, and none of them would address him."

In the collection of traditions made by Aḥmad and others, there is an account of Ibn Lahīʿa in which he states, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from ʿAmr b. al-Walīd, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, who said, 'I asked, "O Messenger of God, can you feel revelation coming?" He replied, "Yes; I hear ringing sounds. Then

I recover. And never once did I receive revelation without thinking that my soul was being seized by it.'"'

Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥajjāj related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād, quoting ʿĀṣim b. Kulayb, quoting his father, from his uncle al-ʿIlyān b. ʿĀṣim, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when revelation came to him. When this happened, he could still see and his eyes remained open, while his hearing and his heart were made empty for what would come to him from God, Almighty and Glorious is He."

Abū Nuʿaym related, from a tradition of Qutayba that ʿAlī b. Ghurāb related to him, from al-Aḥwaṣ b. Ḥakīm, from Abū ʿAwāna, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "When revelation came down to the Messenger of God, he would get a headache and would cover his head with the henna plant."

This is a very strange *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting Abū Muʿāwiya Sinān, from Layth, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from Asmāʾ, daughter of Yazīd, who said: "I was holding the reins of al-ʿAḍbāʾ, the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when the whole text of the *sūrat al-Māʾida* (Qurʾān, V) was revealed to him. The camel's back almost gave way beneath the weight of it."

Abū Nuʿaym related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī, from Layth b. Abū Salīm.

Imām Aḥmad also stated that Ḥasan related to him, quoting Ibn Lahīʿa, quoting Jabr b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥubalī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, who said, "The *sūrat al-Māʾida* was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was riding on his camel. It could not carry him, so he dismounted."

Ibn Mardawayh related, from a *ḥadīth* of Ṣabāḥ b. Sahl, from ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal, who said, "Umm ʿAmr related to me, from her uncle, that he was on a journey with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when the *sūrat al-Māʾida* was revealed to him. The camel's neck was broken because of the weight of it."

The implications of this are strange.

It is established, moreover, in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that the *sūrat al-Fatḥ* (Qurʾān, XLVII) was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he was returning from al-Ḥudaybiyya, riding on his camel. It came at various times, according to the circumstances. But God knows best.

We have earlier given an account of the kinds of revelation that came to him (ṢAAS) in the early part of our exegesis of al-Bukhārī's work, along with the comments of al-Ḥalīmī and other Imāms, God be pleased with them all.

Division

God Almighty stated, "Do not move your tongue with it, to speak it in haste. It is up to Us to put it together, and to recite it. So when We do recite it, follow its recitation. And then, it is up to Us to explain it" (*sūrat al-Qiyāma*, LXXV, v.16–19).

And the Almighty said, "And do not make haste with the recitation, before its revelation to you has been completed. And say, 'O God, increase me in knowledge!'" (*sūrat Ṭāhā*, XX, v.114).

This was in the beginning. Due to his eagerness to receive from the angel what God the Almighty and Glorious had revealed to him, he used to join him through recitation. God Almighty therefore ordered him to listen on until the revelation was completed. He assured him He would store it in his chest and enable him to recite and announce it. God also said He would clarify and explain it and enable him to understand it.

For this reason He stated, "And do not make haste with the recitation, before its revelation to you has been completed. And say, 'O God, increase me in knowledge!'"

And He said, "Do not move your tongue with it, to speak it in haste. It is up to Us to put it together" – in your chest, that is – "and to recite it." That is, and you shall recite it. "So when We do recite it" – that is, when the angel recites it to you – "follow its recitation." That is, listen to it and consider it. And then, "it is up to Us to explain it." This is equivalent to saying, "O God, increase me in knowledge!"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a tradition of Mūsā b. Abū ʿĀ'isha, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God would suffer great strain from revelation. He would move his lips and so God sent down to him, 'Do not move your tongue with it, to speak it in haste. It is up to Us to put it together, and to recite it.' He said 'to put it together' in your breast and then you will recite it. 'And so when We do recite it, follow its recitation.' And hear it, and listen to it. 'And then, it is up to Us to explain it.'"

He went on, "And when Gabriel came to him he would bow his head; and when he left he would recite it just as God the Almighty and Glorious had promised him."

DIVISION

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Thereafter revelation came frequently to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he fully believed in what he was receiving from God. He accepted it willingly and because of it received both the approbation and blame of other men.

"Prophethood brings burdens and troubles that can only be borne by messengers who are strong and determined through the power and aid of God. Their burdens arise from the reactions of men to them that result from what it is that God the Almighty and Glorious has brought them.

"The Messenger of God did continue to fulfil God's orders despite the opposition and harm he met from his people."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "And Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid, believed in him and God's messages to him, and helped him.

"She was the first person to believe in God and His Messenger, and to believe in God's message to him.

"In this God alleviated His Messenger's burdens; whenever he suffered some unpleasant reaction or painful rejection, God would comfort him through her. When he came back to her she would give him strength and alleviate his pain. She would express her belief in him and make light of the opposition to him; may God bless and comfort her!"

Ibn Isḥāq continued to say that Hishām b. ʿUrwa related to him, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "I was commanded to tell Khadīja the glad tidings of a house made of *qaṣab*, one where there would be no rancour and no trouble."

In the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections this *ḥadīth* is derived from an account of Hishām.

Ibn Hishām explained that the word *qaṣab* in this *ḥadīth* means hollowed-out pearls.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began, in secret, to inform all of his people whom he could trust about all that prophethood with which God had honoured him and His servants."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, from al-Zuhrī, "Khadīja was the first person to believe in God and in His Messenger; and this was even before prayer was made obligatory."

I make the comment that by this is meant the five daily prayers (that were enjoined) on the occasion of the *laylat al-isrā'*, the "night journey". As for the origin of prayer, it was (already) made necessary during the lifetime of Khadīja, God bless her, as we will explain.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Khadīja was the first person to believe in God, His Messenger, and the mission he brought.

"Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when prayer was made incumbent upon him; he made a mark with his heel on the side of the valley and a spring of water from *zamzam* gushed forth. Then Gabriel performed the ablution, along with Muḥammad, peace be upon them both. He then bowed in prayer twice and made four prostrations. Thereafter the Prophet (ṢAAS) went home, God having much comforted him and brought him what he wanted. He took Khadīja's hand and led her to the well and there performed the ablution as Gabriel had done. He then made two bows in prayer and four prostrations. Thereafter Khadīja and he would perform the prayer in secret."

I wish to comment that Gabriel's prayer on this occasion was different from the prayers he performed twice at the *kaʿba*. Then he explained the five times for prayer to him, from first to last. This came after they had been made obligatory following the *laylat al-isrā'*.

Explanation of this will come later, if God wills it, and in Him is all trust, all reliance.

Section: Concerning the first persons to accept Islam; also reference to those of the Companions and others who were early in becoming Muslims.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "And then ʿAlī son of Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him, came the following day while they were both praying. ʿAlī asked, 'O Muḥammad, what are you doing?' He replied, 'It is God's religion that he has chosen for Himself and sent forth to His messengers. And so I summon you to God alone, He who has no partner, and to pray to Him, and to renounce al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā.'

"'ʿAlī replied, 'This is something I never heard before today. I'm not going to decide anything before I tell Abū Ṭālib about it.'

"The Messenger of God was reluctant to have him expose his secret before he himself made it public. So he told him, 'O Alī, even if you don't accept Islam, do keep the matter secret.' ʿAlī therefore did nothing that night. Then God placed Islam in the heart of ʿAlī, and he went next morning to the Messenger of God and asked him, 'What was it you proposed to me, O Muḥammad?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Bear witness that there is no God but God alone; He has no partner. And renounce al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā, and disavow any peers.'

"'ʿAlī did this and accepted Islam; but he was afraid of Abū Ṭālib's displeasure whenever he went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and so he kept his acceptance of Islam a secret he did not divulge.

"Ibn Ḥāritha, Zayd that is, then became a Muslim and they went on thus (in secret) for approximately one month, during which ʿAlī frequently visited the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). A favour God had previously granted ʿAlī was his having been brought up in the care of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before the coming of Islam."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Ibn Abū Nājīḥ related to him, from Mujāhid, who said, "One matter in which God favoured ʿAlī was that Quraysh had a period of great crisis. Abū Ṭālib had a large family and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to his uncle, al-ʿAbbās, a man who was among the wealthiest of the Banū Hāshim, 'O ʿAbbās, your brother Abū Ṭālib has a large family, and you know how this crisis has affected everyone. So let us go and relieve him of the burden of some of his family.' And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took ʿAlī and added him to his own family. And he was still living with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when God sent him his prophethood. And so it was that ʿAlī followed him, and believed in him and his message."

Yūnus b. Bukayr related, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said that Yaḥyā b. Abū al-Ashʿath al-Kindī, a scholar from al-Kūfa, related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl

b. Abū Iyās b. ʿAfīf, from his father, from his grandfather ʿAfīf, this ʿAfīf being the brother of al-Ashʿath b. Qays on his mother's side, who said, "I was a businessman and went to Minā during the pilgrimage season. Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was also a merchant, and I went to him to buy and sell from him.

"While we were engaged in this, a man came out of a tent and began praying towards the *kaʿba*. And then a woman came out and also began to pray, then a boy emerged and prayed along with the man. I asked, 'O Ibn ʿAbbās, what is this religion? We don't know what religion this is.'

"He replied, 'This is Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh. He claims that God has sent him and that the treasures of Chosroe and Caesar will be opened up for him. That is his wife, Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid, and the boy is his nephew ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭālib, and he believes in him.'

"'ʿAfīf then commented, 'O how I wish I had then believed in him; I would then have been the second!'"

Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd gave a similar account, from Ibn Isḥāq, which gives the wording, "when a man came out of a tent near by. He looked up at the sky and when he saw the sun declining to set, he began to pray." He then recounted how Khadīja stood there behind him.

Ibn Jarīr stated that Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd al-Muḥāribī related to him, quoting Saʿīd b. Khuthaym, from Asad b. ʿAbda al-Bajalī, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAfīf, who said, "I went to Mecca before the coming of Islam and stayed with al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. When the sun rose and hung high in the sky as I was overlooking the *kaʿba*, a young man approached. He looked up at the sky then went to the *kaʿba* and stood there facing it. A boy soon arrived and stood there to his right, and shortly thereafter a woman came and stood behind them. The man bowed down and so did the boy and the woman. Then the man stood up straight and so did the boy and the woman. Next the man made a prostration and they both did, along with him.

"I said, 'O ʿAbbās, this is a strange business!'

"'It is,' he agreed. 'Do you know who that is?' 'No,' I replied. 'That is Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh, grandson of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, my brother's son. Do you know who the boy is?' 'No,' I answered. 'That is ʿAlī son of Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him. Do you know who the woman is standing behind them?' 'No,' I replied. 'That is Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid, my nephew's wife.'

"This man told me that your Lord, the Lord of the heavens and the earth, ordered him to do what you see them performing. By God, I know of no other on the face of the whole earth who engages in this religion except for these three!"

Ibn Jarīr stated that Ibn Ḥumayd related to him, quoting ʿIsā b. Sawāda b. Abū al-Juʿd, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Munkadar and Rabīʿa b. Abū ʿAbd

al-Raḥmān, and Abū Ḥāzim and al-Kalbī, all of whom said, "ʿAlī is the first man to accept Islam."

Al-Kalbī stated, "He accepted Islam at the age of nine."

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us, quoting Salama, from Ibn Isḥāq, who said, "The first male who believed in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and prayed with him was ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭālib. At the time he was ten years of age and he had been under the care of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before the coming of Islam."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ibrāhīm related to him, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn Abū Nājiḥ, from Mujāhid, who said, "ʿAlī accepted Islam when he was ten."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Our companions were in agreement that ʿAlī accepted Islam one year after the Messenger of God became a prophet."

Muḥammad b. Kaʿb stated, "The first of this nation to accept Islam was Khadīja. The first two men to do so were Abū Bakr and ʿAlī, ʿAlī having done so before Abū Bakr. ʿAlī hid his faith because of his fear of his father, until his father joined him and asked, 'Have you accepted Islam?' ʿAlī replied, 'Yes.' 'Then give your cousin all help and aid,' he told him."

Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, "the trusting", was the first man to openly declare his acceptance of Islam.

Ibn Jarīr related in his work of history, from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Abū Balj, from ʿAmr b. Maymūn, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The first person to pray was ʿAlī."

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā related to us, quoting Shurayk, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUqayl, from Jābir, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) received his mission on a Monday and ʿAlī prayed on Tuesday." And he related, from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba from ʿAmr b. Murra, from Abū Ḥamza – a supporter from Medina – who said he heard Zayd b. Arqam say, "The first man to accept Islam along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was ʿAlī son of Abū Ṭālib."

He went on, "I mentioned this to al-Nakhʿī, but he refuted it and said, 'It was Abū Bakr who first accepted Islam.'"

He then said that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to him, quoting al-ʿAlā', from al-Minhāl b. ʿAmr, from ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "I heard ʿAlī say, 'I am the slave of God and the brother of His Messenger. And I am the grand *ṣiddīq*, "trusting one". No one can say this after me without being a liar and a fabricator. I prayed seven years before the people did.'"

Ibn Māja recounted this similarly, from Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Rāzī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā al-Fahmī – who was a *shīʿī* and a man accepted as a fully reliable source for traditions – from al-ʿAlā' b. Ṣāliḥ al-Azdī of Kūfa, a man also considered reliable. However, Abū Ḥātim said of him that he was from the old aristocracy of the *shīʿa*. And ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī stated, "al-ʿAlā' related objectionable accounts. Al-Minhāl b. ʿAmr is trustworthy, while his teacher, Sheikh ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh – of the Asad tribe and from Kufa – is weak." Moreover

al-Bukhārī stated, "There is some question about him." Ibn Ḥabbān referred to him as trustworthy.

This tradition is objectionable in any case. ʿAlī, God be pleased with him, would not have said this. How could he have prayed seven years before the people? This is simply unimaginable. But God knows best.

Others said that the first man of this nation to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, "the trusting".

Combining these various accounts we see that Khadīja was the first woman to accept Islam, the leader of the pack, as it were, and also she preceded the men. Among slaves, the first to accept Islam was Zayd b. Ḥāritha. And the first boy to accept Islam was ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib; he was young then and had not reached puberty – as generally believed. These were then the family of the Prophet.

The first free man to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, "the trusting". His conversion was more beneficial than that of those mentioned before because he was a highly respected leader, an honoured chief of Quraysh and a man of wealth. He became a missionary for Islam and was very much liked and admired for spending money in the service of God and His Messenger. Details of this activity will follow.

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Isḥāq, "Then Abū Bakr met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him, 'Is it true what Quraysh are saying, Muḥammad? About you abandoning our gods, ridiculing our intellects, and calling our ancestors pagans?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'Yes indeed. I am the Messenger of God, and His Prophet. He sent me to deliver his message and to invite you to God by the truth. For, I swear, God is the truth. I call upon you, O Abū Bakr, to believe in God alone, in Him who has no associate. And I call upon you to worship none but Him, and to devote yourself to obeying Him.'

"He then recited the Qurʾān to him. And he neither confirmed nor refused.

"Then he did accept Islam, disavowed the idols, repudiated the other gods, and affirmed the truth of Islam. When Abū Bakr went home he was a believer, a man of the faith."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn of Tamīm related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I never called upon any man to embrace Islam without him expressing reluctance, hesitation, and argument except Abū Bakr. He did not *ʿakam* ("hold back") from Islam when I told him of it, nor did he hesitate at all."

Here *ʿakam* means *talabbatha*, i.e. "he delayed".

That which Ibn Isḥāq stated, that "he neither confirmed nor refused", is objectionable. For Ibn Isḥāq and others have told how he (Abū Bakr) was the friend of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before his mission. He was known for his truthfulness, trustworthiness, fine disposition, and excellent qualities. These prevented him from lying to other mortals, so how could he ever have given the lie to God?

Therefore, from the mere fact of his telling him that God had sent him, Abū Bakr promptly believed him, not holding back or delaying at all.

We have recounted the manner of his becoming a Muslim in the book we devoted to his biography in which we emphasized his many qualities. That book we followed with another biography, of ʿUmar, the *fārūq* (i.e. he who differentiated truth from falsehood). In these works we recorded the various sayings of each of these men attributed to the Prophet (ṢAAS) along with legal decisions and pronouncements he made. These writings total three volumes; all praise and credit be to God for these.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī there is a *ḥadīth* from Abū al-Dardā' relating to the feud that existed between Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, may God be pleased with them both. In it he states that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "God sent me to you and you all said, 'You lie!' But Abū Bakr said, 'He spoke the truth.' And he dedicated himself and his fortune to me. Will you then leave this friend of mine to me?" He said this twice. And afterwards he was done no harm.

This is a direct text that he was the first to accept Islam. God be pleased with him!

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Ḥibbān recounted, from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Saʿīd al-Jarīrī, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Saʿīd, who said that Abū Bakr, "the trusting", may God be pleased with him, said, "Am I not the most worthy of people for it? Am I not the first person to accept Islam? Is that not my distinction?"

Ibn ʿAsākir recounted, through Bahlūl b. ʿUbayd, that Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī related to him, from al-Ḥārith, who said that he heard ʿAlī say, "The first man to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, 'the trusting'. The first man to pray with the Prophet (ṢAAS) was ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib."

Shuʿba stated, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from Abū Ḥamza, from Zayd b. Arqam, who said, "The first man to pray with the Prophet (ṢAAS) was Abū Bakr, 'the trusting'."

Aḥmad related this, quoting al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba. And al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is a good and reliable *ḥadīth*."

We previously gave Ibn Jarīr's quotation of this *ḥadīth* through Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from Abū Ḥamza, from Zayd b. Arqam, who said, "The first to accept Islam was ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib."

ʿAmr b. Murra stated, "I mentioned this to Ibrāhīm al-Nakhʿī, but he denied it. He said, 'The first to accept Islam was Abū Bakr.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, giving chains of authority from Abū Arwā al-Dawsī and Abū Muslim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, along with a group of authorities, to the effect that the first to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, "the trusting".

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān stated that Abū Bakr al-Ḥumaydī related to us, quoting Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Mālik b. Mighwal, from a man, who said, "Ibn ʿAbbās

was asked, 'Who was it who first believed?' He replied, 'It was Abū Bakr, "the trusting". Have you not heard the lines of Ḥassān (b. Thābit):

'When talking of grief at loss of a man to be trusted, recall your brother Abū Bakr for what he did.

He was the best of men, the most just and honourable after the Prophet, and the most worthy, for what he bore

The one who came next, the second, praised was sight of him, he the first of the people to believe in the messengers.

He lived fully praised, following God's will at the order of his friend who passed away, without deviation.'"

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba recounted this. One of our sheikhs related to us, from Mujālid, from ʿĀmir, who said, "I asked Ibn ʿAbbās – or Ibn ʿAbbās was asked – which one of the people was the first to accept Islam? He replied, 'Haven't you heard the verses of Ḥassān b. Thābit?' He then recited them."

Al-Haytham b. ʿAdī related this account similarly from Mujālid, from ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī who said, "I asked Ibn ʿAbbās, and he referred to it."

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī said that Surayj b. Yūnus related to him, quoting Yūsuf b. al-Mājishūn, who said, "Our sheikhs, including Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, Rabīʿa b. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān and ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad, concluded without any doubt, that the first of our people to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, 'the trusting', God be pleased with him."

My own comment is, that this agreed with the views of Ibrāhīm al-Nakhʿī, Muḥammad b. Kaʿb, Muḥammad b. Sīrīn and Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm. That is what is generally accepted by the majority of scholars of orthodox religion.

Ibn ʿAsākir recounted of Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, that they both agreed that, "He was not the very first to accept Islam, but he was in fact the best of all in faith."

Saʿd said that five persons accepted Islam before he did.

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, from a *ḥadīth* of Hamām b. al-Ḥārith, from ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and with him there were only five slaves, two women and Abū Bakr."

The Imām Aḥmad and Ibn Māja recounted from a *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim b. Abū al-Nujūd, from Zirr, from Ibn Masʿūd, who said, "There were seven persons who were first to openly accept Islam. They were the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) Abū Bakr, ʿAmmār and his mother Sumayya, Ṣuhayb, Bilāl, and al-Miqdād.

"Now the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was protected by God through his uncle, and Abū Bakr by God through his tribe. But the rest of them were taken away by the idol worshippers who mounted chains on them and roasted them in the sun. All except Bilāl gave way under this treatment; he, however, attached no importance to himself in suffering in God's cause. His people considered him

valueless, so they handed him over to the children who began parading him through the streets of Mecca, while he shouted, 'One! One!'"

Al Thawrī recounted this as such from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, with an incomplete line of transmission.

Ibn Jarīr related that he was informed by Ibn Ḥumayd that Kināna b. Jabala related to him, from Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, from Ḥajjāj, from Qatāda, from Sālim b. Abū al-Ja'd, from Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās, who said, "I asked my father, 'Was Abū Bakr the first one to accept Islam?' 'No,' he replied. 'More than 50 others accepted Islam before he did. But his Islam was the best of all.'"

This *ḥadīth* is objectionable in both its content and its chain of authorities.

Ibn Jarīr said that others stated that the first person to accept Islam was Zayd b. Ḥāritha. Then he related, moreover, through al-Wāqidī from Ibn Abū Dhi'b, who asked al-Zuhrī, "Who was the first woman to accept Islam?" "Khadīja," he replied. "And the first man?" "Zayd b. Ḥāritha," was his answer.

'Urwa, Sulaymān b. Yasār and others said the same, that the first man to accept Islam was Zayd b. Ḥāritha.

Abū Ḥanīfa, God be pleased with him, responded by combining these statements and concluding that the first free man to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, that Khadīja was the first woman, Zayd b. Ḥāritha the first slave, and 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib the first boy. God be pleased with them all.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "When Abū Bakr accepted Islam and announced this fact, he prayed to God the Almighty and Glorious. Abū Bakr was a man admired by his people, a well-liked and easy-going man. He knew more than anyone about the genealogy of Quraysh and of the good and bad in their history. He was a business man of fine character and charity.

"His people would come and consult with him on all kinds of matters because of his knowledge, his business experience and the pleasantness of his company.

"He soon began inviting those he trusted of his friends and associates to join him in accepting Islam.

"I have been told that those who accepted Islam through him were: al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh, Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, God be pleased with them.

"They all went, accompanied by Abū Bakr, to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who explained Islam and its correctness to them and recited to them from the Qur'ān; they then believed.

"These eight men were the earliest to accept Islam. They prayed and believed in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and in the mission he had received from God."

Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī stated that Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Uthmān related to him, from Makrama b. Sulaymān al-Wālibī, from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abū Ṭalḥa, who said that Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh said, "I attended the trade fair

at Buṣrā and there, in his cell, was a monk who called out, 'Ask the Meccans at the fair whether any man of them is from the holy quarter.'"

Ṭalḥa stated, "I replied, 'Yes; I am.' The monk then asked, 'Has Aḥmad come forth yet?' I asked, 'Who is Ahmad?' He responded, 'He is the son of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; this is the month during which he will appear. He is the last of the prophets. He will come forth from the holy quarter and go into exile to a place of date-palms, stony tracts, and salty earth. Be sure not to let anyone precede you to him.'"

Ṭalḥa went on, "His words deeply impressed me. So I left quickly for Mecca. There I asked, 'Is there any news?' People replied, 'Yes indeed; Muḥammad son of ʿAbd Allāh, "the trustworthy", has declared himself a prophet. And he has Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa as a follower.'"

Ṭalḥa continued, "So I went off to Abū Bakr and asked him, 'Have you really become a follower of this man?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'And you should go off to him, see him and follow him. He is calling to the truth.'" Then Ṭalḥa told him what the monk had said.

Abū Bakr then took Ṭalḥa with him and they went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ṭalḥa then accepted Islam and told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what the monk had said; he was delighted to hear this.

When Abū Bakr and Ṭalḥa had accepted Islam they were seized by Nawfal b. Khuwaylid b. al-ʿAdawī, who was known as "the lion of Quraysh". He tied both men together with one rope; and Banū Taym did nothing to protect them. For this reason Abū Bakr and Ṭalḥa were known as "the bondsmen". And the Prophet (ṢAAS) spoke the words, "O God, save us from the evil of al-ʿAdawī's son." It was al-Bayhaqī who recounted this.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan Khaythama b. Sulaymān al-Aṭrabulsī stated that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿUmarī, the *qāḍī*, judge, of al-Miṣṣīṣa, related to him, quoting Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmrān b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, quoting Abū ʿUbayd Allāh, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa, who said that his father Muḥammad b. ʿUmrān related to him, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr, on the authority of ʿĀ'isha, God be pleased with her, who said, "Abū Bakr went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he had been his friend before the coming of Islam. On meeting him, Abū Bakr said, 'O Abū al-Qāsim, you have been missed from your tribe's councils; and people are charging you with disloyalty to your forebears.'

"The Messenger of God replied, 'I am the Messenger of God and I summon you to God!' When he had finished speaking Abū Bakr accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left him, and there was no man between Mecca's two mountains happier than he was at Abū Bakr accepting Islam.

"Abū Bakr went thereafter to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, and they all accepted Islam.

"Next day he brought ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Abū Salama b. Abd al-Asad, and al-Arqam b. Abū al-Arqam, and they all accepted Islam. God be pleased with them!"

ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad stated that his father Muḥammad b. ʿUmrān related to him, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, "When the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), 38 men in number, met, Abū Bakr urged the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to proclaim Islam openly, but he replied, 'O Abū Bakr, we are only few in number.'

"However, Abū Bakr kept urging until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did appear openly (as a Muslim). Then the Muslims separated off into different areas of the mosque, each man in his own tribe, and Abū Bakr arose to address the assembly, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained seated. He was the first man to make a speech calling people to God and to His Messenger (ṢAAS). The polytheists were very angry at Abū Bakr and the Muslims and caused violent fights all over the mosque. Abū Bakr was trampled underfoot and severely beaten. The sinner ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa went over to him and began beating him with a pair of old sandals with which he cut up his face and then so trampled Abū Bakr's body that he was badly injured.

"After this Banū Taym arrived and engaged in the fight and the idolaters withdrew from Abū Bakr. Men of Banū Taym then carried Abū Bakr away in a cloth to his house, convinced that he was dying. After that they went back into the mosque and said, 'By God, if Abū Bakr dies we are going to kill ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa!'

"They then returned to Abū Bakr. Thereafter Abū Qaḥāfa, and the Taym tribesmen kept talking to Abū Bakr until, late in the day, he spoke back. He said, 'How is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' But they upbraided and attacked him verbally and rose to leave, telling his mother Umm al-Khayr, 'Be sure to give him something to eat or drink.' When she was alone with him she fretted over him, but he began saying, 'How is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' She replied, 'I swear, I don't know anything about your friend.' He asked, 'Please go to Umm Jamīl, al-Khaṭṭāb's daughter, and ask her about him.'

"She went out to visit Umm Jamīl and said to her, 'Abū Bakr asks you about Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh.' She replied, 'I don't know Abū Bakr nor Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. But if you like I will go with you to your son.' She agreed and took her to where Abū Bakr lay stretched out near death. Umm Jamīl went over to him and let out a scream, shouting, 'By God, they've done this to you for the sake of a crowd of sinners and disbelievers! I just hope God takes vengeance for you on them!'

"He asked, 'How is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' She replied, 'This is your mother, here listening.' He insisted, 'You need fear nothing from her.' She then said, 'He is safe and sound.' 'Where is he?' Abū Bakr asked. 'In the house of Ibn al-Arqam,' she told him.

"He commented, 'God has made it incumbent on me not to taste food or to drink until I go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

"They did nothing until things had quietened down and people were calm again. They then helped him outside, he leaning upon them, and took him in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who greeted him with embraces and kisses, as did the other Muslims. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was extremely moved by his state. Abū Bakr commented, 'I swear by my mother and father, O Messenger of God, I'm not in bad shape, except for what that sinner did to my face. But here is my mother, who is always so kind to her son. You are blessed by God; please invite her to come to God, and pray to Him for her, to save her, through yourself, from hell-fire.'

"And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed for her and invited her to God, and so she did accept Islam.

"They stayed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) there in that house for a month, all 39 men of them.

"Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had accepted Islam the day when Abū Bakr was beaten.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said a prayer for ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb – or for Abū Jahl b. Hishām. ʿUmar awoke next morning – the prayer having been made on Wednesday – and that day, Thursday, accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shouted out, along with all the household, the words *Allāhu Akbar*, 'God is most Great', so loudly at this that they could be heard in the very heights of Mecca.

"Abū al-Arqam, a man who was blind and a disbeliever, then came out saying, 'O God, forgive my young son ʿUbayd al-Arqam, for he has apostacized.'

"'ʿUmar arose and asked, 'O Messenger of God, why do we conceal our faith though we follow the truth, while their religion is displayed openly even though they follow falsehood?' He replied, 'O ʿUmar, we are but few, and you saw what happened to us.' ʿUmar responded, 'By Him who sent you with the truth, I'll never attend a meeting with disbelievers without declaring my faith there.'

"He then left, and circumambulated the *kaʿba*, passing by some Quraysh men who were waiting for him. Abū Jahl b. Hishām asked, 'So-and-so claims you've turned heretic.' ʿUmar responded, 'I bear witness that there is no God but God alone, who has no associate, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger!'

"The polytheists charged at him and he attacked ʿUtba, getting him down and beating him. He poked his fingers into the eye of ʿUtba, who began to scream. The attackers withdrew at this and ʿUmar got up. Whenever anyone came near him he would grab some nearby old chief until the people gave up attacking him. He then attended those meetings he used to frequent, and there gave expression to his faith.

"Thereafter he went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), having vanquished them, and said, 'Do not worry, by my father and mother! By God, I swear I've been to every meeting I used to attend as a polytheist and at every one I've expressed my faith without fear or reservation!'

"So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went outside, ʿUmar leading the way, along with Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and circumambulated the *kaʿba* and performed the noon prayer as a believer. He then went back to the house of al-Arqam, ʿUmar accompanying him. After that ʿUmar went off alone and thereafter the Prophet (ṢAAS) left too."

But the truth is that ʿUmar only accepted Islam after those who migrated for Abyssinia had left, an event that occurred in the sixth year of the mission. Reference to this will be made in the proper place, if God wills it.

We have examined the manner in which Abū Bakr and ʿUmar accepted Islam, God be pleased with them both, in the volume devoted solely to their biography. There we dealt with the subject fully; all praise be to God.

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, from a tradition of Abū Amāma, from ʿAmr b. ʿAbasa al-Sulāmī, God be pleased with him, who said, "I came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the beginning of his mission, while he was in Mecca; he was in hiding at the time. I asked him, 'What are you?' He replied, 'I am a prophet.' 'But what is a prophet?' I asked. 'God's Messenger,' he replied. I asked, 'Was it God who sent you?' 'Yes,' he answered. 'With what did he send you?' I then asked. He replied, 'With the command: Worship God alone; He has no associate. Destroy the idols. And make firm ties of kinship.' I commented, 'Well, that's fine what he sent you with. Who are your followers in this?' He replied, 'A free man and a slave.'"

By this he meant Abū Bakr and Bilāl. He went on, "'Amr used to say, 'I thought myself one quarter of Islam.'

"And so I did accept Islam and said, 'Shall I follow you then, O Messenger of God?' He replied, 'No; join your own people. When you are informed I have gone public, then follow me.'"

It is said that the statement of the Prophet (ṢAAS), "a free man and a slave", has a generic meaning. To interpret it by reference to Abū Bakr and to Bilāl alone would be doubtful, for a group of men had accepted Islam before ʿAmr b. ʿAbsa. And Zayd b. Ḥāritha had accepted Islam before Bilāl. Perhaps he referred to being "one fourth of Islam" by his own knowledge alone, because the believers

were concealing their Islam at this time, few of their close relatives being aware of it, let alone strangers and bedouins from the desert. But God knows best.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, through Abū Usāma, from Hāshim b. Hāshim, there is a *ḥadīth* from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "I heard Abū Isḥāq Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ say, 'No one accepted Islam that same day I did. For seven days I remained one third of Islam.'"

His statement "no one accepted Islam the same day I did" presents only a simple issue. It was recounted by some to read: "except on the day I accepted Islam". This would be problematic, for it suggests that no one preceded him in accepting Islam. And it is well known that Abū Bakr, ʿAlī, Khadīja, and Zayd b. Ḥāritha accepted Islam before he did. Similarly, more than one authority, including Ibn al-Athīr, have reached a consensus that these people did precede in accepting Islam. Abū Ḥanīfa, God be pleased with him, gives textual evidence that each of these did accept Islam before those of his kind. But God knows best.

As for the above statement, "For seven days I remained one-third of Islam", this is problematic. I do not know how to explain it, except for his having made the statement based on his knowledge alone. But God knows best.

Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayyālisī stated that Ḥammād b. Salama related to him, from ʿĀṣim, from Zarr, from ʿAbd Allāh, who is Ibn Masʿūd, who said, "When I was a youth I used to tend flocks for ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿīṭ in Mecca. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr came out and joined me, having escaped from the polytheists. He said – or they both said – 'Do you have any milk you could give us to drink, lad?' I replied, 'But I'm entrusted with it; I can't give it to you to drink.' He then asked, 'Do you have a young ewe that hasn't yet been served by a ram?' 'Yes, I do', I replied.

"I brought the ewe over to them and Abū Bakr tethered it. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took hold of its udder and said a prayer. The udder filled and Abū Bakr brought a hollowed stone and the Prophet (ṢAAS) poured milk into it. He then drank, quoting Abū Bakr, and poured some for me too. He now spoke to the udder and told it to contract, which it did.

"Later I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Teach me some of this good speech,' meaning the Qurʾān. He replied, 'Consider yourself a well-taught young man.' I then took from his mouth 70 *suras* regarding which no one can challenge me."

This is how Imām Aḥmad related this anecdote, from ʿAffān, from an account of it by Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafa also recounted it, from Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh, from ʿĀṣim b. Abū al-Nujūd.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, related to him, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Baṭṭa al-Aṣbahānī, quoting al-Ḥasan b. al-Jahm, quoting

al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faraj, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, quoting Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. al-Zubayr, from his father – or from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān – who said, "The acceptance of Islam by Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ was early; he was the first one of his brothers to accept Islam.

"The beginnings of his becoming Muslim was that he saw himself in a dream placed on the brink of a fire, the size of which was so great as only God could have known. In his sleep he had a vision as though someone were pushing him towards it. Then he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) grip him by his waist-wrappers (so that) he would not fall. He awoke in a fright from his sleep and said, 'I swear by God that this was a vision of the truth.'

"When he met Abū Bakr b. Abū Qaḥāfa, he told him of this and Abū Bakr replied, 'This was indeed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS): follow him. You will follow him and enter into Islam with him. Islam will prevent you from falling into it (the fire) though your father will do so.'

"And so he joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was at Ajyad, and asked him, 'O Messenger of God, O Muḥammad, to what do you call (people)?' He answered, 'I invite you to come to God, the One, He who has no associate, and (to bear witness) that Muḥammad is His slave and His Messenger, and for you to abandon your practice of worshipping rocks that cannot hear, nor harm, nor see, nor benefit, nor know who it is who worship them and who do not.'

"Khālid said, 'I do bear witness that there is no God but God, and that you are the Messenger of God.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was delighted at his accepting Islam.

"Khālid then went away and his father learned of his accepting Islam. So he sent after him and had him brought back. His father reprimanded him and beat him with a club he held in his hand so hard that he broke it upon his head. He swore, 'By God, I'll prevent you from getting food!' Khālid responded, 'If you do so, God will provide me what I shall live by.'

"He then went off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) whom he served and stayed with."

An Account of how Ḥamza, son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, God be pleased with him, the uncle of the Prophet (ṢAAS), accepted Islam.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as saying that a man of the Aslam tribe – a man with a fine memory – related to him that Abū Jahl blocked the path of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Ṣafā, and reviled and cursed him, inflicting insults on his religion. This was reported to Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who then went up to Abū Jahl and, standing right there over him, gave him a terrible beating with his bow on the head that fractured his skull.

Quraysh men of Banū Makhzūm tribe approached Ḥamza to give Abū Jahl help against him. They said to Ḥamza, "So, we see you're turning heretic then!"

"And who's going to prevent me?" demanded Ḥamza, "when I now see clearly and can testify that he is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and that what he says is the truth. I'll not retract, so you just go on and stand in my way, if you're serious!"

Abū Jahl then spoke up, "Leave Abū ʿUmara alone; I swear, I really did badly insult his nephew."

When Ḥamza accepted Islam Quraysh knew that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had gained strength and was protected, and so they refrained from some of their previous treatment of him. Ḥamza spoke some verses on this subject.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Then Ḥamza went home where Satan came to him and said, 'You, a Quraysh chief, have followed this heretic and abandoned the religion of your forefathers! Death is best for you for what you've done!'

"Ḥamza then addressed his inner self, saying, 'O God, if what I've done was right, then make me believe it in my own heart! Or else find me some way out of my predicament!'

"He then spent a night worse than he ever had before due to the whisperings of the devil.

"Next morning he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said to him, 'O nephew, I've fallen into a trap from which I don't know how to escape. I don't know whether continuing as I am is wiser for me, or whether it's a terrible mistake. Please talk to me. I really need you to talk to me, nephew.'

"And so the Messenger of God went over to him and talked and preached to him, telling him both what frightened and cheered him. God placed in his heart faith at what he was told by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Ḥamza therefore said, 'I do truly bear witness that you are telling the truth. Make your faith public, O nephew; for, by God, I would not like to own what is under the sky while keeping to my former religion.'"

So Ḥamza was one of those through whom God fortified the faith.

Al-Bayhaqī related it thus from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from an account given by Yūnus b. Bukayr.

An Account of how Abū Dharr, God be pleased with him, came to accept Islam.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, also a *ḥāfiẓ*, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Rūmī, quoting al-Naḍr b. Muḥammad, quoting ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, from Abū Zumayl Simāk b. al-Walīd,

from Mālik b. Marthad, from his father, from Abū Dharr, who said, "I was a quarter of Islam. Three persons accepted Islam before myself, and I was the fourth. I went to the Messenger of God and said, 'Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God. I bear witness that there is no God but God, and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.' I then saw the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) radiate with pleasure."

This is an abbreviated account.

Al-Bukhārī stated, regarding the acceptance of Islam by Abū Dharr, that ʿAmr b. ʿAbbās related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, from al-Muthannā, from Abū Jamra, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that when news of the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Abū Dharr, he said to his brother, "Ride off into that valley and bring me information about this man who claims that he is a prophet to whom information comes from heaven. Listen to what he says, then come back to me."

The brother then left, came to the Prophet (ṢAAS), heard his words, then returned to Abū Dharr. He told him, "I saw him advocating ethical behaviour, and delivering speech that was not poetry."

Abū Dharr told him, "You've not solved my problem."

He then equipped himself for a journey, carrying a large, full waterskin, and left for Mecca. There he went to the mosque and looked for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) but did not know how to recognize him and he was reluctant to ask after him. When night came and he lay down to rest, ʿAlī saw him and realized he was a stranger. Abū Dharr followed him without either man asking the other any questions. Next morning when he arose, Abū Dharr carried off his water-skin and provisions to the mosque, where he remained all day without the Prophet (ṢAAS) seeing him. When night came, he set out his bedding. ʿAlī passed by and exclaimed, "Isn't it high time the man knew his house!" He then helped him up and took him home, neither man asking the other any questions.

The third day the same thing happened and again ʿAlī accommodated him. But this time ʿAlī asked him, "Won't you tell me what brought you here?" Abū Dharr replied, "I will if you'll promise faithfully to guide me." ʿAlī agreed and so Abū Dharr explained. ʿAlī then told him, "He is truth; he is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Tomorrow morning follow me and if I see anything that makes me fearful for you, I will get up as if I need to urinate. If I leave, follow me and go where I do."

ʿAlī did this and Abū Dharr followed on behind him and accompanied him when he went in to the Prophet (ṢAAS). Abū Dharr heard him speak and he accepted Islam then and there.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) then told him, "Go back to your people and tell them; then wait till you hear from me."

But Abū Dharr replied, "No, by Him who sent you with the truth, I'll shout it out in full public!"

He then left and went to the mosque, where he shouted at the top of his voice, "I bear witness that there is no God but God, and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God!" At that everyone there set about beating him till they laid him low.

Then al-ʿAbbās came and, bending over him, exclaimed, "Woe unto you! Don't you realize that he is from Ghifār, and that your trade route is to Syria?" He then rescued Abū Dharr from them. But the next day Abū Dharr did the same and was again attacked and then saved by al-ʿAbbās.

This is the story as told by al-Bukhārī.

Abū Dharr's acceptance of Islam is elaborated in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections of Muslim and elsewhere.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd b. Hārūn related to him, quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, quoting Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṣāmit, who quoted Abū Dharr as saying, "We – that is I, my brother Anīs, and our mother – left our tribe of Ghifār because they used to disregard the restrictions of the holy month.

"We took up residence with an uncle of ours who was a man of wealth and status; he honoured us and treated us extremely well. But his family envied us and told him, 'If you were to go away from your people, Anīs would take your place over them.'

"Our uncle then came to us and reported what he had been told. I then said to him, 'You've cancelled out all your prior generosity to us. We'll have no communion with you henceforth.'

"So we assembled our herd of camels and set off with them, while our uncle covered himself up in his robe and began to weep.

"We rode on until we made camp on the outskirts of Mecca. My brother Anīs then made a wager, betting our flock of camels and an additional number equal to our herd. He (and his competitor) then went to a diviner who decided in favour of Anīs. Anīs returned to us with our herd and a like one."

Abū Dharr continued, "Now, my nephew, I had been praying for three years prior to meeting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." I asked, "To whom?" "To God." "In which direction?" "Wherever God directed me. And I would pray each evening till deep into the night, when I find myself under my blanket, until the sun would rise."

"Well any way," Anīs said, "I have business in Mecca; await me until I return." He left and was away for what seemed a long time, then he came back. I asked him, "What kept you?" He said, "I met a man who claimed that God had sent him with your religion." "And what do people say of him?" I asked. "They say that he is a poet and a soothsayer." Anīs was himself a poet.

He went on, "Anīs commented, 'I've heard soothsayers and he does not speak like them. And I've checked his utterances against the measures of poetry and, by God, it doesn't fit anyone's tongue as poetry. And, I swear, he is truthful, whereas the rest are liars.'

"I asked him, 'Could you stand in for me while I leave?' 'Yes,' he replied, 'but watch out for the Meccans. They have pilloried and berated him.'

"So I left and went to Mecca, where I asked a weak-looking man, 'Where is the one people refer to as the heretic?' But he pointed at me and the people of that valley pelted me with clods of earth and bones until I was injured with wounds and fainted. When I got up later, I was like a red pole. I made my way to *zamzam*, drank its water and washed the blood off myself. I then positioned myself between the *ka'ba* and its hangings. And there I stayed, O nephew, for 30 days and nights without sustenance except for water from *zamzam*. But I gained weight and developed folds of fat on my belly, finding no evidence on my body of the emaciation of starvation.

"One night when the moon was very bright and the Meccans were fast asleep, there were only two women circumambulating the *ka'ba*. As they came past me they were saying prayers to the gods Isāf and Nā'ila. I commented, 'Make one of them have intercourse with the other!' This did not deter them, so I then said, 'They're just like bits of wood, but I'd not lean on them!'

"At this they scurried away, wailing, 'If only one of our menfolk were here!'

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr, on their way down from the mountain, met these women and asked them what was the matter. 'It's that heretic between the *ka'ba* and its hangings.' They asked them what I had said, and the women replied, 'He said a real mouthful to us!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companion then came along, kissed the stone, circumambulated the *ka'ba*, then prayed. I went over to him and was the first person to address him with the greeting of the community of Islam. He replied, 'Peace be upon you, and God's mercy. Who are you?' I told him I was from the Ghifār tribe. He brought his hand to his forehead in a gesture of surprise and I told myself, 'He dislikes my being from Ghifār!'

"I made as if to take him by the hand, but his Companion pushed me away, knowing him better then I did.

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then asked, 'How long have you been here?' 'I've been here for 30 days and nights,' I answered.

"'And who has been feeding you?' he asked.

"'There's been nothing except *zamzam* water, but I've gained so much weight that I developed folds of fat on my belly. And I feel no emaciation from hunger.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'It's blessed! Wonder food!'

"Abū Bakr then asked, 'Please, O Messenger of God, permit me to give him some food tonight.' And he agreed.

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then left and I went with them. Abū Bakr opened a gate and began picking some grapes from Ṭā'if for us. And that was the first food I ate there. I stayed some time in Mecca.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, 'I have been directed to go to a land of palm trees, none other than Yathrib, I believe. Will you go and inform your people about me? Perhaps God will benefit them through you, and give you reward among them too.'

"So I left and rejoined my brother Anīs. He asked me, 'What did you do?' 'What I did was, I accepted Islam and believed.'

"He commented, 'I've nothing against your religion. I too accept Islam and believe.'

"We then went to our mother and she said, 'Well, I've nothing against your religion. I accept Islam and believe.' We then packed up and rejoined our tribe of Ghifār, and some of them accepted Islam before the Messenger of God migrated to Medina. Khufāf b. Aymā' b. Rakhṣa the Ghifārī led them as he was their chief at that time. The remainder of them said, 'If the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) comes, we will accept Islam.'

"And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did come and the remainder of them did accept Islam. Then the Aslam tribe arrived and said, 'O Messenger of God, we'll accept Islam just as our Ghifār brothers did.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'God has *ghafara*, "forgiven", Ghafar, and God has *salama*, "made peace with", Aslam!'"

Muslim related this from Hudba b. Khālid from Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra in much the same words. The story of Abū Dharr's acceptance of Islam is also told in another way, along with strange additions. But God knows best.

The account of the acceptance of Islam by Salmān al-Fārisī has been given previously in the book recounting the miraculous signs of the mission of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

An Account of the acceptance of Islam by Ḍimād.

Muslim and al-Bayhaqī related a *ḥadīth* of Dāwūd b. Abū Hind, from ʿAmr b. Saʿīd, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that Ḍimād came to Mecca, he being a man of the Azd tribe from Shanū'a. He used to say incantations to protect people from those winds. He overheard some Meccan fools saying, "Muḥammad is crazy." He asked them, "Where is this man? Perhaps God will cure him at my hands."

He recounted, "I met Muḥammad and said, 'I use incantations against these winds. And God cures at my hands whomever He wishes. Do come along.'

"Muḥammad (ṢAAS) replied, 'Praise be to God! We praise Him and seek His help. Whomever God leads aright, no one can lead astray. Whomever God leads astray, no one can lead aright. I bear testimony that there is no God but God alone who has no associates.' He repeated this three times."

Ḍimād said, "I swear, I have heard the speech of soothsayers, sorcerers, and poets, but I never heard the like of these words. Give me your hand and I'll pledge you my allegiance in Islam."

The Messenger of God accepted his pledge and asked him, "For your tribe too?" "Yes, for my tribe too," he agreed.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) dispatched an army that passed by the people of Ḍimād. The army commander asked his troops, "Have you seized anything from these people?" One of the men replied, "I did take one strong-backed camel from them." He ordered the man, "Give it back to them; they are from the tribe of Ḍimād."

In another account Ḍimād said to the Prophet (ṢAAS), "Repeat these words of yours to me; they are the epitome of oratory."

Abū Nu'aym devoted a long chapter in his work *al-Dalā'il* (*The Signs*) to accounts of the prominent men who accepted Islam. He gave it in fine detail, may God have mercy on him and reward him.

Ibn Isḥāq gave a list of the names of the Companions, God be pleased with them, who accepted Islam early on. He stated, "Then Abū 'Ubayda accepted Islam, as did Abū Salama, al-Arqam b. Abū al-Arqam, 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn, 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith and Sa'īd b. Zayd, along with his wife Fāṭima, daughter of al-Khaṭṭāb.

Also there were Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr, and 'Ā'isha, also daughter of Abū Bakr, when she was young.

As well there were Qudāma b. Maẓ'ūn, 'Abd Allāh b. Maẓ'ūn, Khabbāb b. al-Aratt, 'Umayr b. Abū Waqqāṣ, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, Mas'ūd b. al-Qārī, Salīṭ b. 'Amr, 'Ayyāsh b. Abū Rabī'a, along with his wife Asmā', daughter of Salama b. Mukharriba of the Taym tribe, and Khunays b. Hudhāqa, and 'Āmir b. Rabī'a.

Then there were 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, Abū Aḥmad b. Jaḥsh, Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib, along with his wife Asmā' daughter of 'Umays.

Others included Ḥāṭib b. al-Ḥārith and his wife Fāṭima, daughter of al-Mujallil, and also Ḥaṭṭāb b. al-Ḥārith and his wife Fukayha, daughter of Yasār, Ma'mar b. al-Ḥārith b. Ma'mar al-Jumaḥī, and al-Sā'ib b. 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn, al-Muṭṭalib b. Azhar b. 'Abd Manāf and his wife Ramla, daughter of Abū 'Awf b. Ṣubayra b. Sa'īd b. Sahm, al-Naḥḥām, whose name was Nu'aym b. 'Abd Allāh b. Asīd, 'Āmir b. Fuhayra, the freed-man of Abū Bakr, Khālid b. Sa'īd, Umayna, daughter of Khalaf b. As'ad b. 'Āmir b. Bayāḍa, of Khuzā'a, and

Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Shams, Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, Wāqid b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿArīn b. Thaʿlaba of Tamīm, allies to Banū ʿAdī.

Also there were Khālid b. al-Bukayr, ʿĀmir b. al-Bukayr, ʿĀqil b. al-Bukayr, Iyās b. al-Bukayr b. ʿAbd Yālayl b. Nāshib b. Ghīra, of the tribe of Saʿd b. Layth. The given name of ʿĀqil (a word meaning "wise") had originally been Ghāfil (a word meaning "heedless") and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had renamed him ʿĀqil. These were all allied to the tribe of ʿAdī b. Kaʿb.

Also there were ʿAmmār b. Yāsir and Ṣuhayb b. Sinān.

Thereafter people began accepting Islam in large numbers, men and women both, so that it became a prominent subject of discussion in Mecca.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "God then ordered his Messenger (ṢAAS), after three years of his mission, to announce it openly and to remain firm against the evil of the polytheists.

"The Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) would go off along mountain trails when they prayed, to hide this from their people.

"While Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ was at prayer, along with a small group of others, on a mountain trail, some polytheists came at them. They upbraided them, reviled them for what they were doing, and attacked them.

"Saʿd struck one man with a camel's jawbone and cut him open; this was the first blood spilled in Islam."

Al-Umawī related this incident at length in his *maghāzī* study of the early campaigns, through al-Waqqāṣī, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿĀmir b. Saʿd, from his father. His account states that the man wounded was ʿAbd Allāh b. Khaṭal, God damn him.

CHAPTER: GOD'S COMMAND TO HIS MESSENGER (ṢAAS) TO ANNOUNCE HIS MISSION PUBLICLY.

This chapter deals with God's command to his Messenger (ṢAAS) to announce publicly his mission to high and low and how He told him to be patient and stoical, and to oppose those who remain stubborn, mendacious and ignorant even after the evidence had been brought against them and the Messenger had been sent to them. It also mentions the damages they had done to him and to his Companions, may God bless them all.

God Almighty stated, "And warn those of your people closest to you and bring down your wing to protect those believers who follow you. And if they disobey you, say, 'I am innocent of what you do'. Put your trust in the Almighty and All-Merciful, who sees you when you arise and when you turn about among those prostrating in prayer; He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing" (*sūrat al-Shuʿarāʾ*, XXVI, v.214–20).

And the Almighty stated, "It is surely a message to you and to your people, and you will all be questioned" (*sūrat al-Zukhruf*, XLIII, v.44).

Also He stated, "He who imposed the Qur'ān upon you will bring you back to an after life" (*sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*, XXVIII, v.85). This means, He who has made a demand upon you and has required you to announce the Qur'ān will return you to the hereafter, which is the *maʿād*, the afterlife, and He will question you about that. As the Almighty stated, "And, by your Lord, we will question them all for what they have done" (*sūrat al-Ḥijr*, XV, v.92–3).

The verses and statements concerning this are numerous, and we have given these in detail in our *Exegesis*. We addressed this issue at length in commenting on the verse, "And warn those of your people closest to you" in *sūrat al-Shuʿarā'*, XXVI, v.214. There we gave many references to that.

On this subject, Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Numayr related, from al-Aʿmash, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When God sent down, 'And warn those of your people closest to you', the Prophet (ṢAAS), went up on Mt. Ṣafā and called out, 'Ya Ṣabāḥā!'

"People gathered there around him; they consisted of men who had come to him themselves and others who had sent messengers.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressed them, saying, 'O tribe of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, O tribe of Fihr, O tribe of Kaʿb! If I were to tell you that there were horsemen on the heights of this mountain who planned to attack you, don't you think you would believe me?' 'Yes,' they replied. He then announced, 'Well, I am come to warn you of a terrible punishment.'

"Abū Lahab, God damn him! said, 'Damn you! May you perish all day long! You called us here for this?'

"And so God, the Almighty and Glorious, revealed 'Damn the hands of Abū Lahab! Damn him!'" (*sūrat al-Lahab*, CXI, v.1).

Both of the sources gave this *ḥadīth* from an account of al-Aʿmash in similar form.

Aḥmad stated that Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmr related to him, quoting Zā'ida, quoting ʿAbd al-Mālik b. ʿUmayr, from Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, from Abū Hurayra, who said that when this verse, "And warn those of your people closest to you" was revealed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned the people of Quraysh, high and low alike, and told them, "O Quraysh, save yourselves from hell-fire! O tribe of Banū Kalb, save yourselves from hell-fire! O tribe of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, save yourselves from hell-fire! O Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad, save yourself from hell-fire! For I, I swear by God, have nothing to protect you from God, except the fact that you have kinship (to me) for which I shall care."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Mālik b. ʿUmayr, and it was published in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from an account of al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b.

al-Musayyib and Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra. The account has other provenances from Abū Hurayra in the *musnad* collection of Aḥmad and elsewhere.

Aḥmad also stated that Wakīʿ b. Hishām related to him, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, God bless her, who said, "When there was revealed the verse, 'And warn those of your people closest to you' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and said, 'O Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad! O Ṣafiyya, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib! O family of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib! I have nothing to protect you from God; ask whatever you will from my wealth.'" Muslim also related this.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated in his work *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*) that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd *al-ḥāfiẓ* related to him, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said that someone who concealed his name from him told him that he heard ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal relate from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, "When there was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the verses, 'And warn those of your people closest to you and bring down your wing to protect those believers who follow you', the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I realized that if I announced it to my people I would see from them what I would hate, and so I kept silent. Then Gabriel, peace be upon him, came to me and said, 'O Muḥammad, if you do not act as your Lord has ordered you, He will punish you with hell-fire.'"

ʿAlī continued, "So he called for me and said, 'O ʿAlī, God has commanded me to warn my closest relatives. So prepare for us a sheep on a platter of food, along with a large pot of milk, then assemble Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib for me.'

"I did so and they assembled on that day. There were 40 men, more or less; among them there were his uncles Abū Ṭālib, Ḥamza, and al-ʿAbbās, along with Abū Lahab, the vile polytheist.

"I served the food platter to them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took from it a piece of meat, split it with his teeth and tossed it in all directions, saying, 'Eat, in the name of God!' Everyone ate until satiated, nothing being seen left but the marks of their fingers. No one ate like that ever before! Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Now give them to drink, ʿAlī!' So I brought the large pot of milk, and they drank it up till they were full. I swear, no one ever drank that way before!

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on the point of addressing them, Abū Lahab, God damn him! forestalled him by saying, 'Well, what a feast your host served to you to eat!' At that they dispersed without the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressing them.

"Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Prepare for us the same food and drink as yesterday; that fellow forestalled me by saying what he did before I could address them.'

"I did so, then gathered them for him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did as he had the previous day. They ate till they were full; I swear, none of them ate like that ever before! Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Give them to drink, ʿAlī!' So I brought them the pot and they drank of it till they were satiated. I swear, none of them drank like that before!

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to address them, Abū Lahab, God damn him! forestalled him by saying, 'Well, what a feast your host served to you to eat!' So they dispersed without the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressing them.

"Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, 'ʿAlī, prepare food and drink for us as you did yesterday. This fellow forestalled me by saying what you heard before I could address the people.'

"I did so and assembled them again. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acted as he had the day before. They ate till they were satiated, and then I served them from the pot until they were full. I swear, I never saw people eat and drink like that!

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke, 'O Family of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, I know of no Arab man, by God, who brought his people anything better than I have brought you. I have brought you what deals with this world and the afterlife as well.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this anecdote in this way through Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Isḥāq, from a sheikh of uncertain identity, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith.

Abū Jaʿfar b. Jarīr related it from Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Rāzī, from Salama b. al-Faḍl al-Abrash, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Abū Miryam b. al-Qāsim, from al-Minhāl b. ʿAmr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿAlī. His account is similar but adds after the words, "I have brought forth for you the good of this world and the next", "And God has ordered me to call upon you to come to Him. And whoever of you will aid me in this matter I must consider my brother." And so on.

ʿAlī continued, "But everyone drew back from that. Since I was the youngest, had the most bleary eyes, the largest stomach and the shortest legs, I called out, 'O Prophet of God, I will be your *wazīr* (i.e. your deputy) in this!'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) took me by the neck and said, 'This is my brother' and so on and so forth, 'so listen to him and obey him!'

ʿAlī went on, "Everyone began laughing and saying to Abū Ṭālib, 'He has ordered you to listen to your son and to obey him!'"

Abd al-Ghaffār b. al-Qāsim Abū Maryam is the sole authority for this account, and he was a liar and a *shīʿī* whom ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī and others accused of inventing the *ḥadīth*; the other scholars consider him a weak source.

But Ibn Abū Ḥātim related, in his work of exegesis of the Qurʾān, from his father, from al-Ḥusayn b. ʿIsā b. Maysara al-Ḥārithī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd

al-Quddūs, from al-Aʿmash, from al-Munhāl b. ʿAmr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, who said, "'Alī stated, 'When the verse "And warn those of your people closest to you" was revealed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to me, "Make me a leg of lamb on a platter of food and a beaker of milk, and invite Banū Hāshim for me." I did invite them and on that occasion they were 40, give or take a man.'"

This account is much the same up to the words, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forestalled them in speaking and asked, 'Which of you will settle my debt for me, and be my successor for my family?'"

ʿAlī went on. "They were all silent. Al-ʿAbbās kept quiet because he feared the issue might involve his money. And I kept quiet because of al-ʿAbbās's age.

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) repeated his question and al-ʿAbbās kept silent and, witnessing this, I said, 'I will, O Messenger of God!' 'You?' he replied.

ʿAlī explained, "At that time I was the most homely looking person there. I was bleary eyed, had a large stomach and short legs."

This wording of the anecdote substantiates the previous one, except that it does not have Ibn ʿAbbās as one of the chain of authorities. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad related in his *musnad* collection from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Asadī and Rabīʿa b. Nājīdh from ʿAlī an account approximating to the former, or giving testimony to it. But God knows best.

His statement in this *ḥadīth*, "Which of you will settle my debt for me, and be my successor for my family" carries the implication "if I should die". It seems that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) feared that if he announced his mission to the Arab polytheists they might kill him. He therefore wanted to establish that whoever came in his place thereafter would be beneficial to his family and fulfil his obligations. But God removed his concern at that with His words, "O Messenger, announce what has been revealed to you from your Lord. If you do not, then you will not have fulfilled your mission. God will protect you from the people" (*sūrat al-Māʾida*, V, v.67).

The outcome was that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued to call upon people to believe in God Almighty day and night, secretly and openly, without anyone being able to deter, dissuade, or prevent him. He followed people everywhere, into their celebrations, meetings and gatherings, to the fairs and to the pilgrimage stations. Everyone he met, free man or slave, weak or powerful, rich or poor he urged; as far as he was concerned all were equal and alike.

Violent and powerful Quraysh polytheists inflicted harm both verbal and physical upon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and upon those powerless individuals who followed him.

One of the most violent of those opposed to him was his uncle Abū Lahab; his full name was ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. His wife, Umm Jamīl, was named Arwā, daughter of Ḥarb b. Umayya, the sister of Abū Sufyān.

Another uncle, Abū Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, was at variance with Abū Lahab, for he favoured the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) above all other men for his fine qualities. He treated him with the utmost compassion and kindness and gave him his support and protection. In doing this he was in opposition to his own people, even though he shared their religion and their friendship. God had, however, put his heart to the test by making him love the Prophet (ṢAAS) by natural disposition rather than for religious reasons.

His persisting in the religion of his people was, in fact, an expression of the wisdom of Almighty God and a factor in the protection He was affording to His Messenger. For if Abū Bakr had accepted Islam, he would have no longer held any weight or leadership among the Quraysh polytheists; they would have held no respect for or fear of him. They would have penalized him and done him verbal and actual harm. For your Lord determines and establishes whatever He wills! And He has divided up His creation into many different types and kinds.

Both these uncles, Abū Ṭālib and Abū Lahab, were infidels. But whereas the former will be at the very surface of the fire, the latter will be deep down in its lowest depths. About him God made revelation in one of the chapters of the Qurʾān to be recited from the pulpit and read in sermons and prayers. It contains information that he will roast in flaming hell-fire, along with his wife, that "firewood hawker".[77]

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ibrāhīm b. Abū al-ʿAbbās related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from his father who said that a man named Rabīʿa b. ʿAbbād of Banū al-Dīl, who had been an idol-worshipper and had accepted Islam, recalled, "I saw the Messenger of God, before the coming of Islam, at the fair of Dhū al-Majāz, and he was saying, 'O you people, say, "There is no God but God", and you will prosper.' There were people gathered all around him, while behind him stood a mean-looking, squint-eyed man wearing two plaits who was saying, 'He's a lying Sabian!' This man followed him wherever he went. I asked who he was and was told it was his uncle, Abū Lahab."

Imām Aḥmad and al-Bayhaqī both also related this anecdote from a *ḥadīth* in similar form from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād.

Al-Bayhaqī also stated that Abū Ṭāhir al-Faqīh related to us, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qaṭṭān, quoting Abū al-Azhar, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadar, from Rabīʿa al-Dīlī, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Dhū al-Majāz following people into their dwellings urging them to believe in God, while behind him went a squint-eyed man with scarred cheeks who was saying, 'O people, let not this fellow entice you away from your religion, the religion of your forefathers!'

"I asked, 'Who is he?' And I was told, 'That's Abū Lahab.'"

77. A reference to the words of *sūrat Abū Lahab*, CXI, v.4.

He then related this anecdote through Shuʿba, from al-Ashʿath b. Salīm, from a man of Kināna, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the Dhū al-Majāz fair. He was saying, 'O people, say "There is no God but God" and you will prosper.' There was a man standing there behind him scattering dust on him. It was Abū Jahl, and what he was saying was, 'O people, let not this fellow entice you away from your religion. He just wants you to give up worship of al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā.'"

This anecdote states it was Abū Jahal, but it is obvious that it was Abū Lahab. We will give details of his biography when we report his death, which occurred after the battle of Badr. If God Almighty wills it, so shall it be.

Abū Ṭālib, as will be apparent from both his actions and his qualities, was a man of great natural kindness and compassion. He showed this by his support for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and for his Companions, God bless them all.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated that he was informed from Ṭalḥa b. Yaḥyā, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, that ʿUqayl b. Abū Ṭālib related, "Quraysh came to Abū Ṭālib and said, 'This nephew of yours is disturbing our meetings and our mosque; keep him away from us!' He asked me, 'O ʿUqayl, go and bring me Muḥammad.' So I went off and brought him out from a *kanas*.' This word means a "tent"; or he might have used the word *khanas*, a "hide-out", or alternatively as some say, a "small house". He arrived back at midday in the full heat. When he came in, Abū Ṭālib told him, 'These relatives of yours charge that you are annoying them in their meetings and in their mosque. Stop annoying them!'

"At this the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gazed upwards to the sky and asked, 'Do you see that sun?' 'Yes,' they replied. He then said, 'I'm no more capable of stopping that than you are of getting a flame from it.'

"Abū Ṭālib then said, 'By God, I swear that my nephew never lied. So go home!'"

Al-Bukhārī related this story in his history, from Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ, from Yūnus b. Bukayr. And al-Bayhaqī related it from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār in the same words.

Moreover al-Bayhaqī related it through Yūnus, from Ibn Isḥāq, who stated, "Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas related to me that he was told that when Quraysh made this complaint to Abū Ṭālib, he sent for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'O nephew, your relatives have come to me and told me this and that. Do right by me and by yourself by not burdening me with what neither you nor I could bear. Stop telling your relatives what they dislike hearing!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thought that Abū Ṭālib's attitude towards himself and his Muslims had changed and that his support for them had weakened. And so he addressed Abū Ṭālib as follows, 'O uncle, if the sun were placed in my right hand and the moon in my left, I would not give up this matter until

either God gives me success in it, or I perish in its pursuit.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then broke down into tears.

"When he turned to leave, Abū Ṭālib said, having seen how deeply the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been moved, said to him, 'O nephew!' When he turned to him, he said, 'Continue as before; do as you like. By God, I will never abandon you for any reason.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses on that subject:

"By God, they'll never get their gang to you until I'm laid to rest, buried in the ground.

Carry on with your work that is beyond reproach; rejoice, and may you be content in doing so.

You invited me, and I knew you were advising well; you spoke the truth, and you were ever trustworthy.

You offered a religion I knew to be the best religion of mankind.

Were it not for people's blame and anger, you'd find me giving it my favour openly."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Ibn Isḥāq related various verses of Abū Ṭālib on that subject."

All this gives evidence that God Almighty gave the prophet (ṢAAS) His protection through his uncle, even though he differed in his religion. And God had protected him when his uncle was not there; God's will is final and unchallenged.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated that Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related to him, quoting a man originally from Egypt some 40 years previously, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, a long anecdote relating what transpired between the polytheists of Mecca and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose, Abū Jahl b. Hishām said, "O Quraysh, Muḥammad is persisting, as you know, in criticizing our religion, reviling our forefathers, ridiculing our values and insulting our gods. I swear by God that I'll sit and wait for him tomorrow carrying a rock, and if he prostrates in his prayer, I'll smash his head with it! And let ʿAbd Manāf's people do whatever they like about it afterwards."

Next day Abū Jahl, God curse him! took a rock and sat to wait for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). That morning, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came as usual; his direction of prayer at that time was towards Syria. When he prayed he positioned himself between the corner (of the *kaʿba*) with the "black stone" and the Yemeni corner, facing so that the *kaʿba* was between himself and Syria. By the time he came to pray Quraysh were already sitting in their meeting places, waiting. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prostrated in prayer, Abū Jahl did pick up the rock and approached him. When he got near him, he retreated in fear, his colour pale in terror. His hands lost their grip on the rock and it fell.

Quraysh men went up to him and asked, "What's the matter with you, Abū al-Ḥakam?" He answered, "When I got up to do as I told you yesterday I would and got near him, a stallion camel blocked my way to him. And, by God, I never saw a stallion so big as it, with a neck and fangs like it had! It was about to devour me!"

Ibn Isḥāq related, "It was reported to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'That was Gabriel. And if he had come near me, he would have taken him.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, related to him, quoting Abū al-Naḍr, the jurist, quoting ʿUthmān al-Dāramī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, quoting al-Layth b. Saʿd, from Isḥāq b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Farwa, from Abān b. Ṣāliḥ, from ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, from his father, from ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who said, "One day I was in the mosque when Abū Jahl, God curse him! arrived. He said, 'I swear by God, that if I see Muḥammad prostrating in prayer, I'll stomp on his neck!"

"I then left and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him what Abū Jahl had said. He left home in a rage and went to the mosque. He was in a hurry to enter through the door, but he hit the wall instead. I told myself that this was an evil day; I put on my cloak and followed him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered then, recited the verse, 'Read in the name of your Lord who created, created man from a clot.' When he reached the passage relating to Abū Jahl: 'No; man is indeed impious, to see himself self-sufficient' (*sūrat al-ʿAlaq*, XCVI, v.1, 2; 6, 7), a man said to Abū Jahl, 'O Abū al-Ḥakam, that's Muḥammad.' Abū Jahl replied, 'Can't you see what I see? By God, the vistas of heaven have been barred to me!' When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached the end of the *sūrat* he prostrated himself in prayer."

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from ʿAbd al-Karīm, from ʿIkrima, who said, "Ibn ʿAbbās stated, 'What Abū Jahl said was, "If I see Muḥammad praying at the *kaʿba*, I will tread on his neck!"'

"This comment reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he said, 'If he does any such thing the angels will take him, in full view!'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in the same way from Yaḥyā, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

Dāwūd b. Abū Hind stated from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Abū Jahl passed by the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was praying and addressed him with the words, 'Hey, Muḥammad, didn't I forbid you to pray? You know there to be no one who can call upon more people in council than I can.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) reprimanded him and Gabriel spoke the words, 'Let him call his henchmen; we will summon the angels of punishment! (*sūrat al-ʿAlaq*, XCII, v.17–18). By God, if he does summon his people, the angels of justice will inflict punishment on him.'"

Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhī related this; and al-Nasā'ī authenticated it through Dāwūd.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ismā'īl b. Yazīd Abū Zayd related to him, quoting Furāt, from 'Abd al-Karīm, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "Abū Jahl stated, 'If I see Muḥammad at the *ka'ba* praying, I'll fight him till I tread on his neck!'"

He said that he (the Prophet) also used the words, "If he does so, then the *zabāniyya*, (the angels of punishment) will take him away in full view."

Abū Ja'far b. Jarīr stated that Ibn Ḥumayd related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ, quoting Yūnus b. Abū Isḥāq, from al-Walīd b. al-'Izār, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "Abū Jahl said, 'If Muḥammad ever again prays at the shrine, I will kill him!'

"And so God Almighty sent down the verses, 'Read in the name of your Lord who created' up to the verse 'We will certainly smite his forehead, the lying, sinful forehead; let him summon his henchmen, and we will summon the *zabāniyya*' (*sūrat al-'Alaq*, XCVI, v.15–18).

"Then the Prophet (ṢAAS) came and prayed and Abū Jahl was asked, 'Well, what's stopping you?' He replied, '(The space) between myself and him is black with his squadrons.'"

Ibn 'Abbās stated, "And, by God, if he had so much as moved, the angels would have seized him, while the people looked on."

Ibn Jarīr stated that Ibn 'Abd al-A'lā related to him, quoting al-Mu'tamir, from his father, from Nu'aym b. Abū Hind, from Abū Ḥāzim, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "Abū Jahl asked, 'Is Muḥammad to place his face down among your backs?' 'Yes', they replied."

The account continues, "So he said, 'By al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā, if I see him praying like that, I'll stomp on his neck and I'll flatten his face down into the dust!' So he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he prayed in order to tread on his neck, but everyone was surprised to see him retreat and put his hands out as if to protect himself."

He went on, "So he was asked what was the matter, and Abū Jahl replied, 'Between him and myself there is a trench of fire, terrifying things, and wings.'"

The account continues, "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'If he had come near me the angels would have picked him apart limb by limb.'"

He said, "And God Almighty revealed – I don't know whether or not this is in the *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra – 'No, man is indeed impious, to see himself self-sufficient' (*sūrat al-'Alaq*, XCVI, v.6–7), and so on to the end of the *sūrat*."

Aḥmad, Muslim, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn Abū Ḥātim and al-Bayhaqī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān of Taym.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wahb b. Jarīr related to him, quoting Shu'ba, from Abū Isḥāq, from 'Amr b. Maymūn, from 'Abd Allāh, who said, "I never saw the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say a prayer against Quraysh except on one occasion. He was praying while a group of Quraysh sat there; there was the placenta (*salā*) of a sacrificed camel near by him. Quraysh asked, 'Who will pick up that placenta and throw it over his back?' ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayṭ replied, 'I will.' And he picked it up and threw it over his back. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there prostrating until Fāṭima came and removed it off his back. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'God take this crowd of Quraysh! O God, take away ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa! O God, take away Shayba b. Rabīʿa! O God, take away Abū Jahl b. Hishām! O God, take away ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayṭ! O God, take away Ubayy b. Khalaf – or Umayya b. Khalaf – they're like a patch of thorns!'"

ʿAbd Allāh stated, "And I saw all of them killed at the battle of Badr, and they were carried off to al-Qalīb; except for Ubayy, or Umayya b. Khalaf; he was a very large man and so was kept separate."

Al-Bukhārī related this tradition in several places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, and Muslim related it with lines of authority from Ibn Isḥāq.

The man who should rightly be referred to in this tradition is Umayya b. Khalaf. It was he who was killed at the battle of Badr. His brother Ubayy, however, was killed at the battle of Uḥud, as we will explain hereafter. The word *al-salā*, "placenta", used above is what emerges in birth with a baby camel, like the placenta of a woman's baby.

In some versions told in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, when Quraysh did this they laughed so hard they fell right over one another; that is, one would collapse onto the one next to him because of the violence of their laughter. God curse them!

Regarding the same incident, when Fāṭima threw it off him, she drew near Quraysh and insulted them. And also it is said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) finished his prayer he held up his hands to curse them. And when they saw him do this their laughter died down, fearing his imprecation. They say he cursed all the Quraysh chiefs, singling out in his prayer seven of them. In most accounts six of these are named, they being ʿUtba and his brother Shayba, the two sons of Rabīʿa, al-Walīd b. ʿUtba, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayṭ, and Umayya b. Khalaf. Ibn Isḥāq stated, "I forget the seventh." But I state that he was ʿUmāra b. al-Walīd; his name is given in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

The Story of al-Irāshī, the man from Irāsh.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said that ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Sufyān al-Thaqafī stated, "A man from Irāsh brought in to Mecca some camels he owned and Abū Jahl b. Hishām bought them from him. But he was slow in paying for them and so the man from Irāsh came to the place where Quraysh met; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was also there at the time, sitting

near the mosque. The man asked them, 'O Tribe of Quraysh, which man of you will give me help against Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām? I am a stranger, a traveller, and he has cheated me.'

"The Quraysh council replied, 'You see that person' – indicating the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) both to mock him and because of the enmity they knew existed between him and Abū Jahl – 'go to him. He will help you against him.'

"So the man from Irāsh went and stood before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and related his story to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) got up and left with him. When Quraysh saw him do so they told one of their men to follow and see what he would do.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left and went to Abū Jahl's house and knocked on the door. Abū Jahl said, 'Who is there?' He replied, 'It's Muḥammad; come outside!' So Abū Jahl came outside, there being not a drop of blood in his face, his colour having turned pale. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said to him, 'Give this man his due!' Abū Jahl replied, 'Don't leave before I give him what I owe.' He then went back inside and returned with the money he then paid to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left and said to the man from Irāsh, 'Now, go to your destination.' The man then went again before the Quraysh council and said, 'May God reward him well; I have received what was due to me.'

"The man Quraysh had sent to watch came back to them and they asked what he had seen. He replied, 'It was incredible! I swear, when he knocked on Abū Jahl's door and he came out, his spirit was not accompanying him! He told him to give the man his due, and Abū Jahl replied, "Don't leave till I bring it out for him." He then went back inside, then came out and gave it to him.'

"Soon thereafter Abū Jahl arrived and Quraysh asked, 'Well, what's wrong with you? By God, we never saw the like of what you did.' He replied, 'It was terrible! As soon as he knocked on my door and I heard his voice, I was filled with terror. Then when I went outside to him, there on his head was a stallion camel more fearful than any I ever saw before; its neck and teeth were unlike those of any camel. I swear, if I had refused, it would have eaten me!'"

Division

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAyyāsh b. al-Walīd related to him, quoting al-Walīd b. Muslim, quoting al-Awzāʿī, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī (who said) that ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr related to him that he asked Ibn ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, "Tell me what the worst thing was the polytheists did to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

He replied, "While the Prophet (ṢAAS) was praying at the *ḥijr* (the outer enclosure of the *kaʿba*) ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayṭ went up to him, drew his robe around his neck and began choking him hard.

"Abū Bakr, God bless him, approached, took him by the shoulders and pulled him off the Prophet (ṢAAS) saying, 'Would you murder a man for saying, "God is my Lord; He has brought you clear signs from your Lord" to the end of the verse" (*sūrat Ghāfir*, XL, v.28).

Ibn Isḥāq gives the same *ḥadīth* but uses the words "Yaḥyā b. ʿUrwa related to me: I asked ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr . . .".

ʿAbda gives it in the form: "from Hishām, from his father, who said, 'ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ was asked . . .'. And Muḥammad b. ʿAmr said, 'from Abū Salama, who said, 'ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ related to me . . .'."

Al-Bayhaqī stated it, and Sulaymān b. Bilāl related it, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa as ʿAbda gave it.

Al-Bukhārī is the sole authority giving this anecdote; he told it in several places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. In one of these he related it to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. That account is closest to that of ʿUrwa. The fact that it was related from ʿAmr (rather than from the son of ʿAmr) is more likely, since the incident had occurred so early.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said that Yaḥyā b. ʿUrwa related to him, from his father ʿUrwa, who said that he asked ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, "What is the worst thing you saw Quraysh inflict on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" He replied, "I saw them once when all their chiefs had gathered at the *ḥijr* of the *kaʿba* and they were discussing the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They said, 'We've been extraordinarily patient in putting up with this man; he has ridiculed our values, reviled our forefathers, criticized our religion, made divisions among us and insulted our gods. We've put up with a lot from him.' They used words such as these."

He went on, "While they were thus engaged, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appeared. He approached on foot, kissed the 'black stone', then passed on by them as he circumambulated the *kaʿba*. They, as I recognized from the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said some insulting things to him. He went on his path but when he came round past them on his second circuit they again, as I saw from his face, insulted him. When he came round for the third time, they did the same.

"He then spoke, 'Are you listening, O Quraysh? By Him in whose hands is my soul, I'm bringing you slaughter!'

"His words had such great impact on them that they went totally silent. Then those previously most harsh to him addressed him with kindness, saying, 'Why

don't you be sensible and leave, Abū al-Qāsim? You've never acted foolishly.' And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left.

"Next day Quraysh met again in the *ḥijr* and I was there with them. They discussed their interactions with him and said to one another, 'You mentioned what he did to you and what you did to him, until he brought out what you didn't like; so you let him go!'

"While they were engaged in this discussion, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appeared and they leapt upon him as one man and surrounded him, accusing him, 'Haven't you said so-and-so?' making reference to the negative comments they had heard he had made about their gods and their religion.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Yes; I am the one who said that.'

"Then I saw one man grab him by the top fastening of his robe. At this Abū Bakr put himself between them, weeping, and said, 'Shame on you! Would you murder a man for saying, "My Lord is God?"' At this they let him go.

"That incident was the worst treatment he ever had from Quraysh."

Section: On the uniting of the Quraysh chiefs against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions, and their meeting with his uncle Abū Ṭālib who was protecting and aiding him; their pressure upon Abū Ṭālib to deliver him to them, and how he resisted them in that objective, through the aid and strength of God.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakī' related to him, from Ḥammad b. Salama, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'I've suffered harm for God, whereas no one should be harmed; I've been frightened for God, whereas no one should be afraid. At one time, 30 days and nights had passed, and neither I nor Bilāl had what any human can eat except what could be concealed by Bilāl's armpit!'"

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja gave this text from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is a fine, true tradition."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "His uncle Abū Ṭālib showed his compassion and gave his protection to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and stood in front of him.

"And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued performing God's work by practising his religion openly and allowing nothing to deter him.

"When Quraysh saw that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would not give up anything they had complained to him about, neither his separating from them nor his criticism of their gods, and they recognized that his uncle Abū Ṭālib was sympathetic towards him and was standing in front of him and refusing to deliver him to them, some of the Quraysh leaders went to Abū Ṭālib. These men were: 'Utba and Shayba, two sons of Rabī'a b. 'Abd al-Shams b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy, Abū Sufyān Sakhr b. Ḥarb b. Umayya, Abū al-Bakhtarī

(whose given name was al ʿĀṣ b. Hishām b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy), al-Aswad b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, Abū Jahl (whose real name was ʿAmr b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm), al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓa b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy, Nabīh and Munabbih, the two sons of al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿĀmir b. Hudhayfa b. Saʿīd b. Sahm b. ʿAmr b. Husayṣ b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy, and al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil b. Saʿīd b. Sahm." And Ibn Isḥāq added "or those of these men who did go."

"They said, 'O Abū Ṭālib, your nephew has cursed our gods, criticized our religion, ridiculed our values and said our forefathers erred. Either you interpose yourself between us – you disagree with him just as we do – or we'll take care of him for you!'

"Abū Ṭālib gave them a polite and gracious reply and they then left him.

"Thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued as before, openly practising God's religion and calling upon people to embrace it. But then things between them became more heated until the men were mutually hostile and alienated from one another.

"Quraysh discussed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a great deal, complaining to one another and urging one another on to take action against him.

"They then went again to Abū Ṭālib, and told him, 'O Abū Ṭālib, you have seniority, prestige, and position among us, and we have asked you to keep your nephew away from us, but you have not done so. We can't any longer put up with his behaviour in reviling our forefathers, ridiculing our values, and criticizing our gods until such time as you make him desist, or we will battle with him and you in this matter, until one or other side perishes.' They said something of this sort, and then they left.

"It grieved Abū Ṭālib to be alienated from his people, and he was neither sympathetic to the call for Islam by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) nor to the idea of abandoning him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas related to him that he was told that when Quraysh, made these comments to Abū Ṭālib, he sent a message to the Prophet (ṢAAS) in which he said, "O Nephew, your people have come to me and stated various things" – referring to what they had told him – "so protect me and yourself, and don't burden me with more than I can bear." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thought that Abū Ṭālib had changed his attitude, and that he had abandoned him and his fellow Muslims, and lacked the strength to help and protect him.

"So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'O Uncle, if they were to place the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left on condition I abandon this course until God decide it or I perish, I would not abandon it.'

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) broke down in tears and rose to leave.

"As he turned away, Abū Ṭālib called out to him, 'Come close, nephew!' So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) approached him and Abū Ṭālib told him, 'Go ahead, nephew, and say whatever you wish. I will never give you up for any reason.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When Quraysh learned that Abū Ṭālib had refused to abandon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and was determined to break with them in enmity because of this, they went to him, bringing ʿUmāra b. al-Walīd with them. They told him, as I have heard, 'O Abū Ṭālib, this is ʿUmāra b. al-Walīd, the strongest and best-looking young man of Quraysh. Take him and use his mind and strength and adopt him as your own son; he is yours. And hand over to us this nephew of yours who has opposed your religion and that of your forefathers, broken up the unity of your people and ridiculed our values, so that we may kill him. It will be just one man for another!'

"Abū Ṭālib responded, 'By God, what evil is this you ask of me! Will you give me your son to feed for you, while I give you mine for you to kill? This, by God, will never happen!'

"Al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī b. Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy then said, 'By God, Abū Ṭālib, your people have been fair with you and have done their best to avoid offending you. But I don't see you give them anything in return.'

"Abū Ṭālib replied to al-Muṭʿim, 'I swear by God they have not been fair with me. You have agreed to ostracize me and turn the people against me. So do what you think fit.' Or words to that effect.

"The situation worsened and the conflict became more heated, with the people adopting different sides and expressing mutual hostility.

"Abū Ṭālib spoke verses about all this criticizing al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī and those of Banū ʿAbd Manāf and the other Quraysh tribes who were hostile to him. In these verses he made reference to their request to him and to their alienation:

'Tell ʿAmr, al-Walīd and Muṭʿim: "Instead of your (worthless) protection I'd rather have a camel calf

That was sickly and ungainly, that moaned a lot, its urine dripping down its legs,

That was left behind the herd and couldn't keep up, one that looked more like a stoat when climbing the dunes."

I see both our brothers, sons of our father and our mother, who reply when asked, "It's someone else's problem."

No, it is their concern, though they disappeared with the speed of a rock dropping from atop Mt. Dhū ʿAlaq.

I single out ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal, both having dropped us like hot coals

They have slandered and insulted their brothers (in front of) the people; their hands now hold nothing for them

They have shared their prestige with men whose fathers are unknown except for being of low repute.

And Taym and Makhzūm and Zuhra are among them, men who had once been allied with us when help was desired.

By God, enmity between us and you will never end, so long as any of our progeny survive.'"

Section: Concerning their use of excessive violence against individual, powerless Muslims.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Quraysh then incited each other against those individual tribesmen who were Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and had accepted Islam.

"Each tribe persecuted the Muslims among them, using violence and trying to seduce them from their faith.

"God gave protection to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) against them through his uncle Abū Ṭālib.

"When Abū Ṭālib saw what Quraysh were doing, he called upon Banū Hāshim and Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib to join him in aiding and defending the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They did join with him and agreed to his request, except for Abū Lahab, that enemy of God.

"He spoke some verses on this subject, praising them and urging them to fulfil their promises of help and support for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS):

'If Quraysh were to assemble one day to express their pride, the ʿAbd Manāf would be their heart and core

And if the chiefs of ʿAbd Manāf were counted, then in Hishām would be their most noble and ancient of line

If Quraysh do one day express their pride, then Muḥammad will be the one chosen from their core, and their noble one;

Quraysh had their men, both high and low, against us, but they have not succeeded and their hopes are dashed.

In former times we never tolerated evil; if people turned their heads down, we straightened them out.

We defended their sanctuary every evil day, knocking from its walls those attacking it.

Through us the withered stalk is renewed, under our care its roots turn moist and grow.'"

Section: Concerning the objections presented by the polytheists to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); how they troubled him with their asking of him various kinds of signs and miracles, and how this was due to their obstinacy rather than to their seeking guidance.

They were therefore not granted many of their requests or wishes because The Truth, glory be to Him, knew that if they had seen what they wanted, they would have continued straying in their tyranny, error and sin.

God Almighty stated, "And they swear by God, with their mightiest oaths, that if a sign came to them they would believe in it. Say: 'Signs are with God alone.' And what would make you perceive that if such came, they would still not believe? Supposing we turn their hearts and their vision upside down, they will not believe, as at the first time. So we will leave them straying in their tyranny. Even if we sent down the angels to them, and even if the dead spoke to them, and even if we gathered together all things from before, they would not believe unless God wished it. But most of them are foolish" (*sūrat al-An'ām*, VI, v.109–11).

And He said, "Even those against whom God's word has proved true will not believe, even if all signs were to come to them until they see the painful punishment" (*sūrat Yūnus*, X, v.96–7).

The Almighty spoke, "Nothing prevented us from sending the signs except the fact that the earlier peoples disbelieved in them; We did give Thamūd the she-camel in full view, but they used it for evil. We do not send signs for any purpose but to warn" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*, also known as *sūrat Banū Isrā'īl*, XVII, v.59).

And the Almighty said, "And they said, 'We will not believe in you until you break forth a spring from the earth for us. Or until you have a garden of date-palms and grapes amidst which you make streams gush forth. Or until you make the sky fall upon us in pieces, as you have claimed you will. Or until you bring God and the angels before us. Or until you have a house of gold cloth. Or until you rise up to heaven. And we will not believe in your ascension until you bring down for us a book we can read.' Say: 'Glory be to God; am I anything but a mortal man, a messenger?'" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*, XVII, v.90–3).

We have discussed these verses and those similar to them in their places in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And all praise be to God.

Yūnus and Ziyād related, from Ibn Isḥāq, and from a certain scholar, namely a sheikh from Egypt named Muḥammad b. Abū Muḥammad, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr and 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "Leaders from Quraysh chiefs met – and he enumerated their names – after sunset at the rear of the *ka'ba*. Some said, 'Send for Muḥammad and speak with him and argue with him so you will find excuse for him.'

"So they sent a message to him, saying, 'The chiefs of your people have assembled to speak with you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to them quickly, believing that there had been a change in their attitude to him. He was eager for them to accept the truth for their error, which was painful to him. He sat down with them.

"They said, 'O Muḥammad, we sent for you to reconcile with you. By God, we know of no Arab man who has ever brought his people as much trouble as you have. You have reviled the forebears, criticized the religion, ridiculed the

values, cursed the gods, and divided our community. Every unpleasant thing possible you have done to make a rift between you and us.

"'If you had come to say these things merely to seek wealth, we would have collected money for you from our own until you were the richest among us. If what you wanted was prestige, we would have placed you in leadership over us. If you had wanted sovereignty, we would have made you king over us. If what you were bringing us was because of a spirit that had possessed you (they used the word *raʾī* for *tābiʿ* meaning spirit) and that may be the case, we would expend our resources seeking a potion to free you from him, or we would excuse you.'

"The Messenger of God replied, 'What you have said does not apply to me. I have not brought you my message seeking your money, nor honour among you, nor sovereignty over you. God has sent me to you as a Messenger; He has revealed a document to me and has ordered me to bring you good news and to warn you. I have brought you a message from my Lord and have given you counsel. If you accept what I have brought you, then that is for your good on earth and in the hereafter. If you reject it, I will await God's decision, until He decides between myself and you.' The Messenger of God used some such words.

"They responded, 'O Muḥammad, if you will not accept what we are offering you, then you will realize that there are no people with less land than us, nor any less wealthy, nor any with a more difficult life. So ask for us your Lord who has sent you with whatever he has sent you, to level out for us these mountains that close us in, and spread out our country and give us some rivers here that flow like those in Syria and Iraq. Ask him to resurrect for us some of our dead forefathers, including among them Quṣayy b. Kilāb, since he was a truth-telling sheikh. We will then ask them whether what you say is true or false.

"'If you do what we ask and they believe you, we will believe you and recognize your status with God, and that he has sent you as a messenger, as you say.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'This is not why I have been sent. I have only brought you from God what He has sent me with. I have informed you of what I was sent to convey to you. If you accept it, then that is your good fortune on earth and in the hereafter. If you reject it, I must wait patiently for God's decree and for Him to judge between us.'

"They responded, 'If you won't do this for us, take something for yourself. Ask your Lord to send us down an angel who will verify what you say and make us leave you alone. Ask him to provide for us some gardens, some castles and treasures of gold and silver, and to take care of those needs we see you have, for we see you engage in business and earn your living like us. That way we will know the favour and prestige you have with your Lord – if, that is, you are a messenger as you claim.'

"He replied, 'I'm not going to do so. I'm not one to ask such things of his Lord. That is not why I have been sent to you. God has sent me to announce and to warn. If you accept my message, then that is your good fortune here on earth and in the afterlife. If you reject it, then I must be patient and leave the matter up to God, until He decides between myself and you.'

"They replied, 'Well then, make the sky fall down as you have claimed your Lord can do if He wishes. We'll not believe in you unless you do this.'

"He answered, 'That is up to God. If He wishes, He will do that to you.'

"They commented, 'O Muḥammad, did your Lord not know we would sit with you and ask you questions as we have asked and make requests we have made, and so come forward to you and inform you how to respond to us, and tell you what He would then do about us if we did not accept the message from you?'

"'We have learned that you just receive this instruction from a man in al-Yamāma known as *al-Raḥmān*;[78] we will never, by God, believe in that *al-Raḥmān*! We've made every excuse for you, Muḥammad, but, by God, because of what you've done to us we'll not leave you alone until we destroy you or you destroy us!'

"One of them said, 'We worship the angels who are God's daughters.' Another said, 'We'll not believe in you till you bring us God and the angels beforehand.'

"When they had said this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose to leave them. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm, who was his cousin, being the son of his aunt ʿĀtika, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, got up with him and said to him, 'O Muḥammad, your people have made certain offers to you that you have not accepted. Then they made requests for themselves so that they could discover your status with God, but you did nothing. Then they asked you to send promptly some punishment that would scare them. By God, I'll never believe in you until you put up a ladder to heaven then climb it, with me watching, until you reach there, bring back with you a copy of a document accompanied by four angels who testify that you are as you claim! And yet, by God, even if you did that, I think I'd not believe you!'

"He then left the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who went off home sad and regretful at his failure to achieve what he had expected when his people had summoned him, and at the alienation he had seen them express towards him."

This assembly where those leaders met with him had been one of injustice, antagonism, and stubbornness. Divine wisdom and God's mercy decreed that they not be granted what they had requested, because God knew that they would not have faith thereby, and that it would hasten their punishment.

78. Apparently a reference to the "false prophet" Musaylima.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Jarīr, from al-Aʿmash, from Jaʿfar b. Iyās, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The people of Mecca asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to turn Mt. al-Ṣafā into gold for them and to move away the mountains so that they could grow crops. He was told, 'It is up to you whether you give them respite, or what they ask, and then if they disbelieve they will perish as did those nations who came before them.'

"He replied, 'No; I will give them respite.'

"And so God Almighty sent down, 'Nothing prevented us from sending the signs except the fact that the earlier peoples disbelieved in them; We did give Thamūd the she-camel in full view, but they used it for evil. We do not send signs for any purpose but to warn'" (*sūrat al-Isrāʾ*, XVII, v.59).

Al-Nasāʾī related this tradition from Jarīr.

Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥman related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Salama b. Kuhayl, from ʿUmrān b. Ḥakīm, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Quraysh said to the Prophet (ṢAAS), 'Pray to your Lord for us to turn Mt al-Ṣafā into gold and we will believe in you.' 'You would really do so?' he asked. 'Yes,' they replied.

"So he did pray and Gabriel came to him and spoke, saying, 'Your Lord greets you and tells you, "If you wish, then al-Ṣafā will become gold for them. But all those who disbelieve thereafter I will either punish as I never have any humans before, or, if you wish it, I will open up for them the door of forgiveness and repentance."'

"He replied, 'No, let it be forgiveness and repentance.'"

Both these two chains of authority are excellent and were transmitted by a group of followers of the Prophet (ṢAAS) including Saʿīd b. Jubayr, Qatāda, Ibn Jurayḥ and others.

Imām Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhī recounted from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Mubārak, who said that Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb related to him, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Zaḥr, from ʿAlī b. Yazīd, from al-Qāsim, from Abū Umāma, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) who said, "My Lord, Almighty and All-glorious is He, proposed to me that he would transform the Mecca valley into gold. But I replied, 'No, O God, one day I am satisfied, the next hungry, or something close thereto; and when I am hungry, I humble myself before you and think of You, and when satisfied I give praise and thanks to You.'"

(Imām) Aḥmad gave this tradition without comment. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is good." And ʿAlī b. Yazīd considered it weak.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that an Egyptian sheikh, who came to him some 40 years before, related to him from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Quraysh sent al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith and ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayṭ to the Jewish rabbis at

Medina, telling the two men, 'Ask them about Muḥammad; describe him to them and relate to them what he says. They are the people of the first scriptures. They have knowledge we don't possess about prophets.'

"So al-Naḍr and ʿUqba went off to Medina and asked the rabbis about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), describing him and what he said to them. The two men told them, 'You are the people of the Torah; we have come for you to tell us about this countryman of ours.'

"The rabbis told them, 'Ask him about three subjects we will inform you about. If he responds, he is a prophet with a mission. If he does not, he is a pretender for you to treat as you will.

"'Ask him about the young warriors who passed away in earlier times and what happened to them. They had a very strange experience.

"'Also ask him about the great traveller who went far out to the east and far to the west, and what became of him. Then ask him what the *rūḥ* (soul or spirit) is.

"'If he answers these questions, then he is a prophet and so follow him. If he does not, then he is a fake and you should do with him what seems right to you.'

"Al Naḍr and ʿUqba returned to Quraysh and told them, 'O Quraysh, we bring you the means to decide the issue between yourselves and Muḥammad. The rabbis told us to ask him certain questions.' They then told Quraysh what these were.

"So Quraysh went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said to him, 'O Muḥammad, answer us these.' They then questioned him as they had been told. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I will tomorrow give you the answer to what you have asked.' But in saying this, he omitted the phrase, 'if God wills it'.

"They then left him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thereafter remained for 15 days without revelation or any visitation from Gabriel. And so the Meccans spread rumours, saying, 'Muḥammad promised us it would be the next day, but it's been 15 now without him having answered any one of the matters we asked him.' The cessation of revelation greatly troubled the Messenger of God, and he was hurt by what the Meccans were saying about him.

"Then Gabriel, peace be upon him, brought him from God, the Almighty and All-Glorious, the *sūrat al-Kahf* (XVIII). In this there is reprimand for his sadness about them and information on the matters concerning the ancient warriors and the mighty traveller about whom they had questioned him. God Almighty also stated, 'And they ask you about the *rūḥ* (the soul). Say, the *rūḥ* is by order of my Lord. And you are given but little knowledge' (*sūrat al-Isrāʾ* (or *Banū Isrāʾīl*), XVII, v.85)."

We have spoken about that at length in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*); the reader wishing more information on this will find it there.

Also revealed was God's statement, "or did you think that the men of the cave and the inscription were a wonder from among our signs?" (*sūrat al-Kahf*, XVIII, v.9).

He then proceeded to detail their story. In the course of this God interjected by his commanding the use of "the exception" as a matter of determination, not comment, in His words, "And do not say of anything, 'I will do that tomorrow,' unless God wills it. And remember God when you are forgetful" (*sūrat al-Kahf*, XVIII, v.23–4).

He then made mention of the story of Moses, because it is related to that of *al-Khiḍr*, and then he proceeded to tell about *Dhū al-Qarnayn*. God then said, "They will ask you about *Dhū al-Qarnayn*. Say, I will relate you an account of him" (*sūrat al-Kahf*, XVIII, v.83). He then explained all about him and what happened to him.

God stated in the *sūrat* (beginning with) *Subḥān*: "And they ask you about the *rūḥ* (i.e. soul or spirit). Say: the *rūḥ* is by order of my Lord" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*, XVII, v.85). That is, it, the *rūḥ*, is a strange and marvellous part of His creation, something God ordained; He said "Be" (Let there be *rūḥ*), and so it "was". And it is not up to you to scrutinize all He has created. To represent or portray real nature and essence would be too difficult for you. It is something related to the power and (ultimate) wisdom of the Almighty. This is why He stated: "And you are given but little knowledge" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*, XVII, v.85).

It is well established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that the Jews asked this of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he was in Medina, and so he recited this verse to them.

This verse was either revealed a second time or he made reference to it as a response, even though its revelation came previously. Those who maintain it was revealed only at Medina and exclude it from the *sūra Subḥān* (i.e. *sūrat al-Isrā'*) are wrong. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When Abū Ṭālib feared that the crowds of Arabs would overwhelm him and his people, he composed his ode in which he claimed refuge at the Mecca sanctuary because of his position there. In it he expressed his friendship for his people's leaders, but told them and others in his poem that he was not surrendering the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and that he would never abandon him for any reason, even if it meant dying in his defence. Abū Ṭālib spoke the verses:

'Having seen that the people are without friendship and that they have severed all ties and connections

And have openly expressed their enmity, inflicted harm and obeyed the orders of the implacable enemy

And have allied with a people against us who are suspicious, and bite their fingers in rage at us behind our backs,

I have remained firm towards them, my spear flexible, my sword sharp and of royal provenance.

I assembled my brothers and kin at the *ka'ba* and gripped the ropes of its covering,

Standing together and facing its doors, the place where those having made oaths fulfil them,

The area where pilgrims kneel their mounts and where the flow of blood comes from the gods Isāf and Nā'il,

Their mounts branded on their shoulder or neck base, prime pampered beasts between seven and nine years old.

On them you see ornaments of cowry shells and marble tied to their necks which are like fronds heavy with dates.

I seek sanctuary with the Lord of men from all aggressors seeking evil and men who persist in lies,

From those who hate and strive to harm us and from those who attach to the religion what we have not attempted.

By Thawr and by Him who set Thabīr in its place and by those who both ascend Ḥirā' and descend,

By the *ka'ba*, the true House in Mecca's valley, and by God, I swear, God is never unaware.

By the "black stone" when it is touched by those who move around it at morn and evening,

By Abraham's tread upon the moist rock, both feet bare and wearing no sandals,

By the courses run between al-Marwatayn and al-Ṣafā and by the images and statues at both places.

By all those who ride in to pilgrimage at God's house and all who make vows and all who come on foot.

By the furthest shrine they head for, for Mt. 'Arafāt, and the place where the streams meet and flow

And the places where they halt at evening above the mountains, where they make their mounts stop by placing their hands on their animals' foreparts.

By the night of the assembly at the Minā stations; are there any shrines or stations above them?

And by the crowding when the horses swiftly pass by as if they are escaping a falling rain.

By the great *Jamra*, the mound of stones, when pilgrims approach it, casting their stones at its top.

By Kinda tribe when at evening at al-Ḥisāb and the pilgrims of Banū Bakr b. Wā'il pass them by.

Both allies who have affirmed the bond between them, and referred back to it all kinds of relationships

And by their breaking down the very tallest of trees and bushes as they race by, like swift-paced ostriches,

Is there after this any better refuge for one seeking it? Does anyone offer refuge who is just and fears God?

Our enemies had the best of us and wished we were used to block the gates to Turk and Kābul.

You have lied, by God's House; we leave Mecca and our land without you being confounded?

You have lied, by God's House; we subdue Muḥammad, not fight and resist in his defence?

We give him up before we are piled up dead around him, and leave behind our children and our wives?

A people will rise up with steel against you, like camels rising when they bear waterskins,

Until we see our enemy stretched out from his wounds, all awry, like a cripple.

We will, by God, if what I see is in earnest, have our swords become mixed with others like them

In the hands of a young fighter like a flame, a brave man, trustworthy, defending the truth, heroic.

And so months, days, a year become inviolate for us, and then will come another season, after the next.

How, curse you, could a people abandon a chief who protects his honour, not some foul-mouthed coward

And a noble for whom the clouds are made to rain, the provider for orphans and supporter of widows?

The most needy of the Hāshim tribe resort to him; with him they find mercy and respect

By my life, Usayd and his first born led us to being hated, and they cut us up for anyone to eat.

Neither ʿUthmān nor Qunfudh had sympathy for us, but obeyed the order of those tribes

They obeyed Ubayy and the son of their ʿAbd Yaghūth, neither of them caring what others said of us

We fared the same from Subayʿ and Nawfal, and all turned away in opposition, not acting kindly.

If they both should be discovered or God take hold of them, we'll take revenge measure for measure

And that Abū ʿAmr insisted on hating us, to drive us out to join herdsmen of sheep and camels

Whispering about us at morning and evening; whisper away, O Abū ʿAmr, and then deceive!

He swears to us by God, he'll not deceive us; but yes, we perceive him obviously untrustworthy.

His hate for us has made all the high ground between Akhshab and Majādil too constrained for him.

Question Abū al-Walīd, "How did you benefit us by coming to us, then turning away, like a deceiver!"

"You used to be a man whose opinion and kindness had influence over us, for you were once no fool.

"And so, ʿUtba, do not listen to those who secretly hate us, envious, mendacious, hate-filled slanderers."

As Abū Sufyān passed by me he looked away, as though he were a royal prince of a great line.

He gets away to high Najd and its cool waters, claiming, "No, I'm not abandoning you."

He tells us, as though a true counsellor, that he is sympathetic but he hides his innate ill-will.

O Muṭ'im, I did not desert you when needing help, nor any critical time needing deeds of valour

Nor on that day of conflict when they attacked you violently, fierce men, implacable enemies.

O Mut'im, the people have entrusted a task to you, and I, when given a task, don't shun it;

May God punish 'Abd Shams and Nawfal for us, soon, not delayed, and harsh.

In proper measure, not a grain-weight less, it being testimony about itself, not that of some miscreant.

Fools are they who would exchange in barter the Banū Khalaf and al-Ghayāṭal for us.

We are the very heart of the essence of Hāshim and the tribe of Quṣayy in all prime regards.

Sahm and Makhzūm have biased and incited against us in enmity every scoundrel and sinner.

O 'Abd Manāf, you men are the best of your people, so do not ally in your affairs with every sponger.

By my life, you have gone weak and ineffectual, failing badly in the view of anyone of good judgement;

Till recently you were the firewood for one pot, but now you're the fuel for various pots and cauldrons.

Let Banū 'Abd Manāf enjoy our plight and abandonment, and our being forsaken in our refuge.

If indeed a tribe, we will have revenge for your acts and you will taste the fruits of indiscriminate warfare.

Tell Quṣayy that news of us will spread, and announce to Quṣayy that after us they will be defeated.

Yet if great misfortune had one day befallen Quṣayy, we would not have stood away, forsaking them;

If they had fought valiantly amidst their homes, we would have helped them with their women and children.

So all we considered friends or relatives we've found, I swear, of no avail

Excepting a group of the Kilāb b. Murra tribe who are innocent of the fault of falseness to us.

The finest of the tribe is our nephew Zuhayr, without dispute, a sharp sword, alone, unsheathed,

The tallest standing of the pride of the chieftains, a fine man, belonging to a line at the very centre of glory.

By my life, I am utterly devoted to Aḥmad and his brethren, with all the constancy of a close admirer.

For who of all is like him, who could be hoped to compete when judges assess him for superiority?

He is mild-tempered, intelligent, just, stable, the ally of a God of whom he is ever aware.

Noble in his work, noble and noble-born, a man with an inheritance of glory, constant and unbroken

And the Lord of men has aided him with victory, and he has brought forth a religion the truth of which shall stay.

By God, were I not thereby to cause disgrace that would be brought out against our sheikhs in the assemblies

We would have followed him regardless of fate, in all seriousness, not mere talk.

They know that our son is not thought a liar by us, nor does he pay attention to silly nonsense.

Among us Aḥmad is so deeply rooted that the best efforts of upstarts fall short of him.

I cared for him myself, protected him, and defended him by our heads and chests."'

Ibn Hishām commented, "These seem to me the verses of this poem that are genuine. But some scholars expert in poetry reject most of them."

I would say that this ode is truly fine and very effective. No one but he to whom it is ascribed could have spoken it; it is more perfect than the seven *mu'allaqat* odes! It is more effective in conveying its meaning than all of them are.

Al-Umawī gave its text in his *maghāzī* history at greater length, with additions. But God knows best.

Division

Ibn Isḥāq stated: "They then became aggressive towards those who had accepted Islam and followed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Each tribe attacked all the defenceless Muslims in them, imprisoning them or persecuting them by beating them, depriving them of food and drink and by putting them out on the burning hot ground of Mecca when the heat was most extreme. They were trying to deter them from their religion.

"Some, due to the severity of their suffering, were dissuaded from it, while others stood up to them, God giving them His protection.

"Bilāl, who became Abū Bakr's freed-man, at that time belonged to Banū Jumaḥ, being one of their slaves born to a foreign mother. His name was Bilāl b. Rabāḥ and his mother's name was Ḥamāma. He was sincere in Islam, a man pure of heart. Umayya b. Khalaf would place him outside at heat of noon, then

order that a huge rock be placed on his chest. He would then tell him, 'By God, you'll stay like this till you die, unless you disavow Muḥammad and pray to al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā!'

"Bilāl, while in this state, would say only, 'One! One!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Hishām b. ʿUrwa related to him, from his father, who said, "Waraqa b. Nawfal used to pass by Bilāl when he was being persecuted in this way as he was saying, 'One! One!' Waraqa would then say to Bilāl, 'One! One! by God, O Bilāl!'

"Waraqa would then go to Umayya b. Khalaf and the others of the Banū Jumaḥ who were doing this and say, 'I swear by God, that if you murder him I'll use his tomb as a shrine!'"

I observe that some consider this *ḥadīth* as dubious, since Waraqa died directly after the Prophet (ṢAAS) received his mission, during the period of intermission of the revelation. Those who first accepted Islam did so following the revelation of the verse, "O You who are all wrapped up" (*sūrat al-Muddaththir*, LXXIV, v.1). And so how could Waraqa pass by Bilāl as he was being tortured? The tradition is doubtful.

Then Ibn Isḥāq recounted how Abū Bakr passed by Bilāl as he was under torture and bought him from Umayya by exchanging a black slave he owned. Thereafter he manumitted Bilāl and so saved him from persecution.

He then related how Abū Bakr purchased a number of slaves, both male and female, who had accepted Islam. These included, with Bilāl, ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra, Umm ʿUmays and Zinnīra, who lost her sight but had it restored by God Almighty. Also there were al-Nahdiyya and her daughter, both of whom he bought from Banū ʿAbd al-Dār; their mistress had sent them both to mill some flour, and Abū Bakr heard her say to them, "By God, I will never free either of you!" Abū Bakr then told her, "Retract that, Umm so-and-so!" The woman replied, "I retract. Now you have spoiled them, so you free them!" "How much are they?" he asked. She named a price and he agreed, "All right, I'll take them. They are free now. So return her flour to her." They asked, "Shouldn't we finish milling it, and then give it back to her?" "That's fine, if you want to."

He purchased a slave-girl of Banū Muʾammil, a clan of the Banū ʿAdī; ʿUmar used to strike her over Islam.

Ibn Isḥāq continued to say that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū ʿAtīq related to him, from ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from one of his family, who said, "Abū Quḥāfa said to his son Abū Bakr, 'Son, I see you are setting free people who are powerless. If you want to do this, why don't you free some powerful men who could protect and defend you?'

"Abū Bakr replied, 'I'm only doing what it is I want.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on: "And it is related that the following verses were revealed specifically about him and what his father had said, 'To those who give, are

pious and believe in goodness we will provide ease and facilitate' and so on to the end of the *sūrat*" (*sūrat al-Layl*, XCII, v.5–7).

We have previously given the account of Imām Aḥmad and Ibn Māja, from ʿĀsim b. Bahdala, from Zarr, from Ibn Masʿūd, who said that, "The first who openly became Muslims were seven persons: the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr, ʿAmmār and his mother Sumayya, Ṣuhayb, Bilāl, and al-Miqdād.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was protected by God through his uncle, and Abū Bakr was protected by his tribe. The others were seized by the polytheists, bound in chains and set in the hot sun. All ultimately complied with their persecutors' wishes except for Bilāl; he subjugated himself to God Almighty. His people did not care for him, they ultimately gave him over to the guards who paraded him in the quarters of Mecca while he repeated, 'One! One!'"

Al-Thawrī related this from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, but it lacks a complete chain of early authorities.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Banū Makhzūm used to set ʿAmmār b. Yāsir and his father and mother, all of whom had become Muslims, outside at heat of noon, torturing them with the hot ground of Mecca. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would pass by them and say to them, as I have heard, 'Be patient, O family of Yāsir; you are destined for paradise.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related, from al-Ḥākim, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿIṣmat al-ʿAdl, who said that Al-Sarrī b. Khuzayma related to him, quoting Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Hishām b. Abū ʿUbayd Allāh, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by ʿAmmār and his family while they were being tortured. He said, "Be of good cheer, O family of ʿAmmār, O family of Yāsir; you are destined for paradise."

His mother, however, they actually did kill, for she refused anything but Islam.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Wakīʿ related to us, from Sufyān, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, who said, 'The first martyr to meet her death early in Islam was ʿAmmār's mother Sumayya. Abū Jahl thrust a spear into her heart.'"

This account lacks a complete chain of early authorities.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "That sinner Abū Jahl was the one who incited the men of Quraysh against them. When he heard of a man of status and influence who had accepted Islam he would upbraid and insult him, saying, 'You have abandoned the religion of your father, a man better than you. We will deprecate your values, deride your opinions, and destroy your reputation.' If the Muslim were a merchant, he would say, 'We will, by God, boycott doing business with you and will ruin you.' If the Muslim were defenceless, Abū Jahl would beat him and incite others against him. May God damn and punish him!"

Ibn Isḥāq also said that Ḥakīm b. Jubayr related to him, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, who said, "I asked 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Did the polytheists so persecute the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that they were forgiven if they gave up the faith?'

"'Oh yes,' he replied. 'They would so beat people and so deprive them of food and water that they would be unable to sit up. Eventually they would do whatever their persecutors incited them to. If they were asked, 'Are al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā gods in their own right, other than God?' they would reply, 'Yes; they are!' This was just to avoid their torture."

I here observe that it was concerning this that God sent down, "Whoever disavows God after having believed in Him, except for those who are compelled (to do so) while their hearts are content in the faith, but whoever allows himself to accept disbelief shall have God's wrath upon them, and they shall receive terrible punishment" (*sūrat al-Naḥl*, XVI, v.106).

These people were forgiven because of the contempt and extreme pain they suffered; may God, in all his power and strength, preserve us from the like.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Mu'āwiya related to him, quoting al-A'mash, from Muslim, from Masrūq, from Khabbāb b. al-Aratt, who said, "I was a chieftain and I was owed money by al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il. So I went to him to get payment but he told me, 'No, by God, I'll not pay you until you express disbelief in Muḥammad!' I replied, 'I will never, by God, express disbelief in Muḥammad until you die and then are resurrected!' He responded, 'Well, if I do die and am resurrected and you come to me and I then have property and sons, then I'll pay you!' And so God Almighty sent down: 'And have you seen him who disbelieves in our signs yet says: "I will certainly be given wealth and sons . . ." and so on, to the verse ending "and he shall come to us alone"'" (*sūrat Maryam*, XIX, v.77–80).

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections and elsewhere this tradition is given in various lines of transmission from al-A'mash.

According to al-Bukhārī's text, the wording should be "I was a chieftain in Mecca, and I made a sword for al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il and went to him for payment."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Al-Ḥumaydī related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting Bayān and Ismā'īl, both of whom said that they heard Qays say that he heard Khabbāb say, "I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) when he was using his cloak as a pillow in the shadow of the *ka'ba*; we had recently suffered violence from the polytheists. I asked him, 'Aren't you praying to God?'

"He sat up, his face flushed red, and said, 'Those who came before you did would be combed with metal down through their flesh and sinews to the bone, but that would not deter them from their religion. They would have saws put on their hair parting and have their heads split in two, but would not be deterred from their religion. God will certainly so conclude this matter that a person will

be able to ride from Yemen to Ḥaḍramawt and fear only God, Almighty and All Glorious is He.'"

Another statement is also added "and wolves attacking his sheep". And in one account there are also the words, "But you are impatient".

Al-Bukhārī alone, and not Muslim, gives this tradition. It was also reported from another line of transmission from Khabbāb, but in a shorter form than this. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to him, from Sufyān and Ibn Jaʿfar, that Shuʿba related to them, from Abū Isḥāq, from Saʿīd b. Wahb, from Khabbāb, who said, "We complained to the Prophet (ṢAAS) at the intensity of the heat of the ground, but he would not make a complaint for us; that is, in prayer." Ibn Jaʿfar said "but he would not listen to our complaint."

He also said that Sulaymān b. Dāwūd related to him, as did Shuʿba, from Abū Isḥāq, who said that he heard Saʿīd b. Wahb say that he heard Khabbāb say, "We made complaint to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about the intensely hot ground, but he would not listen to our complaint."

Shuʿba stated, "that is, at the heat of midday".

Muslim related this, quoting al-Nasāʾī and al-Bayhaqī from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī, from Saʿīd b. Wahb, from Khabbāb, who said, "We made a complaint to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about the intense heat of the ground" – to this al-Bayhaqī added the words "on our faces and palms" – "but he would not listen to our complaint."

Ibn Māja related it, from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṭanāfusī, from Wakīʿ, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Isḥāq, from Ḥāritha b. Maḍrib al-ʿAbdī, from Khabbāb, who said, "We complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about the intense heat of the ground, but he would not listen to our complaint."

It occurs to me – though God knows best – that this *ḥadīth* is abbreviated from the former one. That is, they complained to him at the treatment they were receiving from the polytheists. They were being tortured on the intensely hot ground and so using their hands to protect themselves while being dragged along on their faces, as well as being given those other forms of torture mentioned by Ibn Isḥāq and others. They therefore requested him to pray on their behalf that God might punish the polytheists, or to seek help against them. He promised to do so, but did not fulfil this for them in the current circumstances, but reminded them of those who had preceded them. Those people had received treatment far worse than they were getting, but this had not deterred them from their religion. He cheered them by assuring them that God would bring this matter to a conclusion, and would do so openly, clearly and decisively over an area far and wide, so that a traveller would be able to go from Ṣanʿāʾ to Ḥaḍramawt and have nothing to fear but God, and nothing to fear for his sheep from wolves. But, he told them, they were being impatient.

For this reason, he stated, "We made complaint to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about the intense heat of the ground on our faces and palms, but he would not listen to our complaint", i.e. he would not pray for us at that time.

As for those who see evidence in this for not deferring the midday prayer until it is cooler, or on the need to touch the place of prayer with the palms, as is a judgement reached by al-Shāfi'ī, these views may be debated or considered. But God knows best.

CHAPTER: THE ARGUMENTATION OF THE POLYTHEISTS AGAINST THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), AND THE COGENT ARGUMENTS THAT REFUTED THEM; HOW WITHIN THEMSELVES THEY RECOGNIZED THE TRUTH, EVEN THOUGH THEY EXPRESSED DISAGREEMENT OUT OF STUBBORNNESS, ENVY, MALICE AND DENIAL.

Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh stated that 'Abd al-Razzāq related to him, from Ma'mar, from Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, that al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who recited the Qur'ān to him. Al-Walīd seemed to be impressed by it, and this fact reached Abū Jahl. He therefore went to al-Walīd and told him, "Uncle, your people want to collect for you some money." Al-Walīd asked why, and he went on, "To give it to you. Because you went to Muḥammad to oppose his influence!"

Al-Walīd replied, "But Quraysh know that I am one of their wealthiest men."

Abū Jahl said, "Well, do make some statement telling your people that you disavow him."

He replied, "What should I say? By God, there's not one man among you with a better knowledge than myself of poetry, of its various metres and odes, or of the verses by spirits. But, I swear, what he speaks is nothing like these; by God, there is a spendour in what he says. There's a gracefulness about him. He is effective and productive at all levels. He achieves greater heights than anyone. He overwhelms all beneath him."

Abū Jahl commented, "Your people will not be pleased with you until you make a statement about him."

"Well", al-Walīd asked, "leave me alone till I can give it some thought."

When he had done so, he said, "This is nothing but sorcery brought him by others." And so God revealed the verses, "Leave Me (to deal with) him whom I created, alone; and I made for him extensive wealth, and sons to be seen" (*sūrat al-Muddaththir*, LXXIV, v.11–13).

Al-Bayhaqī related it thus, from al-Ḥākim, from 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-San'ānī at Mecca, from Ibn Isḥāq's account. Ḥammad b. Zayd related it from Ayyūb, from 'Ikrima, but with an incomplete chain of early authorities. That

account states that the Prophet recited to al-Walīd the verses, "God enjoins justice, kindness and charity to one's kinsfolk, and prohibits immorality, evil and wickedness. He admonishes you, so that you may take heed" (*sūrat al-Naḥl*, XVI, v.90).

Al-Bayhaqī stated, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said that Muḥammad b. Abū Muḥammad related to him, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, or ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra met with a group of men of Quraysh. He was, at that time, one of their respected elders. The time was that of the pilgrimage. He addressed them, saying, "Delegations of Arabs will now be coming to you, and they will have heard of this associate of yours. So unite in one opinion about him, without dissension between you that would make you contradict one another."

He was told, "O Abū ʿAbd Shams, you tell us; you establish a position for us that we can uphold."

He replied, "No; you must speak, and I will listen."

They responded, "We say he is a soothsayer."

He replied, "No; he is no soothsayer. I have seen soothsayers and he doesn't engage in the rhymed mumbling doggerel they use."

They commented, "Well, then we say he is crazy, possessed by spirits."

"No," he replied, "he is not crazy; we have seen and known those who are crazy, and he has none of their choking, erratic movement and mumbling."

"Then we say he is a poet."

"No," he disagreed, "he is no poet. We know poetry in all its metrical forms, and what he speaks is not poetry."

"Then we say he is a sorcerer."

"No," he said, "he is no sorcerer. We've seen sorcerers and their magic and he doesn't do any of their tying and untying."

"What are we to say then, O Abū ʿAbd Shams?"

He replied, "By God, there is a splendour in what he speaks. In essence he is like a palm tree whose branches give much fruit. All you have been saying will be recognized as false. The closest thing is for you to say, 'This man is a sorcerer who comes between a man and his religion, a man and his father, a man and his wife, a man and his brother, and a man and his tribe.'"

They then dispersed and set about taking seats (and waiting) for people when they arrived for the festivities. They would warn them about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) whenever they passed by, and told them all about him.

And God revealed concerning al-Walīd, "Leave Me (to deal with) him whom I created, alone; and I made for him extensive wealth, and sons to be seen" (*sūrat al-Muddaththir*, LXXIV, v.11–13). And concerning those men who had rendered the Qurʾān into disparate parts, God stated, "And so, by your Lord, we will

certainly question all of them concerning what they have been doing" (*sūrat al-Ḥijr*, XV, v.92–3).

And I comment that God Almighty also stated, indicating their ignorance and lack of wisdom, "And they even said, 'A jumble of dreams! He just made it up! He's a poet! So let him bring us a sign, like those that former (prophets) were dispatched with'" (*sūrat al-Anbiyā'*, XXI, v.5). And so they were at a loss what to say of him; everything they did say was false. For he who deviates from the truth is mistaken in all he says. God Almighty stated, "See how they made comparisons to you! They have gone astray, and they will find no path" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*, XVII, v.48).

Imām 'Abd b. Ḥumayd stated in his *musnad* collection of *ḥadīth* that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting 'Alī b. Mishar, from al-Ajlaḥ, the son of 'Abd Allāh al-Kindī, from al-Dhayyāl b. Ḥarmala al-Asadī, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, "Quraysh met one day and agreed to determine who among them was the most knowledgeable in magic, sorcery, and poetry. That person would then approach the man who had caused dissension and division amongst them and had found fault with their religion, talk to him and decide how to respond to him. They agreed that 'Utba b. Rabī'a was the obvious choice, and they approached him and told him, 'It is to be you, O Abū al-Walīd.'

"'Utba then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'O Muḥammad, who is better, you or 'Abd Allāh?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), remained silent.

"Then he said, 'Who is better, you or 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent.

"'Utba then said, 'If you claim those men to be better than you, the fact is they worshipped the gods you have criticized. If you claim to be better than them, then speak so we can hear what you say. By God, we've never seen any fool more harmful to his people than you; you have caused division and dissension among us, criticized our religion and so disgraced us in the eyes of the Arabs that the rumour is current among them that there is a magician or a sorcerer amidst Quraysh. By God, fellow, it seems all we have to await is the cry of a pregnant woman for us all to be at one another with swords till we wipe ourselves out! If it is need that is your problem, we'll make a collection for you till you're the wealthiest man in Quraysh; if it is status you want, choose any women of Quraysh you like and we'll marry you to ten of them.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'Are you done?' 'Yes,' replied 'Utba. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spoke: 'In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. *Ḥā Mīm*. A revelation from the Most Merciful and Beneficent. A book whose verses have been detailed in an Arabic Qur'ān for a people who are aware . . .' and so on until he reached the verse, 'But if they turn aside, say: "I warn you of a terrible punishment like that which destroyed 'Ād and Thamūd"' (*sūrat Ḥā Mīm*, also called *sūrat al-Fuṣṣilat*, XLI, v.1–13).

"ʿUtba said, 'That's sufficient. You've nothing else?'

"'No,' he replied.

"ʿUtba then went back to Quraysh and they asked what had happened. He replied, 'I didn't omit saying to him anything you talked about.'

"'And did he respond?' they asked. 'Yes,' he answered. Then he stated, 'Well, no; by Him who erected it as a building, I didn't understand anything he said, except that he warned you of a terrible punishment like that of ʿĀd and Thamūd.'

"They commented, 'Woe upon you! The man speaks to you in Arabic, but you don't know what he said?'

"He replied, 'I swear, I didn't understand a thing, except for the reference to the terrible punishment.'"

Al-Bayhaqī and others related this from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from ʿAbbās al-Dūrī, from Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn, from Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, back to al-Ajlaḥ. There is some dispute about it.

This version added "and if all you want is leadership, we'll swear allegiance to you, and you can be our chief for life."

And in that version, when he had finished speaking the verse, "But if they turn aside, say: 'I warn you of a terrible punishment like that which destroyed ʿĀd and Thamūd'", ʿUtba put his hand over the mouth of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and implored him for mercy to stop. ʿUtba, moreover, did not return to his people, but hid himself from them.

And so Abū Jahl said, "By God, O Quraysh, ʿUtba must have been quite taken by Muḥammad, and liked his food. It's just some impulse that has possessed him. Let's go and get him!"

Later Abū Jahl said, "Well, ʿUtba, I swear, we concluded you must have been quite taken by Muḥammad, and enjoyed yourself with him. If you're in need, we'll collect money for you so you can dispense with Muḥammad's food."

"ʿUtba became angry and swore he would never speak to Muḥammad again. He told Abū Jahl, 'You well know I'm one of the wealthiest men of Quraysh. I did go to him and . . .' He then related the story to them and concluded 'and he responded to me with something I swear was not magic, not poetry and not sorcery. He recited, "In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. *Ḥā Mīm*. A revelation from the Most Merciful and Beneficent," until he reached, "But if they turn aside, say: 'I warn you of a terrible punishment like that which destroyed ʿAd and Thamūd.'" I then put my hand over his mouth and implored him for mercy to stop. And you all well know that Muḥammad does not lie in whatever he says. I was afraid that punishment would descend upon you.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said that Yazīd b.

Abū Ziyād, a freed-man of the Banū Hāshim, told him from Muḥammad b. Kaʿb, who said that it was related to him that ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, who was a wise leader, said one day while he was sitting in the Quraysh meeting hall and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was sitting alone in the mosque, "O Quraysh, should I not go to this fellow and make him offers, some of which he might accept, and then leave us alone?"

"Yes, do that Abū al-Walīd!" they told him.

ʿUtba then arose and sat next to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and gave him his speech – as given above – and offered him wealth, leadership and so on.

Ziyād b. Isḥāq stated that ʿUtba said, "O Quraysh, should I not go to Muḥammad and talk to him and make him offers, some of which he might accept, so we give them to him and he would leave us alone?" That occurred when Ḥamza had accepted Islam and Quraysh recognized that the followers of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were increasing and expanding. So they said, "Yes, Abū al-Walīd, do go and talk to him."

ʿUtba then arose and sat down near the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "O nephew, you know the status and respect your people give you, and the nobility of your lineage, but you have caused much trouble to your people. By this, you have destroyed their unity, ridiculed their values, criticized their gods and their religion, and claimed that their forefathers were unbelievers. Listen to me now, as I make you some offers to consider; perhaps you might be able to accept some of these."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "I am listening, Abū al-Walīd."

ʿUtba went on, "O nephew, if all you want by bringing up this matter is wealth, we will collect money from ourselves for you and so you will be the richest of us all. If what you are seeking by it is honour, we will make you our leader and never make decisions without you. If what you want by it is sovereignty, we will make you our king. If whatever comes to you is some spirit you see but can't remove by yourself, we will seek out a potion for you and spend our own money to free you from it. A spirit may well take possession of a person until he is cured of it." His words were similar to these.

When he had finished, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Well, Abū al-Walīd, are you done?"

"Yes," he replied.

"Then listen to me."

"I will," said ʿUtba.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spoke, "In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. *Ḥā Mīm*. A revelation from the Most Merciful and Beneficent. A book whose verses have been detailed in an Arabic book for a people who are aware . . ." He went on reciting it, while ʿUtba listened, placing his hands behind his back and using them as a support as he did so.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to the ending where prostration is sought, he prostrated himself, then asked, "Well, did you hear, Abū al-Walid?"

"Yes, I heard," he replied.

"Now it's up to you," observed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). ʿUtba then arose and went to his associates who told one another, "By God, Abū al-Walīd looks quite different now from what he did before he left."

When they sat down with him, they asked, "Well, what happened to you, Abū al-Walīd?" "What happened, by God," he replied, "was that I heard speech such as I never did before. I swear, it was not poetry, nor sorcery; obey me and do as I shall. Keep away from him and what he does; avoid him. For, by God, what I heard him speak is going to cause a stir. If the Arabs destroy him, others will have taken care of him for you. But if he betters the Arabs, his dominion will also be yours, his power your power, and you will be most pleased with him."

They replied, "By God, he has bewitched you with his tongue, O Abū al-Walīd."

"Well, that's my advice to you; do with it as you see fit," ʿUtba told them.

Yūnus then related, from Ibn Isḥāq, some poetry Abū Ṭālib spoke in which he praised ʿUtba.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Aṣbahānī informed him, quoting Abū Qutayba Salama b. al-Faḍl al-Adamī of Mecca, quoting Abū Ayyūb Aḥmad b. Bishr al-Ṭayālisī, quoting Dāwūd b. ʿAmr al-Ḍabbī, quoting al-Muthannā b. Zurʿa, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had recited to ʿUtba '*Ḥā Mīm*. A revelation from the Most Merciful and Beneficent', he went to his people and told them, 'O people, obey me now in this matter, though you may oppose me later. For, by God, I heard from this man words the like of which my ears never heard before. I didn't know what to reply to him.'"

This *ḥadīth* is very strange to come from such a source.

Al-Bayhaqī then related, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus, from Ibn Isḥāq, who said that al-Zuhrī said to him, "I was told that Abū Jahl, Abū Sufyān and al-Akhnas b. Sharīq went out to overhear the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as he prayed at night in his home. Each of them sat down to listen to him, none knowing where the others were sitting. They spent the night listening to him until dawn when they left individually. On the way back they met and each criticized the other, saying, 'Don't do that again. For if some foolish person were to see you, he'd have his suspicions about you.' They then parted.

"The next night each of these men returned to where he had sat and they spent the night listening to him. When dawn came they dispersed, but met on the way. They said to one another what they had before and then left.

"The third night each again took his seat and spent the night listening to him. At dawn they dispersed and met on the way home. 'This time', they told one another, 'let's not leave without making a pact not to return.' They made this promise to one another and parted company.

"That morning al-Akhnas b. Sharīq took his stick and went off to see Abū Sufyān at home. He told him, 'Abū Ḥanẓala, give me your views on what you have heard from Muḥammad.' He replied, 'Abū Thaʿlaba, I swear, I've heard certain things I know, and I also know what was implied by them, but others I've heard I don't know, nor what was implied by them.' Al-Akhnas commented, 'Me too, I swear!'

"Al-Akhnas then left and went to see Abū Jahl at home. He asked him, 'Abū al-Ḥakam, what's your view on what you've heard from Muḥammad?' 'You mean what have I heard? We and Banū ʿAbd Manāf have been rivals for status. They feed the poor, and so do we. They help people, and so do we. They give to charity, and so do we. We've kept pace with them like two racehorses. Then they say, one of us will be a prophet who receives revelation from heaven! How can we compete with that? I swear, we will never listen to him, nor believe him.' Having heard this, al-Akhnas b. Sharīq left."

Then al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, related to him, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās, quoting Aḥmad, quoting Yūnus, from Hishām b. Saʿd, from Zayd b. Aslam, from al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, who said, "The first day I knew the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was when I was walking along an alley in Mecca accompanied by Abū Jahl b. Hishām. When we met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said to Abū Jahl, 'Abū al-Ḥakam, come to God and to his Messenger. I invite you to God!'

"Abū Jahl replied, 'Muḥammad, have you stopped cursing our gods? Don't you just want us to testify that you have fulfilled your mission? We testify that you have. And, I swear, if I knew that what you say is the truth, I would follow you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left, and Abū Jahl came over to me and said, 'By God, I really do know that what he says is true, but something is holding me back. Banū Quṣayy have said, "We want the privilege of the *ḥijāba*" (the placing of the cloth over the *kaʿba*). We agreed. Then they said, "We want the privilege of the *saqāya*" (the provision of drink for the pilgrims). We agreed. Then they said, "We want the privilege of the *nadwa*" (feasting the pilgrims). We agreed. Then they said, "We want the privilege of the *liwā*" (the ceremonial unfurling of the banners). We agreed. They provided food, and we did too. Then, when we were running neck and neck, they said, "We have a prophet among us!" By God, I'll not do it!'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, informed him that Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Aṣamm related to him, quoting Muḥammad

b. Khālid, quoting Aḥmad b. Khalaf, quoting Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, who stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) passed by Abū Jahl and Abū Sufyān while they were both seated. Abū Jahl said, 'This is your prophet then, O Banū ʿAbd Shams.' Abū Sufyān replied, 'You're surprised that one of us could be a prophet? A prophet could arise among those fewer in number and lower in status than us!'

"Abū Jahl commented, 'I'm surprised that a young man among sheikhs of age and maturity could be a prophet!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) overheard them and approached. He addressed them, 'As for you, Abū Sufyān, it's not because you care for God and His Messenger that you became angry; you're just burned for the lineage. As for you, Abū al-Ḥakam, you are going to laugh very little and weep a great deal.' Abū Jahl commented, 'So, nephew, what an evil you promise me coming out of your being a prophet!'"

This *ḥadīth* is lacking early links in its chain of authorities, and it is somewhat strange; equally strange are the comments of Abū Jahl, God curse him! In reference to him and people like him, God Almighty stated, "And when they see you, they take you for a joke, saying, 'Is this fellow he whom God sent as a messenger? He might almost have enticed us away from our gods, if we had not stayed patiently with them.' They will know when they see the punishment who it is who strays furthest from the path" (*sūrat al-Furqān*, XXV, v.41–2).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Abū Bishr, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "This verse was sent down while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in hiding in Mecca, 'and do not speak the prayer loudly, nor speak it too softly'" (*sūrat al-Isrāʾ*, XVII, v.110).

He went on, "When he prayed with his followers, he would raise his voice as he recited the Qurʾān. On hearing this, the polytheists would curse the Qurʾān, along with him who sent it down and him who conveyed it. And so God Almighty told his Prophet Muḥammad (ṢAAS), 'and do not speak the prayer loudly' that is, when you recite it, lest the polytheists hear it and curse the Qurʾān. And 'nor speak it too softly' lest your followers won't hear the Qurʾān and learn it from you. And so 'seek a path between these'" (*sūrat al-Isrāʾ*, XVII, v.110).

This tradition is similarly given by both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Bishr Jaʿfar b. Abū Ḥayya.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that Dāwūd b. al-Ḥusayn related to him from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the Qurʾān loudly as he prayed, people would move away and refuse to listen to him. If anyone did want to hear any of what the Messenger of God was reciting as he prayed, he had to strain his ears away from the rest. And if he knew that they were aware that he was listening he would have to leave, for fear

of harm from them. And so he would not listen. But if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were to lower his voice, those who were listening would hear nothing. Therefore God Almighty revealed, 'and do not speak the prayer loudly' or they will disperse away from you. And also 'nor speak it too softly' or those trying hard to hear it, believing it may be beneficial to them, will not be able to do so. And so, 'seek a path between these.'"

GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS AND NAME-RELATED TERMS

Abū means father. According to Arabic grammatical rules, this word changes to Abī when governed by a preceding word. While, therefore, Abū Ṭālib would mean Ṭālib's father, when the word Ibn, son, is prefixed to the name, the form changes to Abī, and so Ibn Abī Ṭālib, would mean 'the son of Ṭālib's father'. To avoid confusion in this text, however, the term is left here universally as Abū.

The letters 'al-' before a noun represent in Arabic the definite article, 'the'.

The letter b. when part of a name represents a shortened form of the word 'Ibn', 'son'. Thus, the name 'Yaʿqūb b. 'Utba' means 'Yaʿqūb, son of ʿUtba'. In a composite name, as are often given in this text, such as 'Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas' the names of Yaʿqūb's father, grandfather, and great grand-father are given.

The letters bt, a shortened form of the Arabic *bint*, indicates 'girl' or 'daughter'. Thus the name ʿĀʾisha bt. Abū Bakr refers to ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

The letters ṢAAS are inserted after mention of the Prophet Muḥammad. These letters stand for the Arabic words *ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa sallam*; this invocation, recited by Muslims after every reference to the Prophet, whether by name or inference, is normally translated as 'May God's peace and blessings be upon him'.

GLOSSARY ITEMS

Words defined in footnotes associated with the text are not generally included in this glossary.

afkhādh: plural of *fakhdh* (q.v.).

aḥādīth: plural of *ḥadīth* (q.v.).

agnatic: related through descent on the father's side.

ʿālim (pl. *ʿulamāʾ*): scholars or theologians of Islam.

anṣār: the plural of *nāṣir*, helper, or victor. Most commonly met, in this text, in the plural form, it refers to the early Medinan allies of the Prophet who

officially fraternized with the *muhājirīn*, those Muslims who had initially gone into exile from Mecca to Medina in their support for Islam.

ʿarab al-ʿāriba: the original Arabs, who are assumed to have spoken the language of Yaʿrub b. Qaḥṭān.

ʿarab al-mustaʿriba: 'the arabized Arabs', initially referring to those who spoke the Arabic of Ishmael, the dialects of the Ḥijāz, that is. The term is also applied to those not descended from the Arabs of Arabia, but who have been assimilated into Arab culture and who speak Arabic as their native tongue.

ʿArafāt (also ʿArafa): a plain some 13 miles east of Mecca. Essential parts of the *ḥajj* pilgrimage ceremonies occur there, centered on a small granite hill, also known by the same name.

ʿashīra (pl. *ʿashāʾir*): an agnatic group. The word is commonly translated as tribe. An *ʿashīra* is composed of several *afkhādh* (q.v.), while several *ʿashāʾir* form a single qabīla (q.v.).

badana: an animal, commonly a camel, to be offered for sacrifice by a pilgrim at the *ḥajj* (q.v.).

baraka: blessing, in particular that divine force that enables prosperity and happiness. Persons of great piety or holiness are believe suffused with *baraka*, which radiates from them to those around them.

Bakka: an ancient alternative or original name for Mecca. In legend, the name comes from the Arabic verb *bakā*, he wept, applied to Adam's sadness at descending to the barren environment of Arabia after his expulsion from paradise.

baṭn (pl. *buṭūn*): an agnatic group smaller than a *qabīla* (q.v.) but larger than a *fakhdh* (q.v.).

dafʿ: the word used to denote the act of departure from ʿArafāt during the pilgrimage rites.

fakhdh (pl. *afkhādh*): a group of several families claiming descent from the same ancestor.

al-fajr: the dawn; also the superogatory prayer, recommended but not required, performed immediately after dawn. It consists of two *rakʿāt* (q.v.) to be recited audibly.

faṣīla (pl. *faṣā'il*): an agnatic group consisting of the nearest members of one's *ʿashīra* (q.v.).

ghazwa (pl. *ghazawāt*): armed engagements in which the Prophet Muḥammad participated personally. Those he initiated but without his own direct participation are known as *sarāyā* (pl. of *sariyya*).

ḥadīth (pl. *aḥādīth*): a saying, reported action or anecdote relating the words or deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad. An *isnād* (q.v.) precedes the *ḥadīth* and lists the persons by whom the reported material was transmitted.

ḥadīth marfūʿ: a *ḥadīth* related by one of the Companions of the Prophet (see *ṣāḥib*) and quoted directly from the latter.

ḥāfiẓ (pl. *ḥufāẓ*): a person who has memorized the entire *Qur'ān*. Also one of the sacred attributes – the Guardian, the Protector – by which God is known.

ḥajj: the pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca set annually to take place in the first half of the month of *Dhū al-Ḥijja*.

ḥanīf: 1) a devout pre-Islamic monotheis. 2) a person sincerely searching for the ancient religion practised by Abraham, with whom the word is particularly associated.

ḥanīfiyya: the religion of Abraham and the *ḥanīfs*.

ḥaram (or *ḥarām*): a term denoting what is sacred, forbidden or inviolable.

ḥijāba: the office of the custodian of the *kaʿba*; he is known as the *ḥājib*.

ḥijra (or hegira): the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad and his supporters from Mecca into exile in Medina. The date of this event was later adopted as the commencement of the Muslim era, calculated as 622 AD.

ijāza: 1) rendering something legal or permissible. 2) the act of transmitting a *ḥadīth* and attributing the same to an authority without actually having heard that person recite it.

ifāḍa: the movement or departure or pilgrims from ʿArafāt following their performance of the *wuqūf*, 'the standing'.

iḥrām: 1) the rendering sacred or inviolate. 2) the name given to the clothing donned by Muslims entering the *iḥrām* state prior to their participation in the pilgrimage.

isnād: the prefatory material to a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) that lists the sequence of scholars or witnesses who transmitted the account from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad up to the time when it was written down.

izār: the cloth that covers the pilgrim from waist to knees when he commits himself to the sacred state of *iḥrām*.

jāhiliyya: denoting childlike foolishness or ignorance, the word is commonly applied to the period prior to the advent of Islam.

jamra (pl. *jamrāt*): ancient stone pillars symbolizing Satan at Minā. These are pelted with pebbles during the pilgrimage rites, the stones being known as *jamrāt*.

kaʿba: the ancient cube-like structure within the great mosque in Mecca positioned some feet from the sacred spring *zamzam* (q.v.). It is towards this site that Muslims direct their prayers (see *qibla*).

al-Khalīl: 1) a town, also known as Hebron, some 32 miles south of Jerusalem and the site of the Tomb of the Patriarchs, sacred both to Jews and to Muslims. 2) a name or attribute implying close friend or confidant; the word is particularly associated with Abraham.

liwāʾ: 1) a flag, banner or signpost. 2) the issuance of this to those making the pilgrimage to the *kaʿba*.

maqām Ibrāhīm: the 'station' of Abraham. A sanctuary positioned a few feet from the *kaʿba* where Abraham and his co-religionaries would stand for prayer during the summer months.

maghrib: the west or direction in which the sun sets. Also, the fourth canonical Islamic prayer performed at dusk. It consists of three *rakʿāt*; at the first two of these the prayers are spoken audibly, the third in silence.

masjid: the place where the Muslim prostrates in prayer, usually a mosque.

Minā: a location some four miles east of Mecca on the road to ʿArafāt.

ḥadīth mursal: a *ḥadīth* which is considered by scholars to have a fault or inconsistency in the chain of its transmission.

al-Muzdalifa: a location some half way between Minā and ʿArafāt. It is there that pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt spend the night.

nadwa: the act of presiding over assemblies of pilgrims at the *kaʿba*.

parasang: a Persian term for a unit of length, also known as a *farsakh*. One *parasang* equals approximately one league, some three miles, that is.

qabīla (pl. *qabāʾil*): a large agnatic group whose members trace descent from a single ancestor. Often translated as tribe. A *qabīla* is larger than an *ʿashīra* (q.v.) but smaller than a *shaʿb* (q.v.).

qāḍī: a judge appointed by a Muslim community to administer and adjudicate issues of Islamic law.

qibla: the direction to which a Muslim faces when praying. Initially towards Jerusalem but later changed by the Prophet Muḥammad so that Muslims would face Mecca and the *kaʿba* there.

rakʿa (pl. *rakʿāt*): a unit of prayer consisting of a variety of gestures and postures. These *rakʿāt* total 17 each day, divided between the five canonical prayer periods.

al-raḥīm: The All-Compassionate; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

al-raḥmān: the All-Merciful; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

Ramaḍān: the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar. The month of fasting, it was during *Ramaḍān* that divine revelation first came to the Prophet Muḥammad, and it is therefore particularly venerated.

ridāʾ: a length of unsewn cloth that is draped over the left shoulder and around the torso of the pilgrim. This garb is donned by the pilgrim when he enters the *iḥrām* state.

rifāda: the provision of pilgrims with wheat and raisins by certain members of Quraysh of Mecca.

al-saʿy: the ritual rapid walk or jog performed during the pilgrimage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

sabaʾ: the community and kingdom ruling South-West Arabia for centuries prior to the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad.

ṣāḥib (pl. *aṣḥāb, ṣaḥāba*): companion; that community of men who knew and supported the Prophet Muḥammad during his mission.

ṣaḥīḥ: a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) the chain of transmission of which is considered by Muslim scholars to be reliable beyond any reasonable doubt; also, a collection comprised only of such *aḥādīth*.

samʿan: the receipt of a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) from a scholar by listening to him or her recite it and then repeating it back. This method of transmitting and receiving a *ḥadīth* was considered the most trustworthy of all.

shaʿb (pl. *shuʿūb*): a tribal group larger than a *qabīla* (q.v.); a nation, race or people.

shahāda: the profession of faith in Islam by reciting in Arabic the words: 'There is no God but God and Muḥammad is His Messenger'.

shaykh (pl. *shuyūkh*): an elderly man; a tribal or spiritual leader; a distinguished and devout scholar.

shīʿa: the doctrine and its adherent, a *shīʿī*, that considers ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭālib and husband of the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima, was the legitimate spiritual and political heir to the Caliphate of Islam.

sunna: the body of recorded words, actions, gestures and practices of the Prophet Muḥammad. This material constitutes the second foundation of Islam and its legal system, the holy Qurʾān being the first and prime source. In the plural form, *sunan*, reference is made to the compilation, by various authorities of the reported words and actions of the Prophet.

tafsīr: exegesis and commentary, particularly applied to the Qurʾān.

tasmiyya: the enunciation by a Muslim of the formula: 'In the name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate' prior to any act or activity in which he or she might engage.

ṭawāf: ritual circumambulation of a religious site, normally the *kaʿba*.

tubbaʿ (pl. *tabābiʿa*): the title applied to the kings of pre-Islamic Yemen.

wudūʾ: the ritual ablution necessarily practiced by Muslims prior to their performance of prayer.

zamzam: the sacred well positioned close to the *kaʿba* (q.v.) within the *ḥarām al-sharīf*, the sacred enclosure encompassing the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims believe the well to have been miraculously opened through the agency of Gabriel to provide water for Abraham's wife Hagar and their son Ishmael.

INDEX

This index gives the names of all persons and places mentioned in the text, except for those to whom only passing and minimal reference is made. In some cases Ibn Kathīr refers to an individual by several different names. For example, Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr is sometimes referred to by that name, and elsewhere by the abbreviation Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, or even Abū ʿUmar. These alternative referents are listed here with cross references where appropriate. In some cases Ibn Kathīr gives an honorific – for example, Abū Ṭālib (Ṭālib's father) – by which that person, usually of great fame, was commonly known, sometimes without further full designation anywhere in the text. Such names are listed in this index as they appear in the body of the work. Place names are listed here in full, with the exceptions of Mecca and Medina, to which cities there are innumerable references throughout.

It has been seen as unnecessarily cumbersome to index certain prime sources for Ibn Kathīr's work – such as Ibn Isḥaq – to whom reference is made on almost every page. Similarly, quotations given from the Qurʾān are cited in full in the text, but without separate listings in this index.

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The Life of the Prophet Muḥammad

VOLUME II

Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya

Ibn Kathīr

Translated by Professor Trevor Le Gassick

Reviewed by Dr Muneer Fareed

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The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization

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In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

FOREWORD

THE interrelationship and interaction of human cultures and civilisations has made the contributions of each the common heritage of men in all ages and all places. Early Muslim scholars were able to communicate with their Western counterparts through contacts made during the Crusades; at Muslim universities and centres of learning in Muslim Spain (al-Andalus, or Andalusia) and Sicily to which many European students went for education; and at the universities and centres of learning in Europe itself (such as Salerno, Padua, Montpellier, Paris, and Oxford), where Islamic works were taught in Latin translations. Among the Muslim scholars well-known in the centres of learning throughout the world were al-Rāzī (Rhazes), Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Ibn Rushd (Averroes), al Khwārizmī and Ibn Khaldūn. Muslim scholars such as these and others produced original works in many fields. Many of them possessed encyclopaedic knowledge and distinguished themselves in many disparate fields of knowledge.

In view of this, the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization was established in order to acquaint non-Muslims with the contributions Islam has given to human civilisation as a whole. The Great Books of Islamic Civilization Project attempts to cover the first 800 years of Islam, or what may be called Islam's Classical Period. This project aims at making available in English a wide selection of works representative of Islamic civilisation in all its diversity. It is made up of translations of original Arabic works that were produced in the formative centuries of Islam, and is meant to serve the needs of a potentially large readership. Not only the specialist and scholar, but the non-specialist with an interest in Islam and its cultural heritage will be able to benefit from the series. Together, the works should serve as a rich source for the study of the early periods of Islamic thought.

In selecting the books for the series, the Center took into account all major areas of Islamic intellectual pursuit that could be represented. Thus the series includes works not only on better-known subjects such as law, theology, jurisprudence, history and politics, but also on subjects such as literature, medicine, astronomy, optics and geography. The specific criteria, used to select individual books, were these: that a book should give a faithful and comprehensive account of its field; and that it should be an authoritative source. The reader thus has at his disposal virtually a whole library of informative and enlightening works.

Each book in the series has been translated by a qualified scholar and reviewed by another expert. While the style of one translation will naturally differ from

another, the translators have endeavoured, to the extent it was possible, to make the works accessible to the common reader. As a rule, the use of footnotes has been kept to a minimum, though a more extensive use of them was necessitated in some cases.

This series is presented in the hope that it will contribute to a greater understanding in the West of the cultural and intellectual heritage of Islam and will therefore provide an important means towards greater understanding of today's world.

May God Help Us!

Muhammad bin Hamad Al-Thani
Chairman of the Board of Trustees

ABOUT THIS SERIES

THIS series of Arabic works, made available in English translation, represents an outstanding selection of important Islamic studies in a variety of fields of knowledge. The works selected for inclusion in this series meet specific criteria. They are recognized by Muslim scholars as being early and important in their fields, as works whose importance is broadly recognized by international scholars, and as having had a genuinely significant impact on the development of human culture.

Readers will therefore see that this series includes a variety of works in the purely Islamic sciences, such as Qur'ān, *ḥadīth*, theology, prophetic traditions (*sunna*), and jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Also represented will be books by Muslim scientists on medicine, astronomy, geography, physics, chemistry, horticulture, and other fields.

The work of translating these texts has been entrusted to a group of professors in the Islamic and Western worlds who are recognized authorities in their fields. It has been deemed appropriate, in order to ensure accuracy and fluency, that two persons, one with Arabic as his mother tongue and another with English as his mother tongue, should participate together in the translation and revision of each text.

This series is distinguished from other similar intercultural projects by its distinctive objectives and methodology. These works will fill a genuine gap in the library of human thought. They will prove extremely useful to all those with an interest in Islamic culture, its interaction with Western thought, and its impact on culture throughout the world. They will, it is hoped, fulfil an important rôle in enhancing world understanding at a time when there is such evident and urgent need for the development of peaceful coexistence.

This series is published by the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, which serves as a research centre under the patronage of H.H. Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, Amir of Qatar. It is directed by a Board of Trustees chaired by H.E. Sheikh Muhammad bin Hamad al-Thani, the former Minister of Education of Qatar. The Board is comprised of a group of prominent scholars. These include H.E. Dr Abul-Wafa al-Taftazani*, Deputy Rector of Cairo University, and Dr Yusuf al-Qaradhawi, Director of the Sira and Sunna Research Center. At its inception the Center was directed by the late Dr Muhammad Ibrahim Kazim, former Rector of Qatar University, who established its initial objectives.

The Center was until recently directed by Dr Kamal Nagi, the Foreign Cultural Relations Advisor of the Ministry of Education of Qatar. He was assisted by a

* Died 1994, may Allāh have mercy on him.

Board comprising a number of academicians of Qatar University, in addition to a consultative committee chaired by Dr Ezzeddin Ibrahim, former Rector of the University of the United Arab Emirates. A further committee acting on behalf of the Center has been the prominent university professors who act under the chairmanship of Dr Raji Rammuny, Professor of Arabic at the University of Michigan. This committee is charged with making known, in Europe and in America, the books selected for translation, and in selecting and enlisting properly qualified university professors, orientalists and students of Islamic studies to undertake the work of translation and revision, as well as overseeing the publication process.

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INTRODUCTION

THE work at hand in its original Arabic is, in a sense, the product of two minds: the author himself, Abū al-Fidāʾ ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar b. Kathīr,[1] and, to a lesser extent, its editor, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. In his introduction to the Arabic, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid points out that this work is in fact the culmination of a search for a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad to which Ibn Kathīr makes reference in his celebrated exegesis of the Qurʾān. There is, however, no extant copy of any such independent biographical study traceable to Ibn Kathīr. That such a study did exist is questionable, notwithstanding Ibn Kathīr's own allusion thereto. Given the unavailability of this particular work, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid offers the theory that the biography in question is none other than that which appears in Ibn Kathīr's chief work, his opus on history, the *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*.[2] He argues that the *sīra* section of the latter work is so comprehensive in its analysis of the life and times of the Prophet Muḥammad as to almost obviate the need for any independent study of the same topic. The biography at hand, therefore, is the same as found in the *al-Bidāya*. Nevertheless, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid must be commended for the not inconsiderable task of editing and publishing this particular section as an independent unit, and appropriately titling it *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya li Ibn Kathīr*.

Ibn Kathīr, whose ancestors are said to have been from Iraq, was himself born around the year 1313 CE/700 AH in the Boesra district of eastern Damascus. He died 74 years later, shortly after suffering a total loss of vision. He counts as his tutors such illustrious personages as the eminent historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, the Mālikī jurist Abū Mūsā al-Qarāfī, and the celebrated Damascene polemicist and jurist Ibn Taymiyya al-Ḥarrānī.

Ibn Kathīr's was an era of the great political and social upheavals that posed many challenges to the Muslim world at large, and in particular, to its scholars. What with the scourge of the Tartars threatening the very existence of Islam as a socio-political entity from the outside and the sectarian and ethnic strife created by the Mamluk revolution doing much the same from within, Ibn Kathīr and his

1. According to R. Y. Curtis, *Authoritative Interpretation of Classical Islamic Tafsīr: Critical Analysis of Ibn Kathīr's Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓīm*. Unpublished dissertation. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1989) (21), classical bibliographers have cited Ibn Kathīr's name in more than one way. Al-Dhahabī for instance, in the supplement to his bibliography, *Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Huffāẓ*, gives Ibn Kathīr's name as Ismāʿīl b. Umar b. Kathīr b. Ḍaw b. Kathīr b. Zarʿ. Other versions have been given, however, such as appears in al-Zirikli's *al-Aʿlām* (1: 320) and ʾUmar Riḍā Kahhāla's *Muʿjam al-Muʾallifīn* (1: 28).

2. According to C. Brockelman in his *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* ii. 49, this historical work of Ibn Kathīr is itself based on al-Birzāli's chronicle. For more information see also, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina* (Cod. Vienna, no. 1172).

colleagues, no doubt, had huge challenges with which to contend. In addition, the unrelenting pestilence and drought that had plagued the Levant and areas east thereof, made their burden all the more unwieldy. He died in 1387 CE/775 AH and lies buried in Damascus next to his master, Ibn Taymiyyah. He was mourned by his wife Zaynab, the daughter of his teacher, al-Mizzī, who, according to some reports, was an accomplished scholar in her own right. She bore him four sons, one of whom succeeded his father to the post of principal of the teaching academy al-Madrasa al-Ṣāliḥiyya.[3]

Ibn Kathīr, true to the pre-eminent tendencies of the academic milieu within which he functioned, brings to his study of the Prophet of Islam the method of the *muḥaddith*, the scholar of *ḥadīth* traditions, more assiduously than he does that of the traditional historian. In doing so, however, he has, I believe, substantially succeeded in combining two of the three sources available for the pursuit of the historical Muḥammad: the *ḥadīth* literature and the *sīra*; the Qurʾān, being the third such source, features less prominently, if not altogether rarely, in his study. Given the very extensive usage of *ḥadīth* material in this particular work, a word about the classical nature of such material and its contemporaneous validity would be appropriate at this point.

Early historical studies of Muslim society and culture, as A. A. Duri points out, "followed broadly two lines that were distinct from each other – that of *ḥadīth*, and that of the tribes (i.e. the *ayyām* anecdotes as narrated by the *akhbārīs* and the *ruwāt*), which is in a sense a continuation of pre-Islamic activities. "These two lines", he explains, "reflect the two major currents in early Islamic society – the Islamic and the tribal lines which influenced all aspects of life."[4] According to Muslim tradition, the learning and transmission of the sayings and actions of Muḥammad, his tacit approvals and disapprovals of the actions of others, and his general behaviour had religious significance second only to that of the Qurʾān. To that end Muslim scholars began the collection of such data as was related to the Prophet and his era even while he was still alive. At first, the system of oral retention was popular, but by the middle of the first century of the Muslim era, written compilations of *ḥadīth* traditions began to appear. By the end of the third quarter of that century, "a pattern was fixed for the learning and teaching of the *ḥadīth* which flourished in the second and third centuries."[5] A system of sorts for verifying the authenticity of such prophetic traditions was allegedly extant from the earliest of times – albeit in a

3. Curtis, 23.

4. Professor Duri's article is in large measure an elucidation of what he calls "the tribal type of history." See in this regard "The Iraq School of History to the Ninth Century", in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962).

5. M. M. Azami, *Studies in Early Hadith Literature* (Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 1983), 186.

rather rudimentary manner. That system, however, was neither systematized nor rigorously applied until the advent of the civil wars (*fitna*), whereupon sources were no longer regarded, prima facie, as trustworthy, but were instead increasingly scrutinized to establish authenticity. Thus evolved the elaborate *isnād* system where every *ḥadīth* was scrutinized from two perspectives: the text (*matn*) containing the information transmitted as such, and the chain of transmitters (*sanad*) giving the names of all those responsible for transmitting such information from the Prophet himself.

As indicated earlier, Ibn Kathīr's method in this particular work is more that of the *ḥadīth* scholars than it is of the historian; al-Bukhārī, Muslim and more so, al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and Abū Nuʿaym thus feature more prominently as sources for his biography than do historians such as Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Hishām or al-Ṭabarī. But, as ʿAbd al-Wāḥid rightly points out, Ibn Kathīr, on occasion, is not averse to using some rather obscure historical works, some even that are no longer extant: the rare historical tractate of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, and the *al-Rawḍ al-Anf* of al-Suhaylī are examples thereof.

True to tradition, if not quite on the same scale as, for instance, Ibn Hishām, are Ibn Kathīr's copious citations of poetry, almost all of which seem to have been taken from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq's biography of the Prophet. The poems deal with a variety of themes and styles: there is, for instance, the unmistakable sarcasm of Kaʿab b. Zuhayr as reflected in his lampooning of the Prophet, followed by his subsequent retraction and apology as in the much celebrated poem, *Bānat Suʿād*; there is also the occasional celebration of pre-Islamic Arabian chivalry, as in the haunting ode of Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām, when he speaks so movingly of his virtual self-immolation for the love of a friend. Then, of course, there are the evocative panegyrics of Ḥassān b. Thābit in defence of Islam, its Prophet, and his Companions.

Ibn Kathīr, oddly enough for someone who has plumbed the depths of *ḥadīth* methodology, frequently paraphrases, not just the many references to scholars such as Ibn Isḥāq, but also, at times, the very *ḥadīth* material he so often quotes. He thus takes almost the same liberties with such material as he does with works on history, and the reader, particularly of the Arabic text, sometimes searches in vain for all but the gist of the traditions that he ascribes to, say, the *saḥīḥ* of Bukhārī or that of Muslim. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid offers two possible reasons for this anomaly; the one I believe to be somewhat more plausible than the other. It may well be, he suggests, that Ibn Kathīr was simply quoting from memory, seeing no need for any further textual verification, or it may also be that he is, in fact, using sources unavailable to us today. This latter hypothesis is, I believe, somewhat unconvincing for it requires, amongst other things, that Ibn Kathīr possessed not one, but an entire set of *ḥadīth* works unique to his library alone!

The text itself suffers from a singular lack of the literary cadence that makes the historical works of al-Ṭabarī, for instance, more of a pleasure to read. This seems to result from Ibn Kathīr's efforts to present an authentic description of the life and times of the Prophet of Islam, and to submit such data as is found in the popular biographical works to the scrutiny of *ḥadīth* literature. The flow of his text is, without question, a casualty of this exercise. But, as has been pointed out by a scholar of the Bible, "If we read biblical narrative (or in this case the *sīra* material) as a story, we abandon its historical truth. If we read it as literature, we will often find literary art in it, but this art takes us further from truth."[6] Not that the method of Ibn Kathīr is altogether without its redeeming features: it certainly provides useful information to scholars, particularly those of the traditional schools, who would prefer to have the classical sources for *sīra* studies close at hand.

The contents of works such as Ibn Kathīr's *sīra* are today regarded by many scholars of Islam as largely proto-historical, focusing, that is, on an era whose source documentation falls short of contemporary historiographical standards. It is, some say, the stuff of myth and legend, entwined in places with real historical data. For modern historians of Islam and the Middle East such as Maxime Rodinson, Patricia Crone et al., *sīra* material contains, in the first instance, virtually "nothing of which we can say for certain that it incontestably dates back to the time of the Prophet".[7] And so, "when doing research about the life and work of the Prophet Muḥammad", Rudi Paret warns, "we on principle distrust the traditional statement and explanation of facts given by later generations, in so far as they cannot be verified by internal evidence or in some other way."[8]

In addition, the work at hand may be seen by some to be no more than the product of one who had a variety of interests in the topic: one who was, at one and the same time, a historian, a scribe of "sacred biography", and also a devotee; the results of an endeavour such as Ibn Kathīr's, therefore, risk being perceived as less than the product of dispassionate scholarship.[9]

This critical approach to Islamic historiography emerged gradually in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was, understandably, only a matter of time before Albert Schweitzer's "quest of the historical Christ" would be appropriated by

6. See Robin L. Fox, *The Unauthorized Version: Truth and Fiction in the Bible* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

7. This particular statement appears in the introduction to Maxime Rodinson's own biography of the Prophet. See Maxime Rodinson, *Mohammed*. Trans. Anne Carter (London, 1971).

8. For the full text of this article see R. Paret, "Recent European Research on the Life and Work of *Prophet Muhammad, Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi, 1958.

9. See in this regard G. D. Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad* (Columbia: University of Southern California Press, 1989).

scholars of Islamic history in their search of the demythologized Muḥammad; after all, this kind of appropriation of the analytical tools indigenous to studies of Christianity for the unravelling of the Islamic historical experience has become almost a convention in Islamic and Middle Eastern studies. Yet the entire process is, I believe, fraught with questionable hypotheses, broad generalizations and a certain disregard for the spatio-temporal factors that shape ostensibly similar events. The application of New Testament heuristic tools such as Form and Redaction criticism to the corpus of information pertaining to the *sīra* seems to betray a casual disregard for the *Sitz im Leben* of that very corpus. The life and work of Jesus is clearly different from that of Muḥammad; the former's mission – if it can be described as such – is, for example, singularly devoid of the political and socio-economic objectives that informed that of the latter. It is, therefore, hardly surprising, as F. E. Peters in his recent article "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad" points out, that "even though a great deal of effort has been invested in research into the life and times of Muḥammad, the results do not seem at all comparable to those achieved in research on Jesus, and the reasons are not at all clear."[10]

Ever since Gustav Weil presented his *Mohammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre* in 1843, scholars have endeavoured to unravel the historical Muḥammad using a variety of tools and strategems. Initially the material offered by Muslim historians such as Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Hishām and more, importantly, al-Ṭabarī was used almost unquestioningly by Christian scholars who, as Holt characterizes them, belonged mainly to "holy orders".[11] Their primary purpose, it would seem, was to provide a spirited defence of Christian theology and dogma against the claims of Islam and its adherents. The polemics that ensued were, in the main, reflective of the attitude that there was "not any rational inducement in all (that Muslims) believe or practice; insomuch that common sense must be discarded in order to embrace their system."[12] As for Muḥammad, he was for many in that era "so coarse and barbarous an imposter, that there is not a man, who does not or cannot perceive plainly his cheating and corruption."[13] Humphrey Prideaux, the 17th-century lecturer in Hebrew at Oxford, captured rather succinctly the disposition of scholars *vis-à-vis* the study of Muḥammad, in the rather long-winded title of his work, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annex'd*

10. F. E. Peters, "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad", in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (1991), 291–315.

11. See P. M. Holt, "The Treatment of Arab Historians by Prideaux, Ockley, and Sale," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 290–302.

12. Ibid., 300.

13. Ibid., 300.

for the vindication of Christianity from this charge. Offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present age.[14] Later Simon Ockley, the somewhat less acerbic and brusque vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, authored *The History of the Saracens*, a "much more solid contribution to historical knowledge" as Holt puts it, but one that nonetheless did "not fail to follow common form by stigmatizing Muḥammad in his first line, as 'the great Imposter' and then describing the Arab conquests as 'that grievous calamity'."[15] The liberalism that swept across Europe in the 18th century helped create a relatively less hostile attitude among European scholars towards Islam and its leader. We thus find during that era scholars such as Henri de Boulainvillier emerging. Boulainvillier, his theological affinities notwithstanding, assumed a decidedly more conciliatory tone in his biography of Muḥammad, *La vie de Mahomet*. For him, Christianity is undoubtedly superior to Islam but he is, none the less, quite charitable in his evaluation of his subject, and says: "With respect to the essential doctrines of religion, all that (Muḥammad) has laid down is true; but he has not laid down all that is true; and that is the whole difference between our religion and his."[16]

The quest itself began in earnest in the writings of the Belgian Jesuit, Henri Lammens. Whereas Theodor Noeldeke, prior to him, had largely failed in his attempts to unravel "the historical person of Muhammad", Lammens plodded on, and succeeded to some extent, in demonstrating "the possibility of the critical analysis of the *sīra*". Lammens' efforts, however, were directed, not at a biographical study of Muḥammad *per se*, but rather on the search for the secret of his personal appeal and the rapid expansion of his message. "Muhammad to him, was a historical problem as well as a symbol of Islam's obstinacy and insensitiveness to the missionary influence."[17]

Lammens also happened to be among the first to argue, with some conviction, that the *ḥadīth* traditions as well as the *sīra* material on the Prophet are, on the whole, fictitious. This inaugurated a new perspective on Islamic history: the emphasis shifted from a critique of the actors in that history to the questioning of the source material itself.

In the 19th century, the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher concluded that much of the *ḥadīth* material was but a "pious fraud . . . invoked by every group (in early Islam) for every idea it evolved; . . . through solid chains (*isnād*) of tradition, all such matters acquired an unbroken tie to the 'Companions' who had heard those pronouncements and statutes from the Prophet or had seen him act

14. Ibid., 291.
15. Ibid., 311.
16. P. M. Holt, *The Treatment of Arab History*, 300.
17. K. S. Salibi, "Islam and Syria in the Writings of Henri Lammens", in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 330–342.

in pertinent ways."[18] Later Professor J. Schacht further explored the foregoing hypotheses by subjecting the *isnād* of a few legal traditions to an exhaustive scrutiny. He concluded that "hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic; they were put into circulation . . . from the first half of the second century onwards."[19] From this others were quick to extrapolate that even the biographical material is fraudulent. Crone thus states: "that the bulk of the *sīra* . . . consists of second century *ḥadīths* has not been disputed by any historian, and this point may be taken as conceded."[20]

Not all Western scholars, however were as eager to jettison the classical material. W. M. Watt, writing in his *Muhammad at Mecca*, is clearly more reluctant than Crone, for example, to reject out of hand all such material, simply on the strength of Schacht's conclusion. He thus maintains that "In the legal sphere there may have been some sheer invention of traditions, it would seem. But in the historical sphere, in so far as the two may be separated, and apart from some exceptional cases, the nearest to such invention in the best early historians appears to be a 'tendential shaping' of the material . . ."[21]

It must be remembered, however, that traditional Muslim scholars display little awareness of the foregoing conundrum. The classical methodology of *ḥadīth* criticism as practised by early Muslim scholars, with its close scrutiny of the *isnād* and the *mutūn* of prophetic traditions, has, in the main, not been discredited, or even questioned, by Muslim scholars. If anything, that methodology has today been given a new lease of life by scholars such as Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, who, for example, regard the re-evaluation of the early sources as integral to what they call the Islamic renaissance (*al-Nahḍa al-Islamiyya*). Such a renaissance, Albānī argues, will fall far short of its goals, without a thoroughgoing purge of what remains of the spurious material that had crept into *ḥadīth* and *sīra* works during the turbulent epoch of early Islamic history.[22] He thus set himself the task of appraising scholars and the Muslim laity alike to those traditions that were deemed spurious by the regimen of classical *ḥadīth* studies. His findings, which were first published under the title "al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍa'īfah wa al-Mawdū'ah" in a weekly column in the magazine *al-Tamaddun al-Islamī*, now comprise a multi-volume work, appropriately titled *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍa'īfah wa al-Mawdū'ah.*[23]

18. See Goldziher's chapter on the development of the law in Islam in *Introduction to Islamic Law and Theology*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

19. J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford University Press, 1959).

20. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 14–15.

21. W. G. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford Univesity Press, 1953), xiii.

22. M. N. Al-Albani, *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍa'īfah wa al-Mawdū'ah*. Vol. i. Damascus?: Manshurāt al-Maktab al-Islami, 1376 h.

23. Ibid., 6.

Clearly not all contemporary scholars are as eager as Schacht et al. to ring the death knell on *ḥadīth* literature as a tool for unravelling early Islamic history. Azami for one, in his studies on early *ḥadīth* literature has attempted to show that *ḥadīth* literature is indeed the richest source for the investigation of that era, for it provides, among other things, material for the understanding of the legal, cultural and religious ideas of those early centuries. He maintains that the theories of Margoliouth, Goldziher and more recently, Schacht can no longer be incontestably accepted given the recent discoveries of manuscripts or research. According to him:

> "In the period referred to, works on the biography of the Prophet and on other historical topics were in a very advanced stage. We find that work on the biography of the Prophet was begun by the Companions. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ recorded many historical events. It is possible still to trace his work in the *aḥādīth* narrated by ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb (d. 118 AH) as he utilized his great grandfather ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr's books. ʿUrwah (d. 93 AH) in his biography of the Prophet names his authority and most probably he had obtained the information in writing. There are works mentioned here and there on a single topic of the Sirah, e.g. *Memorandum on the Servants of the Prophet*, a book on the ambassadors of the Prophet to different rulers and chieftains with their negotiations. There are references to the collections of the Prophet's letters in a very early period."[24]

But it is, in fact, these very sources that Azami cites that have, through the use of contemporary literary and hermeneutical tools, been relegated to no more than "the rubble of early Muslim history". For Patricia Crone therefore, the "inertia" of material such as appears heretofore "comes across very strongly in modern scholarship on the first two centuries of Islam."[25] "The bulk of it", she argues, "has an alarming tendency to degenerate into mere rearrangements of the same old canon – Muslim chronicles in modern languages and graced with modern titles."[26]

Others, such as Juynboll, have strived to arrive at the inevitable *solution intermédiaire*, "a conceivable position that could be taken between the two points of view represented respectively by Muslim and Western scholarship."[27] For him therefore, the *ḥadīth* traditions "taken as a whole" do provide a fairly reliable rendition of early Islamic history, and "a judiciously and cautiously formulated overall view of what all those early reports . . . collectively point to, may in all likelihood be taken to be not very far from the truth of 'what really happened'."[28]

24. Azami, *Early Hadith*, 7–8.

25. See in this regard the introduction to her work, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*. (Cambridge University Press, 1980).

26. Ibid., 13.

27. See G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early hadith*. (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

28. Ibid., 7.

Finally, the true value of this particular work probably resides outside the context of the foregoing academic debate, for as Gadamer explains in *Truth and Method*,[29] "The meaning of a literary work is never exhausted by the intentions of its author; as the work passes from one cultural or historical context to another, new meanings may be culled from it which were perhaps never anticipated by its author or contemporary audience."[30]

Muneer Fareed
Reviewer of Volumes II–IV

29. H. G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London, 1975).

30. This is in fact an interpretation of Gadamer's thoughts as espoused by T. Eagleton in his study, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 71.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

As has often been observed, translation is impossible, since the associations and emotive content of words in one language and culture differ from those of all others. Attempts at translation, therefore, inevitably represent strivings for compromise. While accuracy and precision are prime objectives, the ultimately necessary requirements for clarity and comprehension in the host language may require simplification or even omission from the original text. The dilemmas inherent in these conflicting objectives are at times irreconcilable, and this is particularly true when one is dealing, as here, with languages and cultures so far removed as ancient Arabic and modern English. This translation, composed in everyday, contemporary English, gives no impression of the ubiquitous rarities, oddities and archaisms of vocabulary and syntax that make the original extremely challenging to comprehend. It is hoped, of course, that the innumerable compromises that this translation represents will be accepted as good-faith attempts to convey the spirit and purpose of the original in a form that readers of English will not find impossibly daunting.

In some instances Ibn Kathīr repeats anecdotal *aḥādīth* with differing chains of authority that are almost identical in content; often, as will be seen, the accounts differ in only very few of their words and these are typically vocabulary rarities. While such variations between accounts may seem of scant interest to the Western reader, they have nevertheless been left complete and intact in this translation. Including them in full, as in the original work, gives a strong impression of the care with which these anecdotes have been handed down and the impression of their likely authenticity is therefore enhanced. This seems especially the case where the discrepancies involve vocabulary rarities that are synonymous. It seems that it would be just such words that would have been subjected to dispute, change or loss from memory.

Ibn Kathīr's objective was to appear authoritative and discriminating in his choices of inclusion and discussion of specific *aḥādīth*; to him the listing of all the names of his authorities and his comments on their reputations was an essential component of this lectures. The give-and-take of oral lecturing – of which this work is essentially a record – would have enabled immediate verbal clarification. Our English text, in contrast, has to stand by itself, and to present an inherent and visible logic and clarity; it must also give some impression of the reliability of the Arabic text that is indicated by its complexity, and by the care with which the names of quoted sources are given and at times evaluated.

A perpetual challenge in presenting this text has therefore been to leave the essential narratives clear and succinct while including yet simplifying the lines of authority on which their authenticity is based. The names of authorities quoted

have been included in full, since their identities were of prime importance for the initial 'readership' of this work as well as to students and researchers today. However, the exact nature and relative value of the means of transmission from authority to authority and the suggestions implied of Ibn Kathīr's preference for certain sources over others, have not been conveyed with exactitude, since common English vocabulary is unable to convey some of the subtleties of the Arabic technical terms employed for this purpose. The essential completeness of the original text in this translation does, however, enable serious students of early Islamic materials to bring their own differentiation to bear by their knowledge of the reputations of the persons quoted.

Certain words common in this text – such as *Abū* and *sūrat* – change in their form in Arabic to accord with basic grammatical rules. Here, however, to avoid confusion for those readers who do not know Arabic, they have been left in the form in which they are most commonly met. Initial *hamza*, moreover, has been omitted. Since early Arabic manuscripts, like the Arabic printed version of this text, are devoid of quotation marks, the identity of the narrator is sometimes unclear. Similarly, it is occasionally difficult to discern whether comments at the end of an account are those of the transmitting authority or of Ibn Kathīr himself. Footnotes referring to these and similar textual difficulties have been kept to a minimum, while brief parenthetical explanatory comments have sometimes been inserted to aid the general reader.

Discriminating and knowledgeable readers and reviewers will no doubt find discrepancies and perhaps inaccuracies in this lengthy and demanding text, especially in the extensive poems quoted. For these the translator – and his reviewers, text editors and typesetters – apologize. But since this work offers intimate details not elsewhere available in English about Arabian history and the inspiration and leadership of Islam in its earliest formative period, it would seem unsatisfactory to leave it in a language and form accessible only to a small coterie of scholars. The evident religious historical and philosophical interest of this text suggests that all those associated with its production may properly take refuge and find consolation from criticism in the knowledge that 'to err is human'. To attempt the impossible, moreover, while perhaps foolhardy, is surely more laudable than to make no attempt at all.

Trevor Le Gassick
Ann Arbor, 1997

VOLUME II

Chapter: Concerning the migration of those Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) who escaped from persecution with their faith from Mecca to Abyssinia.

It has been recounted above how the polytheists abused those believers who lacked power or protection and treated them with severe violence and great humiliation.

God, Almighty and Glorious is He, had kept them away from His Messenger (ṢAAS), and had given him the protection of his uncle, Abū Ṭālib, as was mentioned above. And all praise and recognition is due to God.

Al-Wāqidī has related that their passage to Abyssinia occurred in the month of Rajab in the fifth year of the Mission, and that the first group to migrate consisted of eleven men and four women. He told how they made their way to the sea, either on foot or riding, and there they hired a boat to Abyssinia at a cost of one-half of one dinar.

These persons were: ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and his wife Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ʿUtba and his wife Sahla, daughter of Suhayl, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad and his wife Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya, ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿun, ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa al-ʿAnzī, his wife Laylā, daughter of Abū Ḥathma, Abū Sabra b. Abū Ruhm, Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr, Suhayl b. Bayḍāʾ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd. God bless them all! Ibn Jarīr stated, "Others say, however, that the group consisted of 82 men, not counting their women and children. About ʿAmmār b. Yāsir we have doubts; if he was among them, they totalled 83 men."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), witnessed the trials descending upon his Companions, he compared this with his own good state that derived from his own status with God and from his uncle Abū Ṭālib, and, recognizing that he was unable to prevent the evil befalling them, he told them, 'I wish you would go forth into the land of Abyssinia, for there is a king in whose realm no one is harmed, where truth prevails. Stay there until God gives you relief from your plight.'

"The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), thereupon left for Abyssinia, fearing the unrest and fleeing with their faith unto God. This was the first emigration that occurred in Islam. The first Muslim to depart was ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān along with his wife Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī related, similarly, from a *ḥadīth* of Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān, from ʿAbbās al-ʿAnbārī, from Bishr b. Mūsā, from al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Burjumī, who said,

"Qatāda stated to us, 'The first man to emigrate to God Almighty along with his family was ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, God be pleased with him.'

"I heard al-Naḍr b. Anas state, 'I heard Abū Ḥamza (by whom he meant Anas b. Mālik) say, "ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, along with his wife Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), left for Abyssinia. A long time elapsed without the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having news of them, until a Quraysh woman came to him and said, 'O Muḥammad, I saw your son-in-law with his wife in his company.' 'In what state did you see them?' he asked.

"'"She replied, 'I saw him leading a decrepit old donkey on which his wife was mounted.'

"'"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), exclaimed, 'May God be with them both! ʿUthmān is the first man since Lot, upon whom be peace, to take himself and his family into exile.'"'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "And (they also included) Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ʿUtba and his wife Sahla, daughter of Suhayl b. ʿAmr; and in Abyssinia she bore him a son, Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥudhayfa.

"And there were al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad, along with his wife Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra, to whom Zaynab was born there. Also travelling were ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, and ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa, who was allied to the al-Khaṭṭāb family; he was from the tribe of ʿAnz b. Wāʾil. His wife was Laylā, daughter of Abū Ḥathma. Then there was Abū Sabra b. Abū Ruhm al-ʿĀmirī, with his wife Umm Kulthūm, daughter of Suhayl b. ʿAmr; the latter is also known as Abū Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ʿĀmir. He is also said to have been the first to arrive there.

"Also there was Suhayl b. Bayḍāʾ.

"These ten men, so I have been told, were the first Muslims to leave for Abyssinia."

Ibn Hishām stated, "ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn was in command of them, according to some scholars."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Then Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib left, accompanied by his wife Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmays. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar was born to him in Abyssinia."

The Muslims followed on after one another, eventually being reunited in Abyssinia.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba has claimed that the first migration to Abyssinia occurred when Abū Ṭālib and those who had allied with him in support of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), went into the *shiʿb*.[1] There are differing views on this. But God knows best.

He also claimed that the departure of Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib came only in the second migration to Abyssinia, after the return of some of those who had gone

1. The defile in Mecca where he was permitted by Quraysh to take up residence.

there initially. (They returned) when they heard that the polytheists had accepted Islam and were praying. When they arrived in Mecca, ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn among them, they did not find it true that the polytheists had accepted Islam, as they had been told. Some of them then returned to Abyssinia, while others remained in Mecca. Other Muslims also went to Abyssinia at the time of the second migration. This will be explained hereafter.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib was among those who left the second time." But Ibn Isḥāq's referring to his having gone on the first migration is very plain, as will be shown. But God knows best.

However, he clearly was in a second group of the emigrants who went on the first migration; he acted as their spokesman and translator before the Negus and others. We will report this at length.

Then Ibn Isḥāq went on to list those who left in the company of Jaʿfar, God be pleased with them all.

They were: ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and his wife Fāṭima, daughter of Ṣafwān b. Umayya b. Muḥarrith b. Shiqq al-Kinānī.

And his brother Khālid, accompanied by his wife Umayna, daughter of Khalaf b. Asʿad al-Khuzāʿī; she bore him Saʿīd and Amma, the latter ultimately marrying al-Zubayr by whom she gave birth to ʿAmr and Khālid.

Also there were ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Riʾāb and his brother ʿUbayd Allāh, who was accompanied by his wife Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān.

And Qays b. ʿAbd Allāh of the Banū Asad b. Khazīma along with his wife Baraka, daughter of Yasār, the freed-woman of Abū Sufyān.

And Muʿayqīb b. Abū Fāṭima, a freed-man of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ. Ibn Hishām stated, "He was of (the tribe of) Daws."

And Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, that is ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays, an ally of the family of ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa; we will discuss this later and also the authority.

And ʿUtba b. Ghazwān, Yazīd b. Zamʿa b. al-Aswad, ʿAmr b. Umayya b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad, Ṭulayb b. ʿUmayr b. Wahb b. Abū Kathīr b. ʿAbd, Suwaybiṭ b. Saʿd b. Ḥuraymala and Jahm b. Qays al-ʿAbdawī, accompanied by his wife Umm Ḥarmala, daughter of ʿAbd al-Aswad b. Khuzayma, along with his two sons ʿAmr b. Jahm and Khuzayma b. Jahm. Also there was Abū al-Rūm b. ʿUmayr b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf b. ʿAbd al-Dār, Firās b. al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalda, ʿĀmir b. Abū Waqqāṣ, brother of Saʿd, and al-Muṭṭalib b. Azhar b. ʿAbd ʿAwf al-Zuhrī, accompanied by his wife Ramla, daughter of Abū ʿAwf b. Ḍubayra, who bore in Abyssinia al-Muṭṭalib's son ʿAbd Allāh.

Also there were ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd and his brother ʿUtba, al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, al-Ḥārith b. Khālid b. Ṣakhr al-Taymī, accompanied by his wife Rayṭa, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Jubayla; she bore him there Mūsā, ʿĀʾisha, Zaynab and Fāṭima.

Also there were ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAmr b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murra and Shammās b. ʿUthmān b. al-Sharīd al-Makhzūmī. He (Ibn Isḥāq) stated that

he was named "Shammās" (i.e. perhaps "Sunny", tr.) because of his good looks; his original name was ʿUthmān b. ʿUthmān.

Then there were Habbār b. Sufyān b. ʿAbd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī and his brother ʿAbd Allāh, Hishām b. Abū Ḥudhayfa b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Makhzūm, Salama b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra, ʿAyyāsh b. Abū Rabīʿa b. al-Mughīra, Muʿattib b. ʿAwf b. ʿĀmir, known as ʿAyhāma, he being an ally of the Banū Makhzūm.

Also included were Qudāma and ʿAbd Allāh, the two brothers of ʿUthmān b. Mazʿūn, al-Sāʾib b. ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, Ḥāṭb b. al-Ḥārith b. Maʿmar, accompanied by his wife Fāṭima, daughter of al-Mujallil and his two sons by her, Muḥammad and al-Ḥārith. Also there were Ḥāṭib's brother Khaṭṭāb, accompanied by his wife Fukayha, daughter of Yasār, Sufyān b. Maʿmar b. Ḥabīb and his wife Ḥasana, along with his two sons by her, Jābir and Junāda, as well as a son of hers by another husband. This son's name was Shuraḥbīl b. ʿAbd Allāh, a member of the family of al-Ghawth b. Muzāḥim b. Tamīm; he was known as Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana.

And there were ʿUthmān b. Rabīʿa b. Ahbān b. Wahb b. Ḥudhāfa b. Jumaḥ, Khunays b. Ḥudḥāfa b. Qays b. ʿAdī, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. ʿAdī b. Saʿīd b. Sahm, Hishām b. al-ʿAṣ b. Wāʾil b. Saʿīd, Qays b. Ḥudhāfa b. Qays b. ʿAdī, accompanied by his brother ʿAbd Allāh.

Also there were Abū Qays b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. ʿAdī, along with his brothers al-Ḥārith, Maʿmar, al-Sāʾib, Bishr and Saʿīd, all sons of al-Ḥārith, along with the brother of Saʿīd b. Qays b. ʿAdī on his mother's side, his name being Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī.

And ʿUmayr b. Riʾāb b. Ḥudḥayfa b. Muhashshim b. Saʿīd b. Sahm, along with an ally of the Banū Sahm named Maḥmiyya b. Jazʾ al-Zubaydī, Maʿmar b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAdawī, ʿUrwa b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, ʿAdī b. Naḍla b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, along with his son al-Nuʿmān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Makhrama al-ʿĀmirī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Suhayl b. ʿAmr, Salīṭ b. ʿAmr and his brother al-Sakrān, who was accompanied by his wife Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa, Mālik b. Rabīʿa and his wife ʿAmra, daughter of al-Saʿdī, and Abū Ḥātib b. ʿAmr al-ʿĀmirī, accompanied by their ally Saʿd b. Khawla from Yemen.

Also there were Abū ʿUbayda ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Fihrī, Suhayl b. Bayḍāʾ, Bayḍāʾ being his mother, whose real name was Daʿd, daughter of Jaḥdam b. Umayya b. Ẓarib b. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr. He, Suhayl, was really Suhayl b. Wahb b. Rabīʿa b. Hilāl (b. Uhayb)[2] b. Ḍabba. And there were ʿAmr b. Abū Sarḥ b. Rabīʿa b. Hilāl b. Uhayb b. Mālik b. Ḍabba b. al-Ḥārith, ʿIyāḍ b. Zuhayr b. Abū Shaddād b. Rabīʿa b. Hilāl b. Mālik b. Ḍabba. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhayr b. Abū Shaddād b. Rabīʿa and ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Ghanm b. Zuhayr were two brothers. Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Qays b. Laqīṭ, along with his brother al-Ḥārith were of the Fihr tribe.

2. Ibn Hishām adds this link.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The number of those Muslims who migrated and went to Abyssinia, not counting the little children and those born there, totalled 83. This assumes that ʿAmmār b. Yāsir was among them, but there is some doubt about him."

I would comment that the inclusion by Ibn Isḥāq of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī among those who migrated from Mecca to Abyssinia is very strange.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥasan b. Mūsā related to us that he heard Ḥudayj, brother of Zuhayr b. Muʿāwiya say, on the authority of Abū Isḥāq, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn Masʿūd, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us, a body of some 80 men, to the Negus. These included ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, Jaʿfar, ʿAbd Allāh b. Arfaṭa, ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, and Abū Mūsā. These men went to the Negus.

"'Then Quraysh dispatched to him ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿUmāra b. al-Walīd with a gift.

"'When they went in to the Negus, they bowed down before him. Then they took up positions to the left and right before him and said, "A group of our people have taken up residence in your land, after having turned away from us and from our religion."

"'"Where are they?," he asked.

"'"In your land. Send for them," they suggested.

"'He did so and Jaʿfar said, "I will be your spokesman today." And they followed him.

"'He made salutation, but did not bow down. They asked him, "What is wrong with you, not bowing down before the king?"

"'He replied, "We bow down only before God, the Almighty and Glorious."

"'"What is this all about?" he was asked.

"'He answered, "God has sent a messenger to us and told us to bow down to no one but God, the Almighty and Glorious. He also ordered us to pray, and to give alms."

"'ʿAmr commented, "They differ with you about Jesus, son of Mary."

"'He (the Negus) asked, "What do you say about Jesus son of Mary and His mother?"

"'He (Jaʿfar) replied, "We say as God did: He is His word and His spirit which He cast into the Virgin whom no man had touched and no child had been inside."

"'The king then picked up a stick from the ground and said, "O people of Abyssinia, and you, priests and monks; by God, they are not so much as the size of this stick away from what we say! Welcome to you and greetings to him from whom you come! I bear witness that he is the Messenger of God, and that it is him we find in the Bible. He is the Messenger of whom Jesus, son of Mary, made prophecy. You may reside wherever you wish; and, by God, were it not for my role as king, I would go to him so that I could be the one who carries his shoes for him!"

"'He then commanded that the present the two messengers had brought be returned to them.

"'ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd hurried forth thereafter, and lived to take part in the battle of Badr.

"'He claimed that the Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed for forgiveness for him (the king) when news of his death reached him.'"

The chain of authorities for this is excellent, and the narrative is good. It gives evidence that Abū Mūsā was among those who migrated from Mecca to Abyssinia, even though this *ḥadīth* is not recorded by some authorities. But God knows best.

This event is related on the authority of Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī from another chain.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym stated in *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), "Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to us quoting from Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Ghulābī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Rajāʾ from Isrāʾīl. Also Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to us from Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ, from al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlluwiyya al-Qaṭṭān, from ʿIbād b. Mūsā al-Khutulī, from Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar, from Isrāʾīl.

"Also, Abū Aḥmad related to us, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Shīrawayh, from Isḥāq b. Ibrahīm, he being Ibn Rāhawayh, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered us to depart with Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib, to the land of the Negus.'

"Quraysh heard of this and so they sent ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿUmāra b. al-Walīd, having obtained a gift for the Negus.

"They went in to the Negus with the present, which he accepted, and they made obeisance before him.

"Then ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ said, 'Certain people from our land have abandoned our religion. They are here in your country.'

"'In my country?' the Negus asked.

"'Yes,' they replied.

"So he sent for us and Jaʿfar told us, 'Let none of you speak. I will be your spokesman today.'

"And so we went to the Negus when he was seated on his throne, with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ on his right, ʿUmāra on his left, and the priests seated in two ranks. ʿAmr and ʿUmāra had told the king, 'They will not make obeisance to you.'

"When we arrived, some of his priests and monks there with him hurried to us and told us to bow down before the king. But Jaʿfar replied, 'We bow down only before God, the Almighty and Glorious.'

"When we reached the Negus, he asked, 'What prevents you from bowing down?'

"Jaʿfar replied, 'We bow down only before God.'

"The Negus then asked him, 'Well, what is this all about?'

"Ja'far explained, 'God sent a messenger among us; he is that same Messenger Jesus, son of Mary, God's prayers and peace be upon Him, said would come after himself, his name being "Aḥmad". He ordered us to worship God and to associate no god with Him, to perform the prayers, to pay alms, to be good, and to abstain from what is forbidden.'

"His speech astonished the Negus.

"When 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ saw this, he exclaimed, 'May God save the king! They disagree with you concerning Jesus, son of Mary.'

"The Negus then asked Ja'far, 'What does your master say about the son of Mary?'

"Ja'far replied, 'He says of Him what God stated – that he is God's spirit and His word, and that He brought him forth from the Virgin whom no man had approached and in whom there had been no child.'

"The Negus then picked up a stick from the ground and raised it up, saying, 'Ye priests and monks, these people do not add so much as the weight of this to what we say about the son of Mary.'

"'Welcome to you,' he continued, 'and greetings to him from whom you have come. I bear witness that he is the Messenger of God and that it is he of whom Jesus made prophecy. Were it not for the duties of my kingdom, I would go to him to kiss his shoes. Stay in my land as long as you wish.'

"He then ordered that food and fine garments be brought for us. And he said, 'Give back to those other two their gift.'

"'Amr b. al-'Āṣ was short, while 'Umāra was a handsome man. While at sea, they had been drinking. 'Amr had his wife with him and, after they had been imbibing, 'Umāra said to 'Amr, 'Tell your wife to kiss me!' 'Amr replied, 'You should be ashamed!' Then 'Umāra picked up 'Amr and flung him into the sea. 'Amr kept calling out to 'Umāra until he brought him back on to the boat.

"'Amr hated him for this, and told the Negus, 'If you were to leave, 'Umāra would take your place with your wife.' At that the Negus summoned 'Umāra and had air blown into his urethra so that he flew away with the wild birds."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it thus in *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*), through Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Sallām al-Sawwāq, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā. He relates it similarly, with the same chain of authorities, up to the words, "He then ordered that food and fine garments be brought to us."

He then stated, "This chain of authorities is good; what it apparently shows is that Abū Mūsā was at Mecca, and that he did go with Ja'far, son of Abū Ṭālib, to Abyssinia.

What is true according to Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Burda, on the authority of his grandfather Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, is that the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became known to them while they were in Yemen. They therefore went out into exile along with some 50 persons in a boat that took them to the Negus in Abyssinia. They found that Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib and his companions were already living there. Ja'far told them to stay, and they did stay

with him until they joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the time of Khaybar.

He stated, "Abū Mūsā witnessed what took place between Jaʿfar and the Negus and reported this."

He also said, "And perhaps the narrator was using his imagination in saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ordered us to depart." But God knows best.

This is how al-Bukhārī related this in his chapter on the migration to Abyssinia: "Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, 'The departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became known to us while we were in Yemen. So we embarked on a boat which took us to the Negus, in Abyssinia. There we found Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib, God bless him, and we stayed there with him until we left and joined the Prophet (ṢAAS), when Khaybar was conquered. And so the Prophet said, "For you people of the boat there are two migrations."'" Muslim related this in this way from Abū Kurayb and Abū ʿĀmir ʿAbd Allāh b. Barrād, both of whom used Abū Usāma as a source. They both related this at length in other places. But God knows best.

This narrative concerning Jaʿfar and the Negus was also related by the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir in his biography of Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib. His account is on his own authority and that of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, both of whom related the *ḥadīth*. It is also recounted by Ibn Masʿūd, as given above, and by Umm Salama, as will be shown later.

This following account given by Jaʿfar is extremely valuable. Ibn ʿAsākir related it from Abū al-Qāsim al-Samarqandī, from Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Naqūr, from Abū Ṭāhir al-Mukhalliṣ, from Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Baghawī, who said, "Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Juʿfī related to us, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Abān, quoting Asad b. ʿAmr al-Bajalī, from Mujālid b. Saʿīd, from al-Shaʿbī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, from his father, who said, 'Quraysh sent ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿUmāra b. al-Walīd with a gift from Abū Sufyān to the Negus. They told him – and we were there with him – 'Some low-class and silly people of ours have come to you. So hand them over to us!'

"He replied, 'No, not until I hear what they have to say.'"

Jaʿfar went on, "So he sent to us and asked, 'What's all this they say?'

"We replied, 'These are people who worship idols. God sent a messenger to us in whom we believed and trusted.'

"The Negus then asked them, 'Are these people slaves of yours?'

"'No,' they replied.

"'Do they have debts owing to you?' he then asked.

"'No,' they answered.

"'Then leave them alone,' he said.

"At this we left his presence, but ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ told him, 'These people speak different things of Jesus from what you do.'

"He replied, 'If they do not say about Jesus as I do, I will not allow them to stay in my land a single hour of the day!'

"And so he sent for us, this second invitation being harder upon us than the first.

"The Negus asked, 'What does your master say about Jesus, son of Mary?'

"We replied, 'He says that He is the spirit of God and His word that He cast to a chaste virgin.'

"He then dispatched a messenger, saying, 'Summon to me such-and-such a priest, such-and-such a monk.'

"Some men of theirs came and he asked, 'What do you say concerning Jesus, son of Mary?'

"They replied, 'You are the most knowledgeable of us; what do you say?'

"The Negus replied, having picked something up from the ground, 'Jesus is no more different from what these people say than this much.'

"He then asked, 'Is anyone harming you people?'

"They replied, 'Yes.'

"So then a crier announced, 'Whoever harms any one of them is to be fined four dirhams.'

"Then he asked, 'Is this enough for you?'

"We replied, 'No.' So the king doubled the fine."

Jaʿfar went on: "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) emigrated to Medina and proclaimed himself there, we told him (the Negus) 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has proclaimed himself and gone to Medina; he has killed those we told you about. We wish to travel to him, so send us back.'

"'Yes, I will,' he replied. He gave us mounts and provisioned us, then said, 'Inform your master how I have treated you. This man, my friend, will go with you. I bear witness that there is no god but God and that he is the Messenger of God. Ask him to pray for forgiveness for me.'

Jaʿfar went on: "So we left and went to Medina where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met us. He embraced me, then said, 'I don't know what pleases me more – the victory at Khaybar, or the arrival of Jaʿfar!'"

This coincided with the victory at Khaybar. He then sat down.

The envoy of the Negus then said, "This man, Jaʿfar, ask him how our master treated him."

So he, Jaʿfar, said, "Yes, he acted in such-and-such a way, then gave us mounts and provisions and bore witness that there is no god but God and that you are the Messenger of God. He also told me, 'Ask him to pray for forgiveness for me.'"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose, performed the prayer ablutions and prayed three times: "O God, forgive the Negus!" And the Muslims present said, "Amen".

Then Jaʿfar said, "I then told the envoy of the Negus, 'Leave now, and tell your master what you saw of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

Ibn ʿAsākir commented after this *ḥadīth*: "It is *ḥasan gharīb* (good but unique)."

Regarding the narrative given by Umm Salama, Yūnus b. Bakayr stated, on the authority of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said, "Al-Zuhrī related to me, from Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥārith b. Hishām, that Umm Salama, God bless her, said, 'When events turned threatening and even violent in Mecca for the supporters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and actual harm was done to them because of their faith, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was unable to defend them, being himself under the protection of his family and his uncle, so that he experienced none of their sufferings, he told them, "In Abyssinia there is a king who allows no one to be persecuted in his domain. So go to his country until such time as God provides for you some relief and solution to your troubles."

"'And so we did set out in groups and rejoined one another there. We found hospitality, friendship and security to engage in our religion in Abyssinia, and had no fear of harm.

"'When Quraysh saw that we had gained accommodation and security there, they were angered and agreed to make representations to the Negus to remove us from his country and send us back to them.

"'They therefore dispatched ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Rabīʿa. They gathered gifts for the king and for all his generals, without exception. They told their two envoys, "Give a present to each general before you speak among them, and then give the king his gifts. And if you are able to have him hand over the exiles to you without him speaking to them, then do so."

"'The envoys did go to the king, not having omitted giving the presents to each of his generals. They then addressed them, saying, "We have only come to see the king about some fools of ours who have abandoned their people and their religion, and who have not joined your faith. Their people have sent us to have the king return them to them. When we speak with him, then indicate that he should do so." They agreed to this.

"'The envoys then gave their gifts to the Negus. The most favoured of their gifts from Mecca to him were leather products.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that they presented to him a mare, a gown and a silk garment.

Umm Salama continued, "When they took their gifts in to him, they told him, 'O king, some of our foolish young have abandoned their people's religion and have not entered your faith. They have come here with a fabricated religion we do not know and have taken refuge in your land. Their tribes, their own fathers and uncles, have sent us to you so that you will return these people to them. They know them best. They will not adopt your faith, and you should prevent them from doing so.'

"The king was angered at this and replied, 'No! By God's life, I will not return them to them before summoning these people and talking to them to discover

their views. They are a group who have taken refuge in my land and have chosen my company above that of all others. If they are indeed as your people say, I will return them to them. But if they are otherwise, I will protect them, give their people no access to them and no satisfaction.'"

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related that his generals indicated to him that he should return them to their people, but the king refused, saying, "No! By God, I will not, not until I hear what they have to say and what their position is."

Umm Salama went on, "When the exiles came before him, they greeted him by saying, 'Peace be upon you', but they did not bow down before him. He addressed them, 'Will you not tell me why you do not greet me in the same manner as others of your people who have come to me? And tell me what it is you say about Jesus and what your religion is. Are you Christians?'

"'No,' they replied.

"'Are you Jews then?'

"'No.'

"'Do you worship in your people's religion?'

"'No.'

"'What is your religion?'

"'It is Islam.'

"'What is Islam?'

"'We worship God,' they replied, 'and we associate no other god with Him.'

"'Who was it brought you this faith?'

"'A man from among ourselves, whose face and genealogy we know. God sent him to us as He sent messengers to those who came before us. He ordered us to behave with kindness, honesty, trustworthiness and good faith. He forbad us to worship idols and ordered us to worship God alone who has no associate. We believed him and recognised God's words. We realized that what he presented came from God. But when we did all this our people behaved with enmity towards us and towards the truthful Prophet; they disbelieved in him and wanted to kill him. They wanted us to worship idols, and so we fled to you, bringing our faith and our blood to you away from our own people.'

"'By God,' he exclaimed, 'this is the very niche from which Moses' affair emerged!'

"'And regarding our greeting,' Ja'far explained, 'the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us that the people of paradise greet one another with a wish for peace and he ordered us to do the same. We greeted you the same way we greet one another.

"'And regarding Jesus, son of Mary, he was the servant and messenger of God, His word that He cast to Mary and also His spirit. He was the son of the chaste Virgin.'

"The king then picked up a stick and said, 'By God, Mary's son did not add to this the weight of this stick more!'

"The Abyssinian leaders then said, 'By God, if the Abyssinians heard this they would depose you!'

"'By God,' he responded, 'I will never say anything about Jesus different from this; God did not acquiesce to the people about me when He restored my kingdom to me. Shall I then obey the people concerning God's religion? God forbid such a thing!'"

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Isḥāq, "And so the Negus sent for them and assembled them, nothing being more distasteful to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Rabīʿa than that he should hear their words.

"When the Negus's messenger came to them, the exiles assembled and asked one another what to say.

"'What can we say?' they asked, and decided, 'By God, we will tell what we know and all about the religion we follow, what it was our Prophet (ṢAAS) brought to us, come what may!'

"When they went in to him their spokesman was Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him. The Negus asked him, 'What is this religion you follow? Have you left the faith of your people without entering either Judaism or Christianity?'

"Jaʿfar replied, 'O king, we were a people of polytheism. We worshipped idols, ate the meat of animals that had died, offended rules of hospitality and permitted things forbidden, as in the shedding of one another's blood and so on. We completely ignored matters of right and wrong. And so God sent to us a prophet, from among ourselves, whose honesty and trustworthiness we knew well. He summoned us to pray to God alone and without associate, told us to respect rights of kinship, to honour rights of hospitality, to pray to God the Almighty and Glorious, to fast for Him and to worship none other than Him.'"

Ziyād stated, from Ibn Isḥāq, "And so he called us to God, to affirm His oneness, to worship Him, and to tear down all the other stones and idols we and our forefathers had worshipped apart from Him. He ordered us to be truthful in our speech, to keep to our trust, to respect kinship ties and hospitality rights and to abandon things forbidden and the shedding of blood. He forbad us to do anything immoral, to tell lies, to misuse the funds of orphans, or to make false accusations against women of virtue. He ordered us to worship God and to associate no other god with Him. He told us to pray, to give alms and to fast." He stated, "*And he ennumerated for him all aspects of* Islam.

"And so we believed in him and trusted him, following him in the instructions he brought from God. We worshipped God alone, without partner and associating no one with Him. We forbad what he had forbidden and considered permissible what he allowed us.

"But our people aggressed against us and harmed us, seeking to draw us out of our faith, to return us to the worship of idols instead of God, and to have us again consider permissible the abominations we had previously allowed.

"When they treated us with violence and persecution, besieged us and prevented us from performing our religion, we left for your country and chose you above all others. We desired your hospitality and hoped we would not be harmed in your domain, O king."

She (Umm Salama) went on to state, "The Negus replied, 'Did you bring anything with you from what he brought?'

"Jaʿfar then recited to him a passage from KHYʿṢ (*sūrat Maryam*: XIX) and, I swear, the Negus wept so hard his beard was soaked! And all his bishops cried so hard they wet their bibles!

"He then said, 'These words certainly come from the niche that Moses brought with him! Pass on, rightly guided! No, by God, I will not return them to you and I will not give you satisfaction.'

"So we did leave his presence. The more sensible of the two envoys, in our view, was ʿAbd Allāh b. Rabīʿa, for ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ said, 'By God, I will go to him tomorrow and tell him something that will turn them all upside down: I will tell him that they claim that the god he worships, Jesus, son of Mary, is a servant (of God)!' But ʿAbd Allāh b. Rabīʿa told him, 'No, don't do that; even if they have opposed us, they are related to us and have a certain right.'

"But he insisted, 'By God, I will do it!'

"The next day he went in to the king and said, 'O king, they say terrible things about Jesus. Send for them and question them about him.'

"He did indeed do so, and nothing like this had happened to us before. We asked one another what we should say about Jesus if he were to ask about him. All agreed that we should definitely say about him what God had said and our Prophet had told us to say.

"The exiles then went in to the king who had his generals with him. He asked, 'What is it you say about Jesus, son of Mary?'

"Jaʿfar replied, 'We say he is God's servant, His messenger, His spirit and His word that He cast into Mary, the chaste Virgin.'

"The Negus stretched his hand down to the ground and picked up a stick between two fingers, saying, 'Jesus, son of Mary is not more than the size of this little stick different from what you say.'

"His generals grumbled at this and he responded, 'Grumble away, by God! You people may leave now and you are *shuyūm* in my land! (The word *shuyūm* means in their language: those who are secure, i.e. those whose life is safe.) Whoever reviles you will be fined! (He repeated this phrase three times.) I'd rather not have *dabr* than that I harmed one man among you! (*Dabr* in their language means: gold.)'"

Ziyād stated, on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq, that what he said was, "I'd rather not have a *dabr* of gold." Ibn Hishām stated that others say the word *zabr* was used, meaning a mountain in their language.

The Negus then said, "I swear, God took no bribe from me when He returned my kingdom to me. And He did not acquiesce to the people about me; so am I to acquiesce to them about him? Return their presents to the two envoys. I don't need them. And, you two, get out of my country!"

The two men did depart in disgrace, with what they had brought having been returned to them.

Umm Salama continued, "And so we stayed on there in comfort and security.

"But soon a certain Abyssinian rose in revolt and challenged the rule of the Negus. And, I swear, nothing had ever caused us so much grief as this, since we feared that that rebel would defeat him and then there would be a king who might not recognise our rights as the Negus had done.

"And so we began saying prayers to God, supplicating Him to give victory to the Negus who went out to do battle.

"The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked one another which one of them should go and witness the engagement to see which side would be victorious.

"Al-Zubayr, one of the youngest of them, volunteered.

"They then blew air into a skin which they attached to his chest and he set off on it, swimming across the Nile. He came out on the other bank, went to the site where the two sides were meeting and witnessed the battle.

"God defeated and killed that rebel leader, giving the Negus victory over him.

"Al-Zubayr then returned to us, waving his shirt and yelling, 'Rejoice! God has given victory to the Negus!'"

Umm Salama concluded, "I swear by God we were never happier than at the Negus's victory. Thereafter we remained there with him, until some of us returned to Mecca while others stayed there."

Al-Zuhrī stated, "I related this *ḥadīth* on the authority of Umm Salama to ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and he asked, 'Do you know what was meant by the Negus's words? "I swear, God took no bribe from me when he returned my kingdom to me; so am I to accept a bribe about Him? And He did not acquiesce to the people about me; so am I to obey them about him?"'

"I replied, 'No; Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, relating on the authority of Umm Salama, did not tell me that.'

"ʿUrwa explained, 'Well, ʿĀ'isha related to me that his father had been the king of his people and had a brother who had fathered twelve sons. Whereas his own father had only one son, the Negus himself. The Abyssinians discussed this among themselves and decided to kill the father of the Negus and to appoint his uncle over them in his place. For since the uncle had twelve sons of his own who would inherit the kingship, then Abyssinia would remain for a long time free from unrest. They therefore attacked and killed the father of the Negus and made his brother king.

"'The Negus then went to live with his uncle; eventually he had such influence over him that no one but he could direct his affairs. He was intelligent and judicious. When the Abyssinians saw his status with his uncle, they told one another, "We have seen how this young man ranks with his uncle, and we could never be safe if he ruled over us, because he knows we killed his father. If he became king, he would not fail to kill every nobleman among us. Let us therefore speak to the king about him so that he will kill or exile him from our land."

"'So they went to his uncle and told him, "We have seen how this young man ranks high with you, but you know that we killed his father and put you in his place. We could never be safe if he ruled over us, for he would kill us. You should either kill him or exile him from our land."

"'"What?" he responded, "You killed his father yesterday and today I am to kill him! No, but I will exile him."

"'So they took him out and stood him in the market where they sold him to a certain merchant for 600 or 700 dirhams who put him aboard a ship and sailed away with him.

"'When evening came, autumn storm clouds arose and his uncle went outside beneath them to pray for rain; he was struck by a thunderbolt which killed him.

"'They then went in fright to his sons but they turned out all to be idiots, with not a good one among them. The Abyssinians were most disturbed at this and some said to others, "You realize, by God, that the only king fit to solve your problems is the man you sold this morning. If you are concerned about Abyssinia, then go and get him before he leaves."

"'So they did set off to find him, located him and sat him on the throne and declared him king.

"'The merchant then said, "Return to me my money since you have taken my slave from me."

"'The Abyssinian replied that they would not and he said he would talk directly to the king.

"'He went to him and said, "O king, I bought a slave and those who sold it received the price for him. But then they acted unjustly with me regarding the slave by seizing him and not returning my money."

"'The first thing told about the stability and justice of his rule was that he replied, "Let his money be returned to him or let the hand of his slave be placed in his own so that he may take him wherever he wishes."

"'His people replied, "No, we will give him his money." And so they did.

"'That is why he said, "God did not take a bribe from me, so am I to take a bribe when He returns my kingdom to me? And He did not acquiesce to the people about me; so am I to obey the people about him?"'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "The father of the Negus had been the king of Abyssinia but died when the Negus was a small boy. The king had entrusted him to his

own brother, saying, 'You rule your people until my son comes of age; thereafter, he shall be king.'

"But the king's brother wanted to rule and so he sold the Negus to a merchant. However, the uncle died that night and the Abyssinians restored the Negus, placing the crown on his head."

He then related it in brief. But Ibn Isḥāq's account is better and fuller. But God knows best.

The account of Ibn Isḥāq refers to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Rabīʿa. Those of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, al-Umawī and others give the two envoys as ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿUmāra b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra.

ʿUmāra was one of the seven persons against whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke prayers when they ridiculed him on the occasion when they put the placenta of the sacrificial animal on his back when he was bent over in prayer at the *kaʿba*.

Similarly they were named in the previous accounts given by Ibn Masʿūd and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.

What is implied is that when they left Mecca, ʿAmr's wife was with him and also that ʿUmāra was a handsome young man. They were together in the boat and ʿUmāra was attracted to the wife of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. So he threw ʿAmr into the sea to kill him, but he swam back to the boat. ʿUmāra then told him, "If I'd known you could swim so well, I wouldn't have thrown you in!" ʿAmr consequently hated him.

Having failed to achieve their objective with the Negus regarding the Emigrants, ʿUmāra ingratiated himself with some of the Negus's people. But ʿAmr warned the Negus of this and the latter had ʿUmāra bewitched so that he lost his mind and wandered off into the desert with the wild beasts.

Al-Umawī related his story at very great length, to the effect that he lived on into the time of the reign of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, when some of the Companions hunted him down and seized him. He then began saying, "Dispatch me! Dispatch me! Or I will die!" Since they did not dispatch him, he died right then and there. But God knows best.

It has been said that Quraysh sent twice to the Negus regarding the Emigrants. The first occasion involved ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿUmāra, the second ʿAmr and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Rabīʿa. Abū Nuʿaym gives such a text in *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*). But God knows best.

It is said that the second mission occurred after the battle of Badr. Al-Zuhrī stated this. Its purpose was to gain vengeance through the Emigrants there. But the Negus, God bless him, did not grant them any part of their request. But God knows best.

Ziyād related, from Ibn Isḥāq, that when Abū Ṭālib saw Quraysh engaged in this he wrote to the Negus some verses urging him to act with justice and kindness towards those of his people who were living with him:

"Would that I knew how it is so far off for Jaʿfar and ʿAmr, and it is relatives who can be the most bitter enemies.

And whether the actions of the Negus towards Jaʿfar and his companions are still kind, or whether some mischief-maker has hindered that.

You should know, may you avoid disaster, that you are noble, and that no alien would have complaint to you.

We know that God has given you much abundance, and that the means of all goodness is attached to you."

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Isḥāq, "Yazīd b. Rumān related to me that ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr said, 'It was really ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, God bless him, who spoke with the Negus and it is well-known that it was Jaʿfar, God bless him, who was the translator.'"

Ziyād al-Bakkā'ī stated, from Ibn Isḥāq, "Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me from ʿUrwa, that ʿĀ'isha, God bless her, said, 'After the Negus died, it was said that a light could still be seen at his grave.'"

Abū Dā'ūd related this from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Rāzī, from Salama b. al-Faḍl, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, as follows, "When the Negus, God bless him, died, we used to say that a light could still be seen at his grave."

Ziyād related, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, "Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad related to me that his father said, 'The Abyssinians gathered together and told the Negus, "You have abandoned our faith." Then they revolted against him.'

"He sent to Jaʿfar and his companions and prepared boats for them, telling them, 'Embark on these, and remain as you are. If I am defeated then leave for wherever you want. If I am victorious, then stay.'

"He then made his way to a document and wrote down the words, 'He testifies that there is no god but God and that Jesus is His slave, His messenger, His spirit and His word that he cast unto Mary.' He then placed the document inside his gown at his right shoulder.

"He then went outside to the Abyssinians who were lined up before him and said, 'O Abyssinians, am I not your rightful leader?' 'Yes,' they replied.

"'And how,' he asked, 'do you rate my conduct towards you?'

"'As fine conduct.'

"'So why are you discontented?'

"'You have abandoned our faith and claimed that Jesus is His slave and His messenger.'

"'And what is it you say of Jesus?' he asked them.

"'We say that he is the son of God.'

"Placing his hand across his chest over his gown, he then gave his testimony that, 'Jesus, son of Mary, was no more than this.' But he meant what he had written.

"His people were satisfied and left.

"This reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and when the Negus died he prayed for him and sought God's forgiveness for him."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, on the authority of Abū Hurayra, God be pleased with him, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lamented the death of the Negus on the day he died and went with others to the place of prayer. There he lined up with them and four times recited the litany, *Allāhu Akbar*, God is most great. Al-Bukhārī stated: "*The Death of the Negus.* Abū al-Rabīʿ related to us, as did Ibn ʿUyayna, from Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Jābir, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated on the day when the Negus died, "Today a good man died; arise and pray for your brother Aṣḥama."'"

This is also related from a *ḥadīth* of Anas b. Mālik, Ibn Masʿūd, and others.

In some accounts he is named Aṣḥama, though in one it is Maṣḥama. His name was Aṣḥama b. Baḥr. He was an honest, devout and intelligent man, just and honourable. May God be pleased with him.

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Isḥāq, "The name of the Negus was Maṣḥama." In one manuscript al-Bayhaqī has corrected this to Aṣḥam. 'The name means in Arabic *ʿaṭiyya*; gift. The word 'Negus' is the title for a king, equivalent to using the word 'Chosroe' or 'Heraclius'."

This, I observe, is how this text reads; no doubt he meant "Emperor", the title used for all kings who rule Syria along with the Roman peninsula. "Chosroe" is the title of those ruling Persia, "Pharoah" that for those ruling all Egypt, "al-Muqawqis" for he who rules Alexandria, "Tubbaʿ" for those ruling Yemen and al-Shaḥr, the "Negus" for those ruling Abyssinia, "Batlimus" for those ruling Greece, and, it is said, India, and "Khāqān" for those ruling the Turks.

Some scholars said that he only prayed for him because he kept his faith hidden from his people and there was no one there with him to pray for him the day he died.

These scholars thus maintain that for someone not present, if the funeral prayers were said for him in the place where he died, then such rites are not ordained for him in another country. This is why funeral prayers were said for the Prophet (ṢAAS) only in Medina and not by the people of Mecca or elsewhere. The same was true of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and others of the Companions; it is not reported that funeral prayers were said for them in towns other than the ones in which they died. But God knows best.

I add the comment that the fact that Abū Hurayra, may God be pleased with him, witnessed the prayers for the Negus points to his having died after the conquest of Khaybar, the year when the remainder of the Emigrants to Abyssinia arrived along with Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib, God bless him, namely on the day of the conquest of Khaybar.

It is therefore related that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "By God, I don't know which makes me happier – the conquest of Khaybar or the arrival of Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib!"

They brought with them presents and treasures from the Negus, God be pleased with him; and accompanying them as passengers on their Yemeni boat were the followers of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and his people the Ash'arīs, may God be pleased with them.

And with Ja'far and the presents of the Negus were the nephew of the Negus, Dhū Nakhtar, or Dhū Mikhmar, whom he had sent to serve the Prophet (ṢAAS) instead of his uncle.

Al-Suhaylī stated that the Negus died in Rajab in the year 9 of the *hijra*, *though there is dispute about that. But God knows best.*

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The jurist Abū Isḥāq, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṭūsī informed us, quoting Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, quoting Hilāl b. al-'Alā' al-Raqqī, quoting Abū al-'Alā' b. Mudrik, quoting Abū Hilāl b. al-'Alā', from his father, from Ghālib, from Abū Umāma, who said, 'The delegation from the Negus went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he arose to serve them. His Companions objected, saying, "Let us do that for you, O Messenger of God." He replied, "They honoured my Companions, and I wish to repay them."'"

He (al-Bayhaqī) then stated, "And Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Aṣbahānī informed me, quoting Abū Sa'īd b. al-A'rābī that Hilāl b. al-'Alā' related, quoting my father, quoting Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd, from al-Awzā'ī, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Qatāda, who said, 'The delegation from the Negus went in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he arose to serve them. His Companions said, "We'll do that for you, O Messenger of God." He replied, "They honoured my Companions and I wish to repay them."'"

Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd narrated this, from al-Awzā'ī.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān related to us, quoting Abū 'Amr b. al-Sammāk, quoting Ḥanbal b. Isḥāq, quoting al-Ḥumaydī, quoting Sufyān, quoting 'Amr, as follows, 'When 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ arrived from Abyssinia he sat at home. Since he would not go out to them, people wondered why this was. 'Amr then said, "Aṣḥama claims your man to be a prophet."'"

'UMAR B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB ACCEPTS ISLAM.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Rabī'a arrived back to Quraysh, having failed to achieve their aims with the supporters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and having been rudely rejected by the Negus, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb accepted Islam. He was a forceful man, capable of defending his supporters, and the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had protection through him and through Ḥamza, so that they could stand up to Quraysh.

"'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd used to say, 'We were unable to pray at the *ka'ba* until 'Umar accepted Islam; having done so, 'Umar battled Quraysh until he was able to pray at the *ka'ba*, and we prayed with him.'"

I comment that it is well established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, that Ibn Masʿūd said, "We have been powerful ever since ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb accepted Islam."

Ziyād al-Bakkāʾī stated, "Misʿar b. Kidām related to me, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, who said, 'Ibn Masʿūd stated, "The acceptance of Islam by ʿUmar was a victory, his migration was a help, and his reign was a mercy. We could not pray at the *kaʿba* until he accepted Islam; when he did so ʿUmar battled Quraysh until he was able to pray at the *kaʿba*, and we prayed with him."'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The acceptance of Islam by ʿUmar occurred after the departure of some of the supporters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Abyssinia.

"'ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAyyāsh b. Abū Rabīʿa related to me, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa, from his mother Umm ʿAbd Allāh, daughter of Abū Ḥathma, who said, 'We were preparing to depart for Abyssinia – ʿĀmir having gone off to get something we needed – when ʿUmar came along and stopped, he being a polytheist at the time. We had suffered violence and harm from him.

"'He said, "So you're leaving then, Umm ʿAbd Allāh?"

"'"Yes," I replied. "We're leaving for one of God's countries, since you have so maltreated and harmed us, so that God may provide us some way out."

"'He commented, "Well, God be with you!"

"'I saw in him a gentleness I never had before. He then left, our departure, so it seemed to me, having saddened him.

"'ʿĀmir then arrived with our things and I commented, "O father of ʿAbd Allāh, I wish you could have seen ʿUmar just now, his gentleness and concern for us."

"'He asked, "Do you look to his accepting Islam?"

"'"Yes, I do," I replied.

"'He commented, "That man you saw won't accept Islam before al-Khaṭṭāb's donkey does!"

"'He said this in despair at him, for all his harsh opposition to Islam that had been seen.'"

I comment that this refutes the claim of those who maintain that he brought the number of Muslims to 40. For the Emigrants to Abyssinia were more than 80 persons. Unless, that is, it be said that he was the 40th to convert after the departure of the Emigrants.

This is supported by Ibn Isḥāq's report here concerning the acceptance of Islam by ʿUmar, God bless him, individually, and the account of that.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The acceptance of Islam by ʿUmar, so I have been told, came about as a result of the conversion of his sister Fāṭima, daughter of al-Khaṭṭāb, who was married to Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl. Her husband had also converted, and they were concealing their conversion from ʿUmar.

"Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Naḥḥām, a member of the Banū ʿAdī tribe, had also converted but concealed this fact from his people.

"Khabbāb b. al-Aratt was attending the home of Fāṭima, daughter of al-Khaṭṭāb, to read the Qur'an to her. One day ʿUmar went out, his sword at his waist, looking for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who, along with a group of his followers, he had been told, were in a house at al-Ṣafā. The group with him, including men and women, totalled some 40 persons. Among these, along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), were his uncle Ḥamza, Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa, *al-Siddīq*, "the Trusting", and ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, *God be pleased with them*, along with other Muslim men who had stayed behind in Mecca and not departed for Abyssinia.

"Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Allāh met him and enquired, 'Where are you heading, ʿUmar?'

"He replied, 'I'm looking for Muḥammad, that Ṣabian who has disunited Quraysh, ridiculed their dreams, criticized their religion and slandered their gods. I'm going to kill him!'

"Nuʿaym told him, 'By God, you've lost your mind, ʿUmar! Do you think that ʿAbd Manāf would allow you to walk on the face of the earth once you killed Muḥammad? Why don't you go home and sort out your household!'

"'What about my household?'

"'Your brother-in-law and nephew Saʿīd b. Zayd and your sister Fāṭima. They have accepted Islam and become followers of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) in his religion. Look to them!'

"ʿUmar then returned to his sister Fāṭima where Khabbāb b. al-Aratt was; he had with him a manuscript of sūrat Ṭāhā that he was reading to her.

"When they heard ʿUmar's approach, Khabbāb hid inside a bedroom, or somewhere else in the house, and Fāṭima took the manuscript and hid it under her thigh. But ʿUmar had heard Khabbāb reciting it as he approached the door.

"As he came in, he demanded, 'What was that murmuring sound I heard?'

"'I heard nothing,' they both replied.

"'Well I did,' he insisted. 'And I've been told you are following Muḥammad in his religion.'

He then struck out at his brother-in-law Saʿīd b. Zayd, and when his sister Fāṭima rose to defend her husband he hit her and wounded her.

"When he did this, his sister and brother-in-law admitted, 'Yes, we have accepted Islam and do believe in God and in His Messenger. Do whatever you want!'

"When ʿUmar saw the blood on his sister he was sorry for what he had done and repentant and he told her, 'Give me that document you were just reading so that I can see what it is Muḥammad brings.' ʿUmar was literate.

"When he said that, she replied, 'We don't trust you with it.'

"'Don't be afraid,' he told her, and swore by his gods to return it to her when he had read it.

"When he said this she had hopes of his accepting Islam and so she said, 'But being a polytheist you are unclean, and only the purified may touch it.'

"So ʿUmar arose and washed himself, and she gave him the sheet on which *sūrat Ṭāhā* was written. When he had read a passage of it, he said, 'How fine, how wonderful these words are!'

"When Khabbāb b. al-Aratt heard this he came out and said, 'By God, ʿUmar, I do so hope that God has selected you because of the prayer of His Prophet (ṢAAS), for yesterday I heard him say, "O God, give help to Islam through Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām, or through ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb!" So come now to God, ʿUmar!'

"At that ʿUmar said, 'Khabbāb, lead me to Muḥammad so that I can accept Islam.'

"'He is in a house at al-Ṣafā with a group of his Companions,' Khabbāb replied.

"ʿUmar picked up his sword and put it on then left for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions. He knocked on the door and when they heard his voice, one of the Companions got up and looked outside through a chink in the door. He saw ʿUmar, wearing his sword, then went back in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in a fright and exclaiming, 'O Messenger of God, it's ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, armed with his sword!'

"Ḥamza said, 'Well, let him in. If he has come with good, we'll reciprocate, but if he's come in evil, we'll kill him with his sword.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also said, 'Let him in!'

"So the Companion did so, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), got up and went across the room to meet him, taking him by his waist or by the place where his cloak joined, and giving him a strong pull, saying, 'What brings you, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb? By God, I don't see you stopping until God sends down a thunderbolt upon you!'

"ʿUmar replied, 'O Messenger of God, I come to you to believe in God, in His messenger, and in what has come down from God!'

"At this the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) let out a great cry of *Allāhu Akbar*, and the people in the house all knew that ʿUmar had accepted Islam.

"The Companions of the Messenger of God left their places elated that now ʿUmar had accepted Islam along with Ḥamza, knowing that these two men would protect him and help them obtain justice from their enemies."

Ibn Isḥāq concluded, "This then, is the account given by the *ḥadīth* scholars of Medina concerning the acceptance of Islam by ʿUmar, God bless him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ al-Makkī related to me, from his Companions ʿAṭā, Mujāhid and others, that regarding ʿUmar's acceptance of Islam, he himself would say, 'I used to be very remote from Islam. Before Islam I used to be a great man for wine; I loved drinking it. We used to have a place at al-Ḥazwara where we would meet.

"'One night I went out looking for my drinking partners, but found not one of them there. So I told myself I should go off to a wine dealer named so-and-so to get some for myself to drink.

"'But I could not find him. So I told myself I might as well go to the *ka'ba* and circumambulate it seven or seventy times.

"'So I went to the mosque and there, standing praying, I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When he prayed he would face towards al-Shām, placing the *ka'ba* between himself and it. The spot he prayed at was between the two corners, *al-aswad* (the one with the 'black stone') and *al-yamānī* (the one towards Yemen).

"'When I saw him, I told myself I might just as well spend the evening listening to Muḥammad. If I came too close to him to listen I might scare him, so I approached from the *ḥijr* side, passing beneath its covering and walking slowly while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued standing there reciting the Qur'ān. Eventually I stood facing towards him with nothing there between us but the covering over the *ka'ba*.

"'When I heard the Qur'ān my heart was touched by it, I wept and Islam entered within me.

"'I stayed where I was until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished his prayer and departed. When he left he would pass by the home of Ibn Abū Ḥusayn, whose dwelling happened to be at Dār al-Raqṭā', which was owned by Mu'āwiya. I followed him until, as he went between the house of 'Abbās and that of Ibn Azhar, I caught up with him. When he heard my voice he recognized me and thought I had followed him only to harm him. So he told me to keep away, then said, "What brings you here at this hour, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb?"

"'I replied, "I have come to believe in God and in His messenger, and in what has come down from God."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) expressed thanks to God at this and then he said, "God has guided you, 'Umar!" He then touched my chest and prayed for me to be constant.

"'After that I left and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went inside his house.'"

Ibn Isḥāq then commented, "God alone knows best which of these versions really happened."

I point out that I have investigated the manner in which 'Umar, God bless him, accepted Islam and related all the statements and evidence thereto at length in the first part of the biography I devoted to him alone. All praise and credit be to God!

Ibn Isḥāq said, "Nāfi', the freed-man of Ibn 'Umar, related to me that 'Umar's son said, 'When 'Umar accepted Islam, he asked, "Which man of Quraysh is best at making announcements?"

"'"Jamīl b. Ma'mar al-Jumaḥī," he was told.

"'Next morning 'Umar went to the man.' Ibn 'Umar continued, 'So I followed him to see what he would do; I was a lad at the time, but understood all I saw.

"'When ʿUmar reached him, he asked, "Jamīl, do you know that I have accepted Islam and entered into the faith of Muḥammad (ṢAAS)?"'

"Ibn ʿUmar went on, 'Well, I swear, he had no sooner told him this than off he went, his gown trailing. ʿUmar followed him and I did so too until he stopped at the mosque gate, where he shouted at the top of his voice, "O Quraysh!" (They were there at that time in their chambers around the *kaʿba*.) "Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb has become a Ṣabian!"

"'ʿUmar, standing right behind him, yelled, "He lies! But I have become a Muslim. I do testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God!"

"'People were most enraged against him and soon he was battling hard against them, they against him. They kept up this fighting until the sun was high over their heads.

"'At last he was exhausted and sat down, while they stood all around him. He told them, "Do what you want! But I swear by God that if we were 300 men strong, either we'd have left the battlefield to you or you would have to us!"

"'While they were so engaged, a Quraysh sheikh finely dressed in a robe from Yemen and an embroidered shirt came up and stood there. He asked, "What's going on with you?"

"'"ʿUmar has become a Ṣabian," they replied.

"'"So what? If a man chooses to do something, what's it got to do with you? Do you think his tribe, the Banū ʿAdī, will give him over to you like this? Let the man go!"'

"Ibn ʿUmar went on, 'And I swear, they drew back like a garment being stripped from him.'

"'And when my father ʿUmar went off into exile to Medina, I asked him, "Father, who was that man who drove the people away from you at Mecca who was fighting you the day you accepted Islam?"

"'"That, my son." he replied, "was al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil al-Sahmī."'"

This chain of authorities is extremely strong. It points to the tardiness of ʿUmar's acceptance of Islam. This is because Ibn ʿUmar fought at Uḥud for the first time, when he was 14. That battle, Uḥud, occurred in the year 3 AH. He was at the age of discrimination on the day his father accepted Islam, an event that must have occurred some 4 years before the emigration to Medina. And that is some 9 years after the beginning of the mission of the Prophet (ṢAAS). But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī said, "Al-Ḥākim related to us, al-Aṣamm informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, and Yūnus related to us, all from Ibn Isḥāq, who stated, 'Then 20 men came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was in Mecca, or nearby; these were Christians, news having spread about him to them from Abyssinia. They found him at the meeting place and spoke with him and asked him questions, while the men of Quraysh were in their chambers there around the *kaʿba*.

"'When they had finished putting the questions they wanted to ask the Messenger of God, he invited them to come to God, the Almighty and Glorious, and he recited the Qur'ān to them. When they heard it, their eyes overflowed with tears. They then responded positively to him, believed in him and accepted and trusted him, recognising what had been described to them about him in their scripture.

"'When they arose to leave him, Abū Jahl and a group of Quraysh blocked their path and told them, "What a hopeless party you are! You were sent here by your co-religionaries back home to undertake an investigation for them and to return with information about this fellow, yet no sooner did you sit down in comfort with him than you abandoned your faith and believed all he told you. We've never known a group more foolish than you." Or words to that effect.

"'They replied, "We do not denigrate you; peace be upon you! We act as we see fit, as do you as you see fit. We spare no pains to attain what is good."'"

It is said that the group of Christians were from Najrān; but God alone knows whether that was so.

It is also said, though God alone knows, that the following verses were revealed about them, "And those to whom we gave the book before it do believe in it. When it is recited to them, they say, 'We do believe in it; it is the truth from our Lord. We were accepting (its message) even before it came.' Those shall receive their reward twice, for they have been steadfast and repay evil with good and expend from what We have given them. And when they hear idle gossip they turn away from it and say, 'We act as we see fit, as do you as you see fit. Peace be upon you; we do not desire the ignorant and foolish'" (*sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*; XXVIII, v.52–5).

Division

Al-Bayhaqī in his book *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*) entitles a chapter "On the contents of the document sent by the Prophet (ṢAAS) to the Negus."

He then relates, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus, from Ibn Isḥāq, as follows, "In the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate: this is a document from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to the Negus, al-Aṣḥam, the great leader of Abyssinia: Peace be upon those who follow guidance, believe in God and His messenger, and testify that there is no god but God alone, Who has no partner, Who took no female partner for Himself, and Who has no child, and they testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger. I call out to you in God's name, for I am His messenger. So submit (to Him) and be at peace! O People of the Book, come to an agreement that is equal between us both; that we will worship none but God and associate no other god with Him; that we will not take one another as masters to the exclusion of God. But if they do turn aside, then

say, 'Bear witness that we are Muslims' (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.63). But if you refuse, then upon you is the sin of those of your people who are Christians."

Al-Bayhaqī related it thus after the narrative of the migration to Abyssinia. There are various opinions concerning this account. It is clear that this document was to the Negus who, in addition to being a Muslim, (was also) the friend of Jaʿfar and his companions.

It relates to the time when he (Muḥammad) wrote to all the rulers on earth inviting them to God, the Almighty and Glorious, shortly before the conquest (of Mecca). He wrote to Heraclius, the head of the Romans and the Caesar of Syria, to Chosroe, the king of the Persians, to the ruler of Egypt as well as to the Negus.

Al-Zuhrī stated, "The letters to them from the Prophet (ṢAAS) were all the same, i.e. copies, and all quoted this same verse which comes from *sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*, a chapter that is incontrovertibly from the Medina period. The verse comes from the early part of the *sūrat*."

Eighty-three verses of this *sūrat*, from its beginning, relate to the delegation from Najrān, as I asserted in my *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And to God belong all praise and credit.

And so this document was to the second Negus, not to the first.

Regarding the words therein, "To the Negus al-Aṣḥam ..." perhaps the word "al-Aṣḥam" is an interpolation by the narrator, based on his understanding. But God knows best.

More relevant here than this is what al-Bayhaqī also narrated, from al-Ḥākim, from Abū al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Faqīh, of Merve, who stated, "Ḥammād b. Aḥmad related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and Salama b. al-Faḍl, all from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī with a letter he wrote to the Negus concerning Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib and his companions: "In the name of God the most Merciful and Compassionate: from Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to the Negus al-Aṣḥam, king of Abyssinia: Peace be upon you. I express to you my praises for God the King, the All-Holy, the Faithful, and the Protector; I testify that Jesus is the spirit of God and His word that He cast unto Mary, the good, chaste, unviolated Virgin. And so she bore Jesus, whom He created from His spirit and His breath, just as He created Adam by His hand and breath. I call upon you to believe the One God Who has no associate. To Him all obedience is due. (I call upon you, tr.) to follow me, to believe in me as well as in that which has come down to me. For I am the Messenger of God. And I have sent to you my nephew Jaʿfar along with a group of Muslims. When they come to you receive them hospitably. Do not be haughty, for I invite you and your forces to God the Almighty and Glorious. I have conveyed my message and given advice. So accept my advice. And peace be upon those who follow the true path."

"'The Negus wrote back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as follows: "In the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate: To Muḥammad the Messenger of God from the Negus al-Aṣḥam b. Abjar: Peace be upon you, O Prophet of God, from God, along with the mercy and blessings of God. There is no god but Him who guided me to Islam. Your letter, O Messenger of God, in which you made reference to Jesus, has reached me. And, by the God of the heavens and the earth, Jesus is no more than what you stated. We recognize what you have been sent with to us. We have received your nephew and his friends with hospitality. And I do testify that you are the Messenger of God, that you speak the truth and are to be believed. I pledge my allegiance to you and to your nephew, accepting Islam at his hands for God, the Lord of the universe. I have sent to you, O Prophet of God, Arīḥa b. al-Aṣḥam b. Abjar, for I possess nothing but myself. If you wish for me to come to you, I will do so, O Messenger of God, for I testify that what you say is truth."'"

An Account of the disagreement of the Quraysh tribes of the Banū Hāshim and the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib in helping the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Also concerning their confinement of them in the quarter of Abū Ṭālib for a lengthy period and their writing an evil, brazen document to that effect. And the signs of the prophethood and proofs of the truth that became evident regarding all this.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, from al-Zuhrī: "The polytheists thereafter became so violent in their actions against the Muslims that the plight of the latter became extreme. And Quraysh so united in their evil intent as to agree to kill the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in full view.

"When Abū Ṭālib realized their purposes, he gathered the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and told them to include the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in their enclave and to protect him against those wishing to murder him.

"The Muslims and non-believers of the tribe did agree to this, some out of a desire to uphold traditions of protection, others out of their faith and conviction.

"When Quraysh realized that these were in agreement to protect the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the polytheists among them made a pact not to sit down with, nor to do business with them, nor to enter the homes of these people until they surrendered the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to execution. They cunningly drew up agreements and pacts to the effect that they would never accept peace or reconciliation with the Banū Hāshim until they delivered him up for death.

"The Banū Hāshim therefore remained for three years confined to their enclave, suffering great deprivation. Their markets had been cut off; no food was allowed into Mecca for them, and all their business dealings were interrupted.

"Their purpose in all this was to spill the blood of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"When it was bed time, Abū Ṭālib would tell the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to sleep on the former's bed, and he would do the same, the intent being that anyone wishing to harm or assassinate him would be unaware of this. And while people slept, Abū Ṭālib made sure that one of his sons, brothers or nephews would lie on the bed of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he would tell the latter to take their places instead."

"At the start of the third year certain men of the tribes of ʿAbd Manāf and Quṣayy, along with others whose mothers were from the Banū Hāshim, became critical of this and recognized that they were breaking the bonds of kinship and disregarding what was right. They therefore decided one night to revoke what they had previously agreed to, and to free themselves thereof.

"They discovered, however, that God had dispatched woodworm to attack their documents; they devoured everything making reference to their pact.

"It is said that these documents were hung from the ceiling of the temple. Every reference to God's name was devoured; all that remained was material relating to polytheism, injustice and destruction of ties of kindred.

"God, the Almighty and Glorious, made His messenger aware of what He had done to their documents, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told this to Abū Ṭālib.

"But Abū Ṭālib responded, 'No! May the stars never mislead me!'

"He then hurried off with a band of the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and went to the mosque which was full of Quraysh. When the latter saw them heading for them they were surprised, believing them to be doing so because of the extent of their suffering and that they were coming to deliver the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to them.

"Abū Ṭālib spoke to them as follows: 'Various things we don't need to tell you of have occurred between you. Bring now your deeds referring to the pacts you have made; perhaps now there can be peace between us all.'

"The reason he said this was because he was afraid they might look at the deeds before bringing them.

"They did now bring them down, proud of them and not doubting that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was to be delivered to them. They placed them down, saying, 'Well, the time has come for you to proceed to a reconciliation with your people. Only one man has caused this rupture between us. You have placed him in a position where he has brought the danger of destruction and corruption to your people.'

"Abū Ṭālib responded, 'I have only come to you now to offer you justice. My nephew has informed me – and he never lied to me – that God will have no part of that document there before you and that He has erased all of His names from it, leaving only references to your treachery, your breaking of the bonds of kinship and your unjust public demonstrations against us.

"'If what my nephew has said is so, then you should recognize that and, by God, we will never surrender him to you before the last of us is dead!

"'But if what he said is false, then we will deliver him to you for you to kill or to spare his life.'

"'We'll agree to that', they replied.

"They then opened up the deed and found that he (Muḥammad), the truthful and the trustworthy (ṢAAS) had proved correct. When Quraysh saw it to be as Abū Ṭālib had said, they said, 'By God, this has to be some magic done by your man!'

"They then reneged and reverted to even worse impiety and violence against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than before, doing their best to destroy him as they had formerly compacted.

"That group of men of the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib responded by saying, 'It is others, not us, who are more blameworthy in telling lies and using magic. We very well know that the boycott of us you agreed on was closer to sorcery and magic than what we did. If you had not agreed to use magic the deeds before you would not have been spoiled and God's name would not have been erased while reference to your evil was retained. Is it we who rely on magic, or you?'"

"Thereafter some men of 'Abd Manāf and Quṣayy, along with those of Quraysh born to women of the Banū Hāshim, including Abū al-Bakhturī, al-Muṭ'im b. 'Adī, Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra, Zam'a b. al-Aswad and Hishām b. 'Amr, of the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy (the last-mentioned having had charge of the deed), along with other prominent members of their community, stated that they disavowed the action.

"To this Abū Jahl, God damn him, responded, 'But this matter is not revocable!'

"Abū Ṭālib spoke verses regarding their deed and praised the men who had disavowed their former agreement, and he also commended the Negus."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Our sheikh, Abū 'Abd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, also related it thus, that is through Ibn Lahī'a, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, meaning in the same context as that given by Mūsā b. 'Uqba, God bless him."

We have previously told of Mūsā b. 'Uqba that he stated, "The migration to Abyssinia only occurred following their entry into the enclave, and was the result of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having told them to do so." But God knows best.

I observe that it is most likely that Abū Ṭālib spoke his *lāmiyya*, his ode rhyming in 'l', as previously quoted, also only after they went into the enclave. And so making reference to it here is most appropriate. But God knows best.

Thereafter al-Bayhaqī related, through Yūnus, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, as having said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out to fulfil the mission entrusted to him, the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib undertook to

protect him and refused to deliver him. Even though they were opposed to him and were engaged in the same religion as their people at large, they were none the less reluctant to humiliate themselves and deliver him over, conscious of the loathing Quraysh had for him.

"The Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib having taken their stand and Quraysh having recognized that they had no access to Muḥammad, they met and agreed to write a document defining their relationship to the Banū Hāshim and the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. They agreed that they would not marry them nor allow their women to marry them, nor engage in buying or selling with them. They wrote a document to that effect which they hung up in the *kaʿba*.

"They then attacked the Muslims, restricting their movements and subjecting them to violence. Their plight and insecurity became extreme."

Thereafter Ibn Isḥāq related the story in full, telling of their entry into the enclave of Abū Ṭālib and of the severe trouble they suffered there, to such a degree that their children would be overheard inside writhing with the pangs of hunger.

Eventually most Quraysh regretted their plight and expressed their hatred for their accursed document. They then told how God, in His mercy, sent down woodworm against the document and these demolished every word relating to God, leaving therein only what referred to evil, to the boycott and to slanderous talk. Also related was how God Almighty informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of this and how he told this to his uncle Abū Ṭālib.

He then went on to mention in full the remainder of the story as narrated by Mūsā b. ʿUqba.

Ibn Hishām stated, from Ziyād, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, "And when Quraysh saw that the supporters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had gone to live in a land where they had attained security and where the Negus had offered his protection to those seeking refuge with him, that ʿUmar had accepted Islam and had now, along with Ḥamza, joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions, and that Islam was spreading out into the tribes, they met and decided to write down a document. This would record their mutual agreement concerning the Banū Hāshim and the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. It specified that they would neither marry with them nor offer their womenfolk into marriage with them nor engage in any buying or selling with them. Having agreed to this, they wrote it down in a deed to which they gave their solemn pledge. They then suspended the document inside the *kaʿba* in affirmation of this.

"The man who wrote out the document was Manṣūr b. ʿIkrima b. ʿĀmir b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf b. ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy."

Ibn Hishām said, "He was also named as al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said prayers against him and he lost the use of some of his fingers."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The man who wrote down the agreement was Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa al-'Abdarī." My own view is that it is well established that the man was Manṣūr b. 'Ikrima, as Ibn Isḥāq related. It was he who lost the use of a hand; Quraysh used to say among themselves, "Look what happened to Manṣūr b. 'Ikrima!"

Al-Wāqidī said, "And the document was suspended in the middle of the *ka'ba*."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When Quraysh had done this the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib allied with Abū Ṭālib and entered his enclave and joined forces with him.

"But Abū Lahab b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib left the Banū Hāshim and gave his support to Quraysh.

"Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh related to me that Abū Lahab met Hind, daughter of 'Utba b. Rabī'a when he parted with his own people and gave his support to Quraysh against them. He asked her, 'O daughter of 'Utba, have I not given my support to al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā and broken with those who have abandoned them and given their support against them?'

"'Yes, indeed,' she replied. 'And may God reward you well, O Abū 'Utba!'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "I was told that one of the things he would say was, 'Muḥammad promises me things I do not see that he claims to exist after death. What apart from that had he put in my hands?'

"He then blew into his hands and addressed them thus: 'May you both perish! I see nothing in you of what Muḥammad talks!'

"And so God Almighty sent down His words: 'May the hands of Abū Lahab perish, and may he perish too!'" (*sūrat al-Lahab*; CVI, v.1).

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When Quraysh had agreed in this way and acted towards him as they did, Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses:

'O do announce our disagreement to the Lu'ayy, to those Lu'ayy of the Banū Ka'b:
Do you not know that we have found Muḥammad to be a prophet like Moses of whom it is written in the very first books?
And that among men there is love for him and that none is better than those endowed by God with love,
And that the document you have put up is an evil thing, like the raging young camel?[3]
Wake up, wake up before the moist earth is dug (for your graves) and those without sin will be just like sinners.
Do not follow the orders of those who lie, and so cut your ties with us after friendship and kinship,
Drawing on an endless warfare; and the milk of war can turn very bitter to those who taste it.

3. Apparently a reference to the camel of Ṣāliḥ which was killed by his people, Thamūd, contrary to his express wish. See *sūrat al-Shu'arā'*; XXVI, v.155–8.

We will not, by the Lord of the temple, deliver up Aḥmad because of the tribulations of time or the agony,

And when our necks and hands and yours will otherwise be cut by glinting blades of Qusāsī steel.[4]

In a narrow battlefield where broken spears will be seen, over which vultures hover, like drinkers at a party,

And the space where the horsemen gallop and the heroes cry out will make it like a battle in a war.

Was our forefather Hāshim not courageous, and did he not advise his sons to thrust and to strike?

We do not tire of warfare before it tires of us, nor do we complain at whatever misfortunes may strike.

We are people who stay firm and prudent at times when the spirits of brave men fly off in terror.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "And they remained under those conditions for two or three years in the utmost distress, with nothing getting into them unless secretly, from those members of Quraysh who wanted to keep ties with them.

"Abū Jahl b. Hishām, so they say, met Ḥākim b. Ḥizām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad with whom was a slave bearing wheat for Ḥizām's aunt Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid, who was in the enclave along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Jahl took hold of him and said, 'Are you taking food to the Banū Hāshim? I swear, you'll not go, you and your food, without me making a scandal about you in Mecca!'

"Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad then came up to him and asked, 'What's going on between you and him?'

"He replied, 'He's carrying food into the Banū Hāshim.'

"Abū al-Bakhtarī commented, 'This is food belonging to his aunt that she had sent him and he had at home. Would you prevent him from taking to her her own food? Get out of the man's way!'

"But Abū Jahl, God damn him, refused and they began to fight. Abū al-Bakhtarī picked up a camel's jawbone and struck him with it, giving him a head wound. He then stomped on him.

"Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was nearby and saw all this. But they did not like to tell the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions of this incident lest they gloat over them."

THOSE WHO MOCKED.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued as before, calling upon his people by day and night, secretly and openly, calling out the commands of God Almighty, fearing no man.

4. Swords of Qusas were reknowned for their high quality.

God having provided the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with protection against Quraysh through the aid of his uncle and his relatives of the Banū Hāshim and the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Quraysh were unable to treat him with the violence they wished. Consequently they set about mocking, ridiculing him and disputing with him.

The Qur'ān then began coming down concerning the evil deeds of Quraysh and those who had declared themselves to be his enemies.

Some of these were mentioned by name to us, while others were inferred among those polytheists to whom general reference was made.

Ibn Isḥāq mentions Abū Lahab and the revelation of a chapter concerning him; also, he referred to Umayya b. Khalaf and the revelation of the words of the Almighty, "Woe to every defaming slanderer!" (*sūrat al-Humaza*; CIV, v.1). The whole *sūrat* refers to the latter man.

Also there was reference to al-ʿĀṣ b. Wā'il in the revelation, "And have you then seen him who disbelieved in our signs and who said, 'Certainly I will be awarded wealth and children'" (*sūrat Maryam*; XIX, v.77). Some part of this has been quoted previously.

And then there was Abū Jahl b. Hishām and his saying to the Prophet of God (ṢAAS), "You had better stop insulting our gods, or we will insult your God whom you worship." Regarding this, God's revelation came: "Do not insult those whom they worship besides God, for they, in enmity and without knowledge, will insult God" (*sūrat al-Anʿām*; VI, v.108).

Also, there was al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada b. ʿAlqama, or ʿAlqama b. Kalada according to al-Suhaylī and others, who used to sit down after the Prophet of God (ṢAAS) had finished one of his sessions in which he would recite the Qur'ān and pray to God. Al-Naḍr would then narrate tales of Rustum and Isfandiyār and the wars between them in ancient Persia. Then he would comment, "I swear by God, Muḥammad is no better a story-teller than me. His talk is only of ancient legends from which he borrows, just as I do."

And so God Almighty sent down: "And they say: 'These are only legends of the Ancients that he has borrowed; they are dictated to him morning and evening'" (*sūrat al-Furqān*; XXV, v.5). And also: "Woe to every sinful liar" (*sūrat al-Jāthiyya*; XLV, v.7).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "One day, so we have been told, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat down in the mosque with al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra. Al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith came over and sat with them; also present were several men of Quraysh.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke, but al-Naḍr argued with him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then addressed al-Naḍr and ultimately silenced him. Having done so, he then recited to them all, 'You, along with that which you worship besides God, are the firewood for hell; you are on your way there. Were these gods they would not be ending up there; and all there will remain therein forever. Therein wailing is their lot, and therein they hear not' (*sūrat al-Anbiyā'*; XXI, v.98–100).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose just as ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zibaʿrā al-Sahmī approached and sat down.

"Al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra spoke to him, 'I swear, al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith's foregoing argument with Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (i.e. Muḥammad) was indeed short lived! Muḥammad (silenced him by) claiming that we and those gods of ours we worship are to be firewood for hell-fire!'

"'ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zibaʿrā replied, 'If I'd found him saying that, I'd have disputed with him. Ask Muḥammad: "Is everything besides God that is worshipped, along with those who worship them, to be firewood for hell? We worship angels, the Jews worship ʿUzayr, and the Christians worship Jesus."'

"Al-Walīd and those with him at the meeting were impressed by what Ibn al-Zibaʿrā had said, and thought he had made a cogent and winning argument.

"This was reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who replied, 'All those wanting to be worshipped aside from God will be there in hell with those who worship them. Those people merely worship devils, and those they (the devils) have ordered them to worship.'

"God Almighty then revealed, 'Those to whom good has already gone from us will be kept far away from it (hell). They will not hear its slightest sound, but will remain forever in what it is they have so desired'" (*sūrat al-Anbiyā'*; XXI; v.101–2).

This verse is referring to Jesus, ʿUzayr and those rabbis and monks who lived in obedience to God Almighty. And regarding their assertion that they were worshipping angels and that these were the daughters of God, He sent down: "And they say that God the Beneficent has taken a son for himself. All glory be to Him! No, (not that) but they are honoured servants" (*sūrat al-Anbiyā'*; XXI, v.26).

And then there were the verses following that.

Concerning the good impression made upon the polytheists by what al-Zibaʿrā said, God sent down: "And when the son of Mary is mentioned as an example, your people make a great outcry. They ask, 'Are our gods better, or is he?' They only raise this objection for argument's sake. They really are contentious people!" (*sūrat al-Zukhruf*; XLIII, v.57–8).

This argumentation they pursued was futile.

And they were aware of that, because they were an Arab people. It is part of their language that *mā*, i.e. "that which," in the above quotation implies in Arabic something that does not think. The statement: "You, along with that which you worship besides God are the firewood for hell; you are on your way there" (*sūrat al-Anbiyā'*; XXI, v.98) refers to the rocks fashioned as idols. It does not include the angels that they claimed to be worshipping inside these images. Nor does it include Jesus, ʿUzayr or any of the holy persons because that item of language, *mā*, cannot include them, directly or by implication.

They well knew that the comparison they were making to Jesus, son of Mary, was futile. As the Almighty stated, "They only raise this objection for argument's sake. They really are contentious people" (*sūrat al-Zukhruf*; XLIII, v.57–8).

God also stated, "He", (meaning Jesus) "was merely a servant whom We favoured" (that is, by prophethood) "and We made him an example for the people of Israel" (*sūrat al-Zukhruf*, XLIII, v.59). That is, as an indication of the totality of God's power to achieve His wishes, having created him from a female without a male. Similarly, God created Eve from a male without a female, and Adam without either, while He created all the rest of mankind from both male and female.

As God stated in another verse, "And certainly We are creating him as a sign for all mankind." That is, as a proof and an indication of His evident power, and as a "mercy from Him", by which He gives mercy to those He wishes.

Ibn Isḥāq also mentions al-Akhnas b. Sharīf and Almighty God's revelation regarding him: "And do not obey every base oath-maker" (*sūrat Nūn* or *al-Qalam*; LXVIII, v.10).

He referred also to al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra as having said, "Does God make revelation to Muḥammad and not me, even though I am chief and leader of Quraysh and also ignores Abū Masʿūd ʿAmr b. ʿAmr al-Thaqafī, lord of Thaqīf, even though we are the greatest men of the two towns?"[5] Regarding this statement, God sent down: "And they say, 'Why was this Qurʾān not revealed to some great men of the two towns?'" (*sūrat al-Zukhruf*, XLIII, v.31), along with other verses thereafter.

Ibn Isḥāq also referred to Ubayy b. Khalaf who said to ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayṭ, "Have I not heard that you sat down with Muḥammad and listened to him? I'll never set eyes on you again unless you spit in his face!" And ʿUqba, that enemy of God, God damn him, did that! And so God sent down, "And a day (will come) when the evil-doer will bite his hands and say, 'Would that I had taken my path with the Messenger; woe is to me! How I wish I had not taken so-and-so as my friend!'" (*sūrat al-Furqān*; XXV, v.27, 28), along with following verses.

He also related, "And Ubayy b. Khalaf took an old, disintegrating bone to him and said, 'O Muḥammad, do you claim that God can restore this after it has disintegrated?' He then crumbled it in his hand and blew it into the air towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He replied, 'Yes, I do say that. God will restore it and you too, even after you are like that. And then He will place you in the fire!' And God revealed, 'He coins a metaphor for us, forgetting his own creation, saying, "Who will give life to bones that are rotten?" Say, "He will give life to them who first created them! He has knowledge of all creation"'" (*sūrat Yāsīn*; XXXVI, v.78–9) to the end of that *sūrat*.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "I have been told that once, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was making a circumambulation of the *kaʿba*, near its doorway, he was obstructed by al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib, al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, Umayya b. Khalaf and al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil. They said to him, 'O Muḥammad, come on! We'll

5. Thaqīf were associated with al-Ṭāʾif.

worship what you do if you'll worship what we do. Let's just co-operate, you and us, in the whole thing!'

"Regarding them God revealed, 'Say: "O you disbelievers! I will not worship what you worship"' (*sūrat al-Kāfirūn*; CIX; v.1–2).

"When Abū Jahl heard reference to the *al-zaqqūm* tree, he said, 'Do you know what this *al-zaqqūm* is? It is dates mashed in butter!' He added, 'Bring it along; we'll enjoy it!'

"And so God revealed, 'The *zaqqūm* tree is the food of sinners'" (*sūrat al-Dukhān*; XLIV, v.43–4).

Ibn Isḥāq also related, "Al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra was standing talking with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was addressing him, wishing to convert him to Islam, when Ibn Umm Maktūm, that is, the son of ʿĀtika, daughter of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAnkatha, passed by. Ibn Umm Maktūm, who was blind, addressed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and began asking him to recite the Qurʾān. This so upset the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as to anger him, and this was because he was interfering with his efforts to convert al-Walīd to Islam as he was hoping.

"When the blind man persisted, he turned away from him frowning and ignored him. And so God Almighty sent down, '... and he frowned and turned away when the blind man came to him ...' up to the words, '... exalted, purified'" (*sūrat ʿAbasa*; LXXX, v.1–14).

It is also said that the person who was talking to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when Ibn Umm Maktūm came along was Umayya b. Khalaf. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq then related the names of those who returned to Mecca from the migration to Abyssinia. They did so when news reached them of the adoption of Islam by the Meccans. This information was incorrect, though there was a reason for it.

What is well established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections of traditions and elsewhere is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat down one day with the polytheists and God revealed to him, "By the star when it sets, your companion has not gone astray" (*sūrat al-Najm*; LIII, v.1–2). When he had recited this *sūrat* completely, he prostrated in prayer as did the Muslims, polytheists and spirits all.

But that (the prostrations of the polytheists along with the Muslims) had a reason which is mentioned by exegetes in their commentary on the words of Almighty God, "And we did not send before you any messenger or any prophet without him wishing something and the devil then influencing his wish; and so God annuls whatever the devil has inspired, and affirms His own signs. And God is knowledgeable, wise" (*sūrat al-Ḥajj*; XXII, v.52). They then refer to the story of the *gharānīq*.[6]

6. The word seems to have two possible connotations. It can mean either a high-flying crane or a particularly attractive young person, male or female. At issue here are two verses said, in the

We preferred to refrain from mentioning it openly here lest it come to the attention of those unable to place it in context. The origins of the story are, however, present in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Abū Ma'mar related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Wārith, quoting Ayyūb, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) prostrated himself in prayer having recited *sūrat al-Najam*, and all the Muslims, the polytheists and men and spirits alike prostrated too.'"

Al-Bukhārī is unique in giving this tradition; Muslim does not relate it.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to us, as did Ghundar and Shu'ba, from Abū Isḥāq, who said, 'I heard al-Aswad say, quoting 'Abd Allāh, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) recited *sūrat al-Najam* in Mecca and prostrated in prayer. And those there with him also prostrated except for one old man who picked up a handful of dust or dirt which he raised to his forehead, saying, 'This suffices for me.' And later I saw him killed as an unbeliever."'"

Muslim related this, as did Abū Dāūd and al-Nasā'ī, from a *ḥadīth* from Shu'ba.

Imām Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal) stated that Ibrahīm recounted to him, saying, "Rabbāḥ related to us, from Ma'mar, from Ibn Ṭāwūs, from 'Ikrima b. Khālid, from Ja'far b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Abū Wadā'a, who heard his father say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited *sūrat al-Najam* in Mecca and then prostrated, and all those there with him did the same. But I lifted up my head, declining to prostrate.' Al-Muṭṭalib had not then accepted Islam. After that he never heard anyone recite *sūrat al-Najam* without him prostrating along with the reciter."

Al-Nasā'ī related this from 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, from the account of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

It may be gathered from this account and the preceding one that this man did prostrate, but then raised his head in pride. However, the old man whom Ibn Mas'ūd considered an exception did not prostrate at all. But God knows best.

What is implied here is that when the narrator saw that the polytheists had prostrated themselves in imitation of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he believed that they had accepted Islam, made peace with him and that there was no longer any dispute between them.

The news of that quickly spread and reached the Emigrants in Abyssinia, and they believed it to be true. A group of them, hoping that was so, came back, while another group remained there. Each of them was well intentioned and correct in acting as they did.

Ibn Isḥāq gave the names of all of them that returned. These were: 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and his wife Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Ḥudhayfa b. 'Utba b. Rabī'a and his wife Sahla, daughter of Suhayl, 'Abd Allāh

works of tradition, to have immediately followed the reference to the goddesses of pre-Islam, al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and Manāt, in *sūrat al-Najm*, v.19, 20. These extra verses, not in the Qur'ān but preserved in the tradition literature, suggest that these goddesses are *gharānīq* and that their intercession is to be hoped for on judgment day.

b. Jaḥsh b. Riʿāb, ʿUtba b. Ghazwān, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, Suwaybiṭ b. Saʿd, Ṭulayb b. ʿUmayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad and his wife Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra, and Shammās b. ʿUthmān.

Also there were Salama b. Hishām and ʿAyyāsh b. Abū Rabīʿa who were imprisoned in Mecca until after the battles of Badr, Uḥud and *al-khandaq*.

There is some dispute over ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, as to whether or not he ever went to Abyssinia.

There also returned Muʿattib b. ʿAwf, ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, his son al-Sāʾib, along with his two brothers Qudāma and ʿAbd Allāh, both sons of Maẓʿūn. Then there were Khunays b. Ḥudhāfa and Hishām b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil, the latter being imprisoned in Mecca until after the battle of *al-khandaq*. ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa and his wife Laylā, daughter of Abū Ḥathma, also returned, as did ʿAbd Allāh b. Makhrama.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Suhayl b. ʿAmr also returned, but he was imprisoned until the battle of Badr, when he joined the Muslims and fought on their side.

Also Abū Sabra b. Abū Ruhm returned, along with his wife Umm Kulthūm, daughter of Suhayl. As did al-Sakrān b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Shams and his wife Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa. He died in Mecca before the migration to Medina and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), thereafter married his widow.

Saʿd b. Khawlā, Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhayr, Suhayl b. Bayḍāʾ and ʿAmr b. Abū Sarḥ also returned.

They totalled 33 men; may God be pleased with them!

Al-Bukhārī stated, "ʿĀʾisha reported that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I was given a vision of your abode in exile, a place of date-palms between two tracts of black stones.'"

Some (of those who had returned from Abyssinia) then migrated to Medina, while the rest of those who had remained in Abyssinia did so as well.

And there is a report to this effect from Abū Mūsā and Asmāʾ, God be pleased with them both, from the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Already mentioned above is the account of Abū Mūsā, that being in both *ṣaḥiḥ* collections. The account of Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmays, will come later, if God wills it, and in Him is all trust. Her story relates to what happened after the battle of Khaybar, when the latecomers from among the emigrants to Abyssinia arrived.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Yaḥyā b. Ḥammād related to us, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, from Sulaymān b. Ibrahīm, from ʿAlqama, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'We used to greet the Prophet (ṢAAS), while he prayed, and he would reply to us. But when we came back from the land of the Negus we would greet him the same way, but he would not reply. So we said to him, "O Messenger of God, when we used to greet you, you would reply to us. But since our return from the land of the Negus, you don't reply."'"

"He responded, 'Prayer keeps one engrossed.'"

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī, by different chains of authority, from Sulaymān b. Mahrān, from al-Aʿmash.

This substantiates the interpretation of those who explain the authentic account of Zayd b. Arqam that is in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections: "We used to talk during the prayer, until God's revealed verse was sent down, 'Stand up before God in humility' (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.238). And so we were ordered to remain silent and were forbidden to talk."

However, those referred to here were the "Companions of the Prophet" generally, for Zayd himself was a "Companion", (but) from Medina, and the prohibition against speaking during the prayer was established in Mecca. And so the report is being applied to what had gone before.

Regarding his reference to this particular verse which is of the Medina period, it is indeed difficult to explain. Perhaps he believed that it was this verse that prohibited speaking during the prayers, when in fact there were other prohibitions of it along with it. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Among those emigrants who returned under an agreement of protection, or named to us as such, were ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, protected by al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad, protected by his uncle Abū Ṭālib; his mother was Barra, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

"Regarding ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Awf related to me from someone who was told the following about ʿUthmān, 'When ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn saw the plight of the followers of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he himself was able to come and go freely under the protection of al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, he said, "By God, here I am moving about freely under the protection of a polytheist while my friends and followers in religion suffer harm and insult for God that do not afflict me, and this constitutes a great deficiency in me!"'

"So off he went to al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra and told him, 'O Abū ʿAbd al-Shams, you have fulfilled your pledge, but now I'm giving back to you your protection.'

"'Why is that, cousin?' he asked. 'Has any one of my people harmed you?'

"'No,' he replied, 'it's just that what I want is the protection of God, the Almighty and Glorious. I don't want the protection of anyone else.'

"'Well then,' al-Walīd said, 'you should go to the mosque and give me my protection back in public, just as I declared my protection over you.'

"And so they both did go to the mosque, where al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra announced, 'This is ʿUthmān, and he has come to relieve me of my protection of him.'

"ʿUthmān said, 'He speaks the truth. I have found him to be trustworthy and honourable in his protection, but I prefer to be protected only by God. I have given him back his pledge of protection.'

"ʿUthmān, God bless him, then left and joined an assembly of Quraysh who were being addressed by Labīd b. Rabīʿa b. Mālik b. Jaʿfar. ʿUthmān sat down with them. Labīd spoke a verse:

'Is not all but God vanity?'

"ʿUthmān commented, 'You speak the truth!'

"Labīd then said,

'And all pleasures must fade.'

"At this ʿUthmān protested, 'You lie! The pleasures of paradise will last forever!'

"Labīd commented, 'O men of Quraysh, those who sat with you used not to be so insulted; when did this come about so?'

"One man replied, 'This is just one of those fools allied with him; they have abandoned our faith. Don't take to heart what he says.'

"ʿUthmān spoke back to this man and they became angry with one another. The other man then got up and hit ʿUthmān in the eye, making it black. Al-Walīd, who was nearby and saw what had happened to ʿUthmān, commented, 'Well, nephew, your eye didn't need to suffer so; earlier you were fully protected!'

"ʿUthmān replied, 'Not so; I swear the only problem is that my good eye is in need of what the other one suffered for God's sake! Actually I am under the protection of One stronger and more capable than yourself, O Abū ʿAbd al-Shams!'

"To this al-Walīd replied, 'Come on now, nephew, just come back under my protection.'

"'No,' ʿUthmān told him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Regarding Abū Salama b.ʿAbd al-Asad: my father, Isḥāq b. Yasār related to me that Salama b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Salama told him that when Abū Salama sought the protection of Abū Ṭālib some men of the Banū Makhzūm went to the latter and asked him, 'O Abū Ṭālib, you've already given protection from us to your nephew Muḥammad; how is it you are now doing the same for one of our own men?'

"Abū Ṭālib replied, 'He sought out my protection, and he is my sister's son. And if I am not to protect my sister's son, how could I protect my brother's son?'

"Abū Lahab then arose and said, 'O men of Quraysh, you've treated this sheikh harshly, and you're constantly attacking him for giving protection to his own people. Either put an end to this, or let's all take his side in this so he attains his goal.'

"They replied, 'All right, Abū Lahab, we'll stop behaving contrary to your wishes.' He had been their ally and assistant against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and they wanted to maintain that.

"Abū Ṭālib had high hopes of him when he heard him speak thus and anticipated his aid regarding the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And so he spoke the

following verses urging Abū Lahab to support himself and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS):

'A man with Abū 'Utayba as his uncle is secure from harm as in a pasture;
I tell him – though how could my advice benefit him – O Abū Mu'tib, hold your ground firmly,
And do not as long as you live accept a course you'll be blamed for, whenever you attend a gathering,
Leave the path of the weak to others than yourself, for you were not created to stay weak,
And fight, for fighting is just and you will never see a real warrior humbled until he surrenders.
And why is it, when they have done you no great harm, nor abandoned you when having victory or defeat?
May God punish 'Abd Shams, Nawfal, Taym and Makhzūm for us with disaster and death,
For their deserting our alliance after friendship and affection in order to attain things forbidden.
You lie, by God's temple! Us dispossess Muḥammad? Not even at the enclave did you see (us) turn against (him).'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "We have omitted one verse from this poem."

An Account of the determination of Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", to emigrate to Abyssinia.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "I was told by Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, that when Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', God be pleased with him, experienced suffering in Mecca and witnessed the antagonism of Quraysh for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his own supporters, he asked permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to move away and he granted him this request.

"And so Abū Bakr, God bless him, did leave and, having travelled a day or two away from Mecca, was met by Ibn al-Daghina, brother of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna, who was at that time the leader of the Aḥābīsh."

Al-Wāqidī gave this man's name as al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd, he being of the tribe of Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna. Al-Suhaylī, however, gave his name as Mālik.

('Ā'isha continued) "'What are you heading for, Abū Bakr?' the man asked. Abū Bakr replied, 'My people have offended me, treated me badly and forced me to leave.'

"'Why is that? By God, you're a credit to the tribe, aiding those in distress, and you are kindly towards the needy. Go back; you are under my protection!'

"He did return with him and, back in Mecca, Ibn al-Daghina stood up with him and stated, 'O Quraysh, I have placed the son of Abū Quḥāfa under my protection. Let no man do anything but good to him.'

"And they did leave him alone."

ʿĀʾisha went on, "Abū Bakr used to have a mosque at the gate of his home among the Banū Jumaḥ and there he would pray. He was a very sensitive man and would shed tears when reciting the Qurʾān. Young men, slaves and women would stand nearby astonished at his behaviour.

"Some Quraysh men went to Ibn Daghina and told him, 'O Ibn Daghina, surely you didn't protect this man to harm us? When he prays and recites what Muḥammad brought he is moved (to tears) and he then attracts attention; we fear that he may influence our young men, women and the weak. Go and tell him to go inside his house, where he can do as he wishes.'"

She went on, "So Ibn al-Daghina did go to Abū Bakr and told him, 'I didn't give you protection so that you could do your people harm. They take offence at the place you attend and feel that you are harming them. Go inside your house and do there whatever it is you want.'

"(Abū Bakr asked) 'So shall I give you back your protection and rely on God?'

"'Do return my protection.'"

"'Consider it returned.'"

"Ibn al-Daghina then stood and stated, 'O Quraysh, the son of Abū Quḥāfa has given me back my protection over him. Do with him whatever you wish.'"

The Imām al-Bukhārī alone gives an account of this *ḥadīth* and his account is nicely expanded. He stated, "Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to me, quoting al-Layth, from ʿUqayl, Ibn Shihāb stated, and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr informed me, that ʿĀʾisha, the wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'I have no consciousness of my parents not actively participating in the faith. Not a day would pass for us without the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) coming to us, either early in the day or late.

"'And when the Muslims were being persecuted Abū Bakr left, travelling in the direction of Abyssinia. When he reached Bark al-Ghimād, he was met by Ibn al-Daghina, who was chief of the Qāra. The latter asked him where he was heading. Abū Bakr replied, "My people expelled me, and so I want to travel in the land praying to my Lord."

"'Ibn al-Daghina commented, "But men like you, Abū Bakr, neither leave nor are expelled. You are charitable, maintain family ties, make sacrifices for others, are hospitable, and help out in times of disaster. I shall be your protector. So go back and worship your Lord in your own land."

"'So he went back and Ibn al-Daghina travelled with him. At evening Ibn al-Daghina made the rounds of the Quraysh chiefs and told them, "The like of Abū Bakr does not leave, nor is he expelled! Would you exile a man who is charitable, maintains family ties, makes sacrifices for others, is hospitable to guests, and helps out in times of disaster?"

"'Quraysh did not deny Ibn al-Daghina's right to give protection, but asked him, "Tell Abū Bakr to worship his Lord inside his house; there he can recite

what he likes without harming us or advertising it. We're concerned that he might subvert our women and sons."

"'Ibn al-Daghina told that to Abū Bakr and the latter did therefore pray to his Lord in his house, without announcing what he was doing, and he recited only at home. But later Abū Bakr decided to build a mosque in the courtyard of his house and there he would pray and recite the Qur'ān. The women of the polytheists and their sons would crowd around staring at him in wonder; Abū Bakr was a man prone to tears, and he could not restrain his eyes when he recited the Qur'ān.

"'This upset the polytheist Quraysh leaders and they sent for Ibn al-Daghina. When he came, they told him, "We've acknowledged your protection of Abū Bakr on the understanding that he would worship his Lord in his house. But he has gone beyond that, built himself a mosque in his courtyard and openly prays and recites there. We're concerned that he will subvert our young men and our womenfolk. Make him stop. If he will restrict himself to worship at home, then well and good. But if he insists on so doing only in full view, then ask him to give back to you your protection. We don't want to break with you, but we cannot agree for Abū Bakr to advertise."'

"'Ā'isha went on, 'Ibn al-Daghina then went to Abū Bakr and told him, "You know what it was I agreed to with you. Either you restrict yourself to that, or give me back my protection. I don't want the Arabs to hear it said that I've had my covenant broken because of a man to whom I had given my protection."

"'Abū Bakr replied, "Then I give you back your protection and will rely on that of God, Almighty and Glorious is He."'"

Al-Bukhārī then recounted the rest of the tradition concerning the emigration of Abū Bakr, God bless him, with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as will be described hereafter.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim related to me, from his father al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, the son of b. Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', as follows: 'He was confronted – that is Abū Bakr was confronted – after he had left the protection of Ibn al-Daghina, on his way to the *ka'ba* by some fool from Quraysh who tossed dirt up over his head. Then al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra – or perhaps it was al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il – passed by Abū Bakr, who spoke as follows: "Don't you see how this idiot is behaving?" He was told, "You brought this on yourself." Meanwhile Abū Bakr kept repeating, "O God, how forbearing You are!"'"

Division

Ibn Isḥāq made mention of these incidents to show the contradiction between the pact made by Quraysh with the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib, and their drafting of that damnable document against the latter and their confinement to the enclave, with all the resultant consequences. These are matters appropriate for consideration in this era. Al-Shāfi'ī, God be pleased with

him, therefore stated, "He who wishes to know about the *maghāzī*, the early military engagements, is reliant upon Ibn Isḥāq."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "While the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib were living in their house assigned to them by Quraysh in the document they had written, a certain group of Quraysh set about abrogating that document.

"No one took more pains to do this than Hishām b.ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥabīb b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy; this was because he was the nephew of Naḍla b. Hishām b. ʿAbd Manāf by his mother, and Hishām had close ties to the Banū Hāshim. He was, moreover, deemed highly by his people.

"When, at night, the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib were restricted to their building in the enclave, he would, as I have been told, bring up a camel loaded down with food. When he reached the entrance to the enclave he would release the halter from the camel's head and strike its side to send it on down to them. Next time he would bring it loaded with wheat and do the same.

"He went to Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Makhzūm, whose mother was ʿĀtika, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and said, 'Zuhayr, does it please you to eat and dress well and to marry women while your uncles are where you know them to be, engaging in no buying nor selling, arranging no marriages, nor having any arranged with them? For my part, I swear that if they were the uncles of Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām and you were to ask him to treat them as you have been asked to do, he would never have agreed to your request.'

"'Shame on you, Hishām! What can I do? I'm just one man. If someone else would join me, I'd set about abrogating it.'

"Hishām replied, 'You have found one such man.' 'Who is that?' he asked. 'Myself,' came the answer. 'Well,' Zuhayr went on, 'find us a third then.'

"And so Hishām went to al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī and told him, 'Muṭʿim, are you pleased to have two clans of the Banū ʿAbd Manāf suffer while you look on, in agreement with Quraysh about that? By God, if you enable them to do this they will soon be treating you the same way.'

"'Damn it! What am I to do? I'm just one man,' Muṭʿim commented.

"Hishām replied, 'I have found you a second.' 'Who?' 'Myself.'

"'Then find a third,' Muṭʿim asked. 'I already have.'

"'Who is that?'

"'Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya.'

"'Then find us a fourth,' asked Muṭʿim.

"So Hishām went to Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām and told him what he had said to Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī.

"Abū al-Bakhtarī asked, 'Can you find anyone else to help in this?'

"'Yes, I can,' Hishām replied.

"'Who?' he asked.

"'Zuhayr b. Abū ʿUmayya, Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī and myself are with you.'

"'Find us a fifth,' he asked.

"And so Hishām went to Zamʿa b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad, spoke to him and reminded him of their kinship and their rights.

"'Is there anyone else helping in what you are inviting me to do?' asked Zamʿa.

"'Indeed yes,' Hishām replied, naming the others.

"And so they agreed to meet at night on the promontory of Mt. al-Ḥajūn on the upper outskirts of Mecca. There they met and agreed to defy the document until they were able to revoke it. Zuhayr told them, 'I will begin and be the first to speak out.'

"Next morning they went off to their assembly meeting and Zuhayr attended wearing a ceremonial robe. He made seven circumambulations of the *kaʿba* then went before the gathering and said, 'O people of Mecca, shall we eat all kinds of food and dress at will while the Banū Hāshim are in distress, unable to engage in any trade? By God, I won't take my seat until this damnable boycott document is torn up!'

"Abū Jahl, who was over to one side of the mosque, retorted, 'By God, it will not be torn up!'

"Zamʿa b. al-Asad then said, 'By God, you are the worst liar! We weren't pleased with the document when it was written.'

"'Zamʿa speaks the truth,' Abū al-Bakhtarī joined in. 'We do not like or agree to what is written there.'

"Al-Muʿṭim b. ʿAdī then spoke up, 'You are both right, and anyone denying that is a liar. We are innocent before God of the document and what is written on it.'

"Hishām b. ʿAmr then stated something similar.

"Abū Jahl observed, 'This is something decided at night, something discussed elsewhere.'

"Meanwhile, Abū Ṭālib was seated to one side of the mosque.

"Al-Muʿṭim b. ʿAdī then arose to tear up the document but discovered that worms had already consumed it, all except for the words, 'In your name, O God!'

"It was Manṣūr b. ʿIkrima who had written it and, so they say, his hand had become paralysed."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Some scholars relate that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told Abū Ṭālib, 'Uncle, God has sent worms to work upon the document of Quraysh and they have left alone only names relating to God and have removed the evil, boycott and lies from it.'

"Abū Ṭālib asked, 'Is it your Lord who told you this?'

"'Yes,' he replied.

"'Well, I swear by God,' Abū Ṭālib commented, 'no one has come in to you.'

"Abū Ṭālib then went out to Quraysh and asked, 'O Quraysh, my nephew has informed me of such-and-such things. Bring your document, and if it is as he says, then withdraw and remove the boycott. But if he is lying, I will hand my nephew over to you.'

"'We'll agree to that,' they said, and so compacted.

"They then looked and found it as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said. But this only increased their malice.

"Thereupon the group of Quraysh men took their action to revoke the document."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that when it had been torn up and its contents revoked, Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses in praise of those who had taken action to annul the document:

"Has our Lord's action reached our men at sea, despite their distance, for God is most kind to people,

And will tell them that the document has been torn up, and that all things that displease God come to nought.

Falsehood and deceit alternated and conjoined in it, but ultimately deceit is not bound to prevail.

Those uninvolved in it gathered together on a level plateau, while its fate remained undetermined.

It was an incident so worthy of being considered evil as to have arms and necks severed for it.

And for the people of all Mecca to leave in flight, their hearts quaking in fear of its evil,

The ploughman was left to ponder his options, whether because of it to head for low ground or for high,

So let him of Mecca's people whose prestige intoxicates him know that our glory in Mecca's heart is longer lived.

We grew up there when those there were few and we have always had our prestige and praise for us increase.

We fed our guests until they were forced to leave leftovers, and till the hands of those inundated with food began to give out.

God reward that group who united at al-Ḥajūn behind a chief who guides rightly and decisively,

Who sat on the heights at al-Ḥajūn as though they were kings, though even more noble and glorious than that.

Each hero helping in that, though walking with difficulty and impeded by his chainmail,

Courageously moving to great deeds, like a flame flaring in a torchbearer's hands

Men of the most noble of Luʾayy b. Ghālib whose faces burn in anger if they are insulted,

Men tall in stature, their swords reaching to the middle of their shanks, men for whom the clouds receive rain and bring joy.

Generous lords and sons of lords, urging their guests to eat, piling the food,

Constructing safety and paving the way for their tribesmen when we travel the country.

Every blame-free man strives to keep this peace; (every) leader of great renown for that reason.

They spent part of the night asleep then awoke quietly, while the rest still slept.

They sent back Sahl b. Bayḍā' well pleased, and Abū Bakr and Muḥammad were delighted by it.

When was it that other clans helped out in our affairs, though of old, before that, we have been well liked?

In former times we never acquiesced in injustice, and achieved our aims without using violence.

O Tribe of Quṣayy, will you not consider, and do you want what tomorrow will bring?

The relationship between you and me is like the saying, 'O Mt. Aswad, you could explain it, if only you spoke.'"

Al-Suhaylī stated, "Aswad is the name of a mountain where a man was killed without anyone discovering his murderer. And so the relatives of the dead man recited the line, 'O Mt. Aswad, you could explain it, if only you spoke.' That is, 'O Mt. Aswad, if you spoke you could explain to us who it was killed him.'"

At this point Ibn Isḥāq quoted poetry of Ḥassān in praise of al-Muʿṭim b. ʿAdī and Hishām b. ʿAmr for their having torn up that damnable, sinful and iniquitous document.

And here too al-Umawī quoted many lines of verse, whereas we have thought what Ibn Isḥāq transmitted to be sufficient.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "I asked Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz, 'When did the Banū Hāshim come out from the enclave?' They replied, 'In the tenth year, after the beginning of the mission that is, three years before the migration.'"

I add that in that year, following their release, Abū Ṭālib, uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, as also did his wife Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid, God bless her. An account of all this will come hereafter, if God, Almighty is He, so wishes.

Division

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related, following the account of the revocation of the document, many stories involving the enmity of Quraysh for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and how the Arab tribes and those making the lesser or the full pilgrimage to Mecca, or coming for some other reason, were driven away from (Muḥammad by the enemy). He also recounted how God made miracles happen through him to give proof of the veracity of the signs and guidance he brought, as well as to put to the lie the charges they were making against him of immorality, aggressiveness, deception and trickery, and accusations that he was mad, a magician, a soothsayer or a forger. But God was to give him victory.

Ibn Isḥāq then related the story of al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr al-Dawsī, but with an incomplete chain of authorities.

Al-Ṭufayl was an honoured and respected man of Daws. He came to Mecca where he was met by the Quraysh chieftains, who warned him about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and forbad him to meet with him or to listen to him talk.

Al-Ṭufayl related, "By God, they kept on at me until I agreed not to hear him nor to speak to him. I even stuffed my ears with cotton when I went to the mosque to prevent myself hearing anything he said; I didn't want to listen to him.

"I went to the mosque, and there was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) standing in prayer at the *kaʿba*. I went over near to him, and God required me to hear some of what he said.

"And I heard wonderful speech. So I told myself, 'May my mother not be bereft! I swear, here am I, a man who is intelligent and a poet, and someone who can well distinguish good from bad! What prevents me from hearing what this man is saying? If what he says is good, I will accept it; if bad, I will reject it.'"

He went on, "So I stayed there until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went off home and I followed him till he went inside his house. Then I went in to him and said, 'O Muḥammad, your people have told me such-and-such.'

He continued, "And I swear, they so scared me that I stuffed my ears with cotton so as not to hear what you say. But then God insisted on making me hear your words. And I heard fine speech. So explain your situation to me.'

Al-Ṭufayl continued, "And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) explained Islam to me and recited the Qurʾān to me and, I swear, I never heard words more sweet than those, nor any matter more just.

"And so I accepted Islam and bore true witness, saying, 'O Prophet of God, I am a man who is obeyed by his people. I am now returning to them and will invite them to Islam. Pray to God to give me a sign that will help me with them when I do so.'

"And so he said, 'O God, give him a sign.'

"I then left for home and travelled till I came to a pass that enabled me to look down on to my village. But then there appeared between my eyes a light like that of a lamp. I said to myself, 'O God, not right in my face, for I fear that they will think it some exemplary punishment that has struck my face for my abandoning my faith.'

"Then the light moved and alighted on the head of my whip. And the villagers watched that light atop my whip that resembled a suspended candle, and they continued to do so as I was descending to them from the pass, right until I was there among them.

"When I dismounted, my father, an aged sheikh, came over to me, but I told him, 'Off with you, father; you and I must have nothing to do with one another.'

"'Why is that, my son?' he asked.

"'I have accepted Islam, and adopted the religion of Muḥammad (ṢAAS).'

"'Well, son, your religion shall be mine.'

"'Then go and wash yourself, clean your clothing and come to me so that I can instruct you in what I have been taught.'

"He did go and wash himself and cleaned his clothing. When he returned, I explained Islam to him and he accepted it.

"Then my wife came to me and I told her, 'Go away; you and I can have nothing to do with one another.'

"'Why is that, my father and my mother be your ransom?'

"'Islam has divided me from you; I have adopted the religion of Muḥammad (ṢAAS).'

"'Well, your religion is mine,' she said.

"I told her, 'Go to the *ḥimā*, the sacred shrine, of Dhū al-Sharā and purify yourself of it.' Dhū al-Sharā was an idol of Daws and the *ḥimā* was a shrine around it that they kept sacrosanct; it had a stream whose water descended from a mountain.

"She replied, 'May my father and mother ransom you, don't you fear something will happen to the children because of Dhū al-Sharā?'

"'Not at all; I guarantee that,' I replied.

"She did go and wash herself and, when she returned I explained Islam to her and she accepted it.

"I then called upon the Daws tribe to accept Islam, but they resisted. I went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca. I told him, 'O Messenger of God, fornication has defeated me with Daws; say a prayer to God for them.'

"He said, 'O God, lead Daws aright.' Then he said to me, 'Return to your people, preach to them and be kind to them.'

"And so I remained in Daws territory asking them to embrace Islam until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), emigrated to Medina. Then the battles of Badr, Uḥud and the *khandaq*, the trench, took place. Thereafter I went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), taking those of my people who had become Muslims, while he was at Khaybar. I set up camp, with some 70 or 80 tents of Daws families at Medina, and then we joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar; there he gave us an equal share of the spoils, along with the other Muslims.

"I remained with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until God conquered Mecca through him. Then I asked him, 'O Messenger of God, dispatch me to burn Dhū al-Kaffayn, the idol of 'Amr b. Ḥumāma.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "And he did leave to do so. As al-Ṭufayl set fire to the idol he spoke the verse,

> 'O Dhū al-Kaffayn, I am not one of your worshippers; our history is older than yours;
> I have stuffed your heart with fire.'

"He then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and remained at Medina with him until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died.

"When the Arabs apostatized, al-Ṭufayl campaigned with the Muslims until they had subdued Ṭulayha and all of Nejd. Then he travelled with the Muslim forces to al-Yamāma, his son ʿAmr b. Ṭufayl accompanying him.

"On his way to Yamāma he had a vision and he asked his companions to interpret it to him. He recounted, 'I saw that my head had been shaved, a bird came forth from my mouth, and a woman met me and placed me in her vagina. Then I saw my son frantically searching for me, but he was withheld from me.'

"'Let's hope it's a good omen,' they told him.

"He said, 'I'm going to interpret it myself.'

"'What, then?' they asked.

"He explained, 'The shaving of my head means its being laid down. The bird exiting it is my soul. The woman who placed me in her vagina is the earth that will be dug out for me, and into which I will disappear. As for my son's searching for me, and then his being kept from me, I see him striving to have happen to him what has happened to me.'

"He was killed, God bless him, as a martyr in al-Yamāma, and his son was severely wounded but later recovered. Eventually he was martyred in the year of the battle of al-Yarmūk, during the caliphate of ʿUmar. God bless him."

That was how Muḥammad b. Isḥāq recounted the story of al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr, with an incomplete chain of authorities. There is testimonial to his account to be found in authenticated *ḥadīth* collections.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Wakīʿ related to us, saying, 'Sufyān related to us, from Abū al-Zinād, from al-Aʿraj, from Abū Hurayra, as follows, "When al-Ṭufayl and his companions came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Daws are being difficult', he spoke the words, 'O God, give guidance to Daws and bring them.'"'"

Al-Bukhārī related this from Abū Nuʿaym, from Sufyān al-Thawrī.

Imām Aḥmad also stated, "Yazīd related to us, Muḥammad b. ʿAmr informed us, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, God be pleased with him, as follows, 'Al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr al-Dawsī arrived with his companions and they said, "O Messenger of God, Daws are being disobedient and difficult; say a prayer for them."'"

Abū Hurayra said, "And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) raised up his hands and I commented, 'Well, Daws are destroyed!' But he spoke, 'O God, give guidance to Daws and bring them (to Islam).'"

The chain of authorities for this is excellent, but the (other) scholars did not narrate it.

The Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ṣulaymān b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ḥajjāj al-Ṣawwāf, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr al-Dawsī came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said, 'O Messenger of God, don't you wish you had an impregnable, inaccessible fortress?' He replied, 'Daws had a fortress during the *jāhiliyya*.'"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rejected that idea because of the rewards God had in store for the *anṣār*, "the Helpers".

"When the Prophet (ṢAAS) emigrated to al-Medina, al-Ṭufayl b. 'Amr joined him, along with another of his people. They hated the town and (the second man, tr.) fell ill and, depressed, took an arrow head and used it to cut between his fingers. Blood streamed from his hands and did not stop until he was dead.

"Al-Ṭufayl saw the man in a dream in pleasant circumstances and observed that he had his hands covered. So he asked him, 'What did your Lord do?' He replied, 'He forgave me because I had gone to join His Prophet (ṢAAS).' Al-Ṭufayl asked, 'Why do I see you covering your hands?' He answered, 'I was told that what I had spoiled would never be restored!'"

The account continued, "And al-Ṭufayl recounted this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who spoke the words, 'O God, do forgive him for his hands.'"

Muslim related this from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, both of them giving as their source an account of Ibn Ḥarb.

If it were asked, "What is the connection between this *ḥadīth* and what is established in both canonical collections from al-Ḥasan, from Jundub", he replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Among those who preceded you there was a man who became afflicted and depressed and so he took a knife and cut open his hand with it, the blood streaming out until he died. And God, Almighty and Glorious is He, said, "He foisted himself too hastily on Me, so I denied him paradise."'"

And so the answer could have several aspects. One is that the one man might have been a polytheist, the other a believer.

And God may have made of this one action an independent cause of his entering hell. And though his disbelief might have been self-sufficient (to confine him to hell), God none the less made reference to this act so that His people give heed. The second possibility is that the one could have been knowledgeable of what was forbidden, while the other was not, since he had so recently accepted Islam.

The third is that the one could have been doing what he did thinking it permissible, while the other did it knowing it to be impermissible, and, indeed, in error.

The fourth is that the one could have intended to kill himself by his aforementioned action, whereas the other, in contrast, might not have intended to kill himself but have had some other purpose.

The fifth is that the one might have been someone of few good deeds which did not measure up to the gravity of his aforementioned sin and so went to hell, while the other might have been a man of many good deeds which did equal his sin and therefore he did not go to hell but was forgiven because of his having joined the Prophet (ṢAAS).

The damage, however, did remain, though only in his hands. The rest of his form was good and he only covered the damaged part of it. And so when al-Ṭufayl b. 'Amr saw him covering his hands and asked him what was the

matter with him, he replied, "I was told that what I had spoiled would never be restored." When al-Ṭufayl told this story to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he prayed for him in the words, "O God, do forgive him for his hands." That is, "Do restore of them whatever was damaged."

What is certain is that God did respond to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) concerning the companion of al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr.

The Story of Aʿshā b. Qays.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Khallād b. Qurra b. Khālid al-Sudūsī, and other sheikhs of Bakr b. Wāʾil told me, from certain scholars, that Aʿshā b. Qays b. Thaʿlaba b.ʿUkāba b. Ṣaʿb b. ʿAlī b. Bakr b. Wāʾil went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) intending to accept Islam. He spoke the following verses in praise of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),

'Did your eyes not close that night, O bleary-eyed one? You lay awake all night through restlessness.

And the sleeplessness was not for love of a woman, for before that you had forgotten your lover of Mahdad,

But I see that fate, that traitor, spoils what my hands restore.

I have thus lost age, youth and wealth, for by God this fate, how it changes!

I have constantly pursued wealth throughout my progression from childhood to youth to maturity to old age.

Daily I raced fast red-grey camels across the distance between al-Nujayr and Ṣarkhada.

O you enquiring where she has gone, she has an appointment with the people of Yathrib.

And if you enquire about me, then (know that) there are many kind-hearted ones who ask about Aʿshā, enquiring where he went.

My mount stretches her swift legs and draws them back, carefully turning out her hooves, not splaying them.

Sprightly she is, even in noonday heat, when you would imagine even the afternoon chameleon bending its neck.

I swore I'd not assuage her fatigue nor her sore feet until she reached Muḥammad.

When she should kneel at Ibn Hāshim's door, only then would it rest and receive, through his munificence, some generosity.

(He is) a prophet who sees what you do not, whose fame, I swear, has spread high and low in the land.

He has gifts and favours that do not end, and his giving today does not prevent him giving tomorrow.

Did you not, I repeat, hear the advice of Muḥammad, the Prophet of God, when he preached and testified?

If you did not travel with cargo of piety and after death met with others who have done so,

You will surely regret not being like them; so, therefore, prepare for a fate that is definitely arranged.

Beware of carrion; do not approach it, and do not take the share of that which some weapon has already allotted (to others)

And do not venerate raised monuments, nor worship idols, but pray to God alone.

Do not go near a free woman; her privacy is forbidden you; marry or be celibate.

Do not cut off ties with your relatives for some motive, nor take them as captives under restraint.

And glorify God at evening and at morning; do not praise the devil; praise only God. Do not ridicule those suffering poverty, and do not consider wealth man's way to eternity.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "And when al-Aʿshā was in Mecca or near thereto, some Quraysh polytheists stopped him and asked what business he had there. He told them that he had come seeking the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"One of the Quraysh commented, 'But Abū Baṣīr, he is forbidding sex!' Al-Aʿshā responded, 'I swear, that's no desire of mine.'

"'But he's also forbidding wine,' the man objected.

"'Well, that's something I do hold dear; I'll go off and have my fill of it for a year, then I'll come back and accept Islam!'

"And leave he did. But he died that same year without returning to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Thus does Ibn Hishām tell this story here. He extracts a great deal from Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq, God bless him, and this is one thing added to his account by Ibn Hishām, God bless him!

Wine was not in fact forbidden in Medina until after the fighting with the Banū al-Naḍīr, as will be explained hereafter.

It is apparent that the decision of al-Aʿshā to accept Islam was taken only after the migration. There is evidence for this in his poetry. One verse reads,

"O you enquiring where she has gone, she has an appointment with the people of Yathrib."

It would have been more appropriate for Ibn Hishām to have recounted this anecdote within material relating to the post-migration period, rather than here. But God knows best.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "This is an error on the part of Ibn Hishām and those who follow him, for everyone agrees that use of wine was only prohibited in Medina after the battle of Uḥud."

He has also stated, "It is said that the person who spoke to al-Aʿshā was Abū Jahl b. Hishām in the house of ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa."

Abū ʿUbayda, however, related that the one who spoke to him thus was ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl in Qays territory while he was on his way to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

He stated, "And his saying '... then I will come to him and accept Islam' definitely does not bring him out of a state of disbelief. But God knows best."

Ibn Isḥāq at this point recounted the story of the man from Irāsh and how he appealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) against Abū Jahl over the price of a camel he had sold him, and how God abased Abū Jahl and forced him to make payment for it at the agreed time.

We recounted this in the material relating to the beginning of the revelation and the consequent harm done by the polytheists.

The Story of the contest with Rukāna and how the Prophet (ṢAAS) showed him a tree that he summoned and it came to him.

Ibn Isḥāq quoted his father, Isḥāq b. Yasār, as having related to him as follows: "Rukāna b. ʿAbd Yazīd b. Hāshim b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf was the strongest man of Quraysh.

"Once he was alone in one of the defiles of Mecca with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him, 'Rukāna, won't you fear God and accept my invitation to you?'

"He replied, 'If I knew that what you say is true, I would follow you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked him, 'If I were to wrestle you down would you know that what I say is true?'

"'Yes, I would,' Rukāna replied.

"'Come on then, let's wrestle,' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said.

"And so Rukāna did wrestle with him and when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went after him, he threw him down, powerless.

"Rukāna then said, 'Another round, Muḥammad!'

"Once again he threw him. Rukāna then said, 'Muḥammad, I swear, Muḥammad, this is amazing! Can you really throw me?'

"He replied, 'I'll show you something even more amazing, if you like, if you will fear God and follow me.'

"'What is it?'

"'I'll call out to that tree you see and it will come to me.'

"'Call for it then.'

"He did so and it came and stood there right before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Then he told it, 'Go back to your place!' And it did so.

"And so Rukāna went to his people and told them, 'O Banū ʿAbd Manāf, you could have your man compete in magic with the whole world. I swear I've never seen a better magician than him.' He then recounted to them what he had seen and what he had done."

Ibn Isḥāq related this story thus, with an incomplete line of transmission.

Abū Dāʾūd al-Tirmidhī related, from an account of Abū al-Ḥasan al-ʿAsḳalānī, from Abū Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Rukāna, from his father, Rukāna, who said he had wrestled the Prophet (ṢAAS) who had defeated him. Then al-Tirmidhī commented, "Strange! We know nothing of Abū al-Ḥasan, nor of Rukāna's son."

My comment is that Abū Bakr al-Shāfiʿī related, with an excellent chain of authorities, from Ibn ʿAbbās, God bless them both, that Yazīd b. Rukāna wrestled the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who threw him three times, each time for a wager of 100 sheep. The third time Rukāna said, "Muḥammad, no one has ever put my back on the ground before you, and no one was more hateful in my sight before this than you! I testify that there is no god but God, and that you are the Messenger of God." At that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood up from him and gave him back his sheep.

As for the story of his calling out to the tree and its going to him, many accounts of that, from several excellent sources, will appear in the chapter on "Proofs of Prophethood" after this biography, if God wills it, and in Him is our trust.

Earlier on, it was reported from Abū al-Ashdīn that he (Rukāna) wrestled the Prophet (ṢAAS) who threw him.

After this Ibn Isḥāq related the story of the arrival in Mecca of the Christians from Abyssinia, some 20 riders in number. They all embraced Islam. We gave this earlier, after the story of the Negus. And to God be all praise and credit.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to have some of his most vulnerable Companions sit close by him in the mosque, such Muslims as Khabbāb, ʿAmmār, Abū Fukayha Yāsar, the freed-man of Ṣafwān b. Umayya and Ṣuhayb. Quraysh would ridicule these people, telling one another, 'These are his companions, as you see, but has God really chosen them from among us to receive guidance and the true religion? If what Muḥammad brought were any good, they would not have joined him first; God would certainly not have put them before us.'"

And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed, "Do not drive away those who pray to their Lord morning and night seeking His face. You are not accountable for them in the least, nor are they for you. If you repulse them you will be acting unjustly. Thus have we put some to the test through others, so that they would say, 'Are they those of us whom God has favoured?' 'Does God not know best who gives thanks?' And when those who believe in our revelation come to you then say, 'Peace be upon you; your Lord has prescribed for Himself mercy so that if one of you does wrong in ignorance, then later repents and reforms – He is indeed merciful, forgiving'" (*sūrat al-Anʿām*; VI, v.52–4).

He went on: "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used often to sit at al-Marwa near the shop of a young Christian named Jabr, a slave of the Banū al-Ḥadramī. People would say, 'By God, it is merely Jabr who teaches Muḥammad most of what he says!'

"And so God Almighty revealed about their saying that, 'It is merely some mortal who teaches him. The language of him to whom they allude is foreign; yet this language is plain Arabic'" (*sūrat al-Naḥl*; XVI, v.105).

Then Ibn Isḥāq recounts how *sūrat al-Kawthar* (CVIII) was revealed concerning al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil when he said of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "He is without a male child, that is, he has no male offspring. If he dies, memory of him will be gone." And so God Almighty stated, "He who hates you shall be childless." That is, he would not be remembered after his death, even if he were to have thousands of offspring. For remembrance, reputation and credibility do not depend on multiplicity of children and offspring. We discussed this *sūrat* in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And to God be all praise.

It has been related from Abū Jaʿfar al-Bāqir that al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil said the above following the death of al-Qāsim, the son of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He had reached an age when he could ride a mule and sit on a thoroughbred mount.

Ibn Isḥāq then related the revelation of the verse "... and they say, 'Now if only an angel had been sent down to him.' If We had sent down an angel, it would all have been finished!" (*sūrat al-Anʿām*; VI, v.8).

This referred to Ubayy b. Khalaf, Zamʿa b. al-Aswad, al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil and al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith having said, "If only God had sent down for you an angel to tell the people about you."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so we have been told, passed by al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, Umayya b. Khalaf and Abū Jahl b. Hishām, and they insulted and mocked him. This angered him, and at that God Almighty revealed about them, 'Prophets before you were mocked, but it was their mocking that trapped them'" (*sūrat al-Anʿām*; VI, v.10).

I observe that God Almighty also stated, "Prophets before you were mocked. Yet they bore with fortitude the falsehoods and persecutions until Our help came to them. No one can change the words of God. And you have received information about the messengers sent" (*sūrat al-Anʿām*; VI, v.34). And the Almighty also said, "We will protect you against those who mock" (*sūrat al-Ḥajar*; XV, v.95).

Sufyān stated, quoting Jaʿfar b. Iyyās, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the "mockers" consisted of al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Yaghūth al-Zuhrī, al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib Abū Zamʿa, al-Ḥārith b. ʿAyṭil, and al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil al-Sahmī and that: "Gabriel came to him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) complained to him about them, pointing out al-Walīd. And so Gabriel gestured to his fingertips and said, 'So much for him!'

"He then pointed out to him al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib and Gabriel gestured towards his neck, saying, 'So much for him!'

"He then pointed out al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Yaghūth and Gabriel gestured to his head, saying, 'So much for him!'

"He then pointed to al-Ḥārith b. Ayṭil and Gabriel gestured to his stomach, saying, 'So much for him!'

"Then al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil passed by and Gabriel gestured towards the sole of his foot, saying, 'So much for him!'

"As for Al-Walīd, he later stopped by a man from Khuzāʿa who was mounting feathers on an arrow for him, but the arrow struck his fingertips and severed them.

"Al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth had ulcers grow out of his head, and he died of them.

"Al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib went blind. The cause of that was that he once dismounted under a gum tree and began calling out, 'O Son, help, can't you protect me! I'm dead!' His companions responded that they could see nothing, but he repeated, 'O Son, can't you protect me? I'm perishing! I'm being pricked with thorns in my eyes!' Again they said they saw nothing, but he kept saying the same until his eyes were blind.

"Al-Ḥārith b. 'Ayṭil was afflicted with yellow bile in his stomach until his excrement emerged from his mouth and he died of that.

"Al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il one day had a thorn enter his head and caused it to be filled (with pus), and he died of this."

Others, however, narrate this account thus: "... and he rode to Ṭā'if on a donkey that let him down on to a thorn and it pierced the sole of his foot and killed him."

Al-Bayhaqī related this tradition in much the same way.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The chief men who engaged in ridicule, as I was told by Yazīd b. Rawmān, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, were five in number. They were all men of maturity and highly regarded among their people. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke a curse against al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib Abū Zam'a: 'O God, blind his sight and make him bereft of his son!'

"The others were al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth, al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il, and al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṭalāṭil."

He also recounted that Almighty God revealed about them, "Announce what you have been ordered, and turn aside from the polytheists. We will take care of the mockers for you, those who establish another god alongside God. They shall learn!" (*sūrat al-Ḥajar*; XV, v.94–6).

He related, "Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while these men were circumambulating the *ka'ba*. Gabriel stood up, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at his side, while al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib went by. Gabriel threw a green leaf into his face and he became blind.

"Al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth next passed and Gabriel pointed at his stomach. It became swollen and so he died of dropsy.

"Al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra went by and Gabriel pointed at the scar of a wound at the base of his ankle that he had suffered years before when he had passed by a man of Khuzā'a re-feathering an arrow, the head of which had caught on his robe and slightly cut him. After this, however, it burst open and so he died.

"Al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il passed and Gabriel pointed to the underside of his foot. Al-'Āṣ later left on a donkey for Ṭā'if. The donkey threw him on to a thorn which pierced his foot and killed him.

"Al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṭalāṭil went by and Gabriel pointed at his head. It filled with pus and so killed him."

Ibn Isḥāq then stated, "When al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra felt the approach of death he made a request of his three sons Khālid, Hishām, and al-Walīd by name. He told them, 'Sons, I charge you with three tasks. My blood is on Khuzāʿa, and do not leave it unrevenged. I well know that they are innocent of it, but I fear that you may be maligned by it later. Thaqīf have debts owing me. Don't leave them alone until you get paid. And my dowry money is with Abū Uzayhir al-Dawsī; don't let him keep it from you.' Abū Uzayhir had married al-Walīd to a daughter of his but later had kept her from him and had not let him in to her up to the time he died. And he had taken the money al-Walīd had paid for her, which was her dowry.

"When he died the Banū Makhzūm hastened to Khuzāʿa seeking from them blood money for al-Walīd. They said, 'It was an arrow of one of your men that killed him!' Khuzāʿa refused and they spoke angry poetry against one another, and the situation deteriorated greatly between them. But then Khuzāʿa did pay some of the blood-money, and they made peace and reconciled."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Then Hishām b. al-Walīd attacked and killed Abū Uzayhir while he was at the Dhū al-Majāz market.

"He was a chief of his tribe and his daughter was Abū Sufyān's wife. This happened after the battle of Badr. Yazīd b. Abū Sufyān went out and gathered his men against the Banū Makhzūm since his father was then absent. When Abū Sufyān returned he was angered by what his son Yazīd had done and berated and struck him for it. He then paid the blood price for Abū Uzayhir and told his son, 'Did you plan to have Quraysh kill one another over one man from Daws?'

"Ḥassān b. Thābit wrote an ode goading Abū Sufyān over the spilling of Abū Uzayhir's blood. Regarding this poem, Abū Sufyān commented, 'It's a really bad idea of Ḥassān that we should kill one another, now, after our chiefs died at the battle of Badr.'

"When Khālid b. al-Walīd accepted Islam and was present at Ṭāʾif with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he asked the latter for payment of the interest due his father from the people of Ṭāʾif."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Some scholars informed me that the following verses were revealed about this, 'O you who believe, fear God and give up whatever interest payments are due, if you are indeed believers'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II; v.278).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "And we know of no vengeance taken by Abū Uzayhir's people up to when Islam put an end to conflict between these men. Although Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās al-Aslamī left with a group of Quraysh men into Daws territory. There they stayed with a woman named Umm Ghaylān, a freed-woman of Daws. She would comb the women's hair and prepare brides for marriage. The Daws wanted to kill the Quraysh for killing Abū Uzayhir, but Umm Ghaylān and some women who were with her stood in their way and protected the Quraysh men."

Al-Suhaylī said, "It is said that she hid him inside her clothing."

Ibn Hishām said, "In the days when 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ruled, Umm Ghaylān came to him, believing that Ḍirār was his brother. 'Umar told her, 'I am only his brother in Islam. I know of your favour to him. He gave her a gift as though she were a traveller.'"

He went on, "Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb met up with 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb at the battle of Uḥud, and began striking him with the flat of his spear, saying, 'Save yourself, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, I shall not kill you!' 'Umar thus acknowledged this act of his after Islam. God bless them both.

Division

Al-Bayhaqī related at this point the imprecation of the Prophet (ṢAAS) against Quraysh when they withheld from him, resulting in seven years similar to the seven in Joseph's case.

His account tallies with those in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections narrated through al-A'mash, from Muslim b. Ṣubayh, from Masrūq, from Ibn Mus'ūd. He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said, "Five things have come to pass; *al-lizām*, the punishment, the Romans, the 'smoke,' the conflict, and the moon."

There is an account from Ibn Mus'ūd saying, "When Quraysh rejected the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and refrained from accepting Islam, he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said, 'O God, bring down upon Quraysh for me the seven years like those for Joseph!'"

The account went on, "And they were afflicted for a year until everything was completely ruined. They were reduced to eating carrion, and some, out of hunger, hallucinated so that they would imagine seeing smoke all the way to the heavens. Then he prayed, and God gave them relief. 'Abd Allāh (b. Mus'ūd) thereafter recited the following verse, 'We are withdrawing from you the punishment for a while; but you will revert' (*sūrat al-Dukhān*; XLIV, v.15). They did revert and disbelieved, and so were put off till Judgement Day. Or he said, 'and they were put off till the battle of Badr.' 'Abd Allāh said, 'If the reference were really to Judgement Day, he would not have exposed them to the words, '... the day when we confront them with the great conflict. We will take revenge!' (*sūrat al-Dukhān*; XLIV, v.16). He said, 'At the battle of Badr.'

In (another) account from him, he said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw the people backing away, he said, 'O God, (inflict) seven years (of calamity) like those of Joseph.' And so they suffered a year so bad that they ate carrion, leather and bones. Abū Sufyān and other Meccans came to him and said, 'O Muḥammad, you claim to have been given your mission of mercy. Here your people are perishing. Pray to God for them.'

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did say a prayer and profuse rain descended on them. It poured down on them for seven days and people complained about the volume of rain. And so he said the words, 'O God, around

us, but not upon us!' The clouds were then withdrawn from above his head, and the people around them were watered."

He said, "The verse of *sūrat al-Dukhān* was mentioned earlier and it referred to the starvation that had afflicted them. This refers to God's statement, 'We are withdrawing from you the punishment for a while; but you will revert.' And the verses of *sūrat al-Rūm* (XXX), and those referring to the 'grievous hold' (of *sūrat al-Dukhān*; XLIV, v.16), and the 'splitting of the moon' (of *sūrat al-Qamar*; LIV, v.1), all came true at the battle of Badr."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "What he means, though God alone knows best, is that the 'grievous hold', 'the smoke' and the verse relating to the *lizām*, God's punishment, all these (prophecies) came true at the battle of Badr."

He said, "Al-Bukhārī made reference to this account. He then mentioned it through ʿAbd al-Razzāq from Maʿmar, from Ayyūb, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, in the words, ʿAbū Sufyān came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) seeking relief from the hunger because they had nothing to eat, even consuming spoiled meat. God Almighty then revealed the words, 'We brought punishment down on them, but they would not submit to their Lord, nor were they humble' (*sūrat al-Muʾminūna*; XXIII, v.76). And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said a prayer for them, so that God gave them relief."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "There is given in the story relating to Abū Sufyān material suggesting that it applied to the period after the migration. Perhaps it happened twice. God knows best."

Division

Then al-Bayhaqī related the story of the Persians and the Byzantines and Almighty God's revelation of the verses: "Alif. Lam. Mīm. The Byzantines have been defeated in the neighbouring territory, yet after their defeat they will overcome, after a few years. God makes the decision, both before and after. And on a certain day the believers will rejoice at God's assistance. God assists whomever He wishes, for He is the Almighty, the Merciful" (*sūrat al-Rūm*; XXX, v.2).

He then related through Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ḥabīb b. Abū ʿAmr, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Muslims would have liked the Byzantines to be victorious over the Persians because the former were the 'People of the Book'. The polytheists wanted the Persians to overcome the Byzantines because the former were idol worshippers. The Muslims mentioned this to Abū Bakr, who spoke about it with the Prophet (ṢAAS). The latter commented, 'They will prevail.' Abū Bakr related this to the polytheists who said, 'Set a term for us and if they do prevail, then you get so-and-so while if our side wins we get so-and-so.' Abū Bakr then related this to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, 'So now I've made it a wager!' He went on, 'In less than ten (days).' And thereafter the Byzantines were victorious."

We gave various lines of transmission for this *ḥadīth* in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) and recounted that the one who engaged in the wager with Abū Bakr was Umayya b. Khalaf, that the bet was for five young ostriches and that it had a time limit. To this "the Trusting", Abū Bakr, made an increased bet on the orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The victory did go to the Byzantines over the Persians and it occurred on the day the battle of Badr was fought. Or it may have been the day of the Ḥudaybiyya truce. God knows best.

It is also related through al-Walīd b. Muslim, who said, "Usayd al-Kilābī related to us that he heard al-'Alā' b. al-Zubayr al-Kilābī relate from his father, as follows, 'I saw the victory of the Persians over the Byzantines and then that of the Byzantines over the Persians. I then saw the victory of the Muslims over both Rome and Persia, and their conquering of Syria and Iraq. And all of that over a period of 15 years!'"

Section: Concerning the isrā', *the night journey, of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Mecca to Jerusalem, his ascent from there to heaven, and the signs he saw there.*

Ibn 'Asākir related traditions about the night journey in materials telling of the early beginnings of the mission. Ibn Isḥāq, however, gave them in this location, some ten years after the mission.

Al-Bayhaqī related, through Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from al-Zuhrī whom he quoted as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was taken on the night journey one year prior to his departure to Medina."

He said, "And Ibn Lahī'a related it thus, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa."

Also, Al-Ḥākim related, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Asbāṭ b. Naṣr, from Ismā'īl al-Suddī, who said, "The five daily prayers were enjoined upon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Jerusalem the night of his journey there, 16 months prior to his emigration."

According to al-Suddī's statement, then, the night journey occurred in the month of Dhū al-Qa'da, whereas the reports of al-Zuhrī and 'Urwa place it in Rabī' al-Awwal.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba stated, "'Uthmān related to us, from Sa'īd b. Mīnā', that Jābir and Ibn 'Abbās said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born in the year of the elephant, Monday the 12th of Rabī' al-Awwal, and on that same day and month he was appointed Prophet, was taken up to heaven, emigrated, and died.'"

The chain of transmission of the aforementioned *ḥadīth* is flawed. The *ḥāfiẓ* 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Surūr al-Maqdisī, however, included it in his biography, and he also quoted a tradition whose chain of authorities is unsound. We made mention of it in the material relating to the virtues of the month of Rajab. This tradition states that the night journey took place on the night of the 27th of Rajab. But God knows best.

There are some who claim that the night journey took place on the first Friday night of Rajab, this having been the "night of the *al-raghāʾib*", the night of the great gifts, wherein the common system of prayer was first established. But there is no foundation for that. But God knows best. Some recite the following line concerning this:

> "It was a Friday night when the Prophet was made to ascend, the night of Friday, the first of Rajab."

This poetry is somewhat weak, but we have quoted it merely as testimonial for those who maintain this.

We gave reference to the traditions relating to this in detail regarding God's words, "Glory be to Him who carried His worshipper on a journey by night from the *masjid al-ḥarām*, the 'sacrosanct mosque', to the *masjid al-aqṣā*, the 'further mosque', whose precincts We had blessed that We may show him Our signs. He it is who hears all, sees all" (*sūrat al-Isrāʾ*; XVII, v.1).

Let us then record herewith the lines of authority and the sources and the support for or criticism of these. This will be convincing and sufficient in itself. And all praise and credit goes to God.

We will give here the gist of the words of Ibn Isḥāq, God bless him. Having recounted the earlier sections, he went on, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was taken by night from the *masjid al-ḥarām* to the *masjid al-aqṣā*, the latter being the holy temple of Aelia. By then Islam had spread in Mecca into Quraysh and all the Arab tribes."

He continued, "Concerning the night journey of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I learned what follows from a *ḥadīth* that came down from Ibn Musʿūd, Abū Saʿīd, ʿĀʾisha, Muʾāwiya, Umm Hāniʾ, daughter of Abū Ṭālib, God bless them all, and al-Ḥasan b. Abū al-Ḥasan, Ibn Hishām al-Zuhrī, Qatāda and other scholars. Individually they gave information that combines in this account.

"The night journey of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was filled with trials and tribulations and (instances) of God's power and authority; it provides a lesson for men of intelligence, a guidance, a mercy and an affirmation for those with faith and belief. It was certainly an act of God.

"He carried him on this journey as and how He wished, to show him those of His signs He so desired. He thus surveyed some of the might of God, His will, power and authority by which He accomplishes His purposes.

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd would say, as I have been informed, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was brought *al-Burāq*, that being the name of a mount on which previous prophets were carried; its stride was such that it could place its hooves as far as it could see. He was borne away on it.

"His companion (Gabriel) then took him off to see the signs between heaven and earth. Eventually he reached Jerusalem, where he found Abraham, Moses and Jesus, in a company of prophets assembled for him. He led them in prayer.

"Then he was brought three vessels, containing milk, wine and water. He said that he drank the vessel of milk and was told by Gabriel, 'You have been given guidance, and so has your nation.'"

Ibn Isḥāq related through al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but with an incomplete line of transmission, that Gabriel woke him up then conducted him to the door of the *masjid al-ḥarām*, where he set him upon *al-Burāq*, a white mount that was a cross between a mule and a donkey; on its flanks it had wings with which it set its feet in motion. It could place its hooves as far ahead as it could see. The account quotes the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as saying, "He placed me upon it and then took me away, he not out-distancing me, nor I him."

I may add that in the *ḥadīth*, which came down from Qatāda, as related by Ibn Isḥāq, it says that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to mount *al-Burāq*, it became restive and so Gabriel placed his hand upon its neck where the mane grows and said, "Now Burāq, aren't you ashamed to do that? I swear, no servant of God more noble than Muḥammad has ever ridden you." He commented, "And it was so ashamed it burst out in sweat, then quietened down until I mounted it."

Al-Ḥasan stated, in his *ḥadīth*, "And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed, Gabriel accompanying him, until they reached Jerusalem. There he found Abraham, Moses and Jesus among a group of prophets. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acted as their Imām and led them in prayer."

He then explained his choice of the vessel of milk over that of the wine, and how Gabriel told him, "You have been given guidance, as has your nation, and you have been forbidden wine."

He went on, "And then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed for Mecca and set about telling Quraysh of all that."

He recounted that most of the people disbelieved him and that one group reneged after having previously accepted Islam.

Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", responded by expressing his belief and said, "I give him credence in communication from heaven, early in the day or in the evening, so how should I not believe him regarding Jerusalem?"

(In his account al-Ḥasan) recounts that Abū Bakr asked him to describe Jerusalem, and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did so.

And, he states, "From that day on Abū Bakr was known as *al-Ṣiddīq*, 'the Trusting'."

Al-Ḥasan said, "And on that subject God revealed, 'And we rendered the visions we showed you nothing but a way of testing people'" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*; XVII, v.60).

Ibn Isḥāq related, quoting Umm Hāni' as his source, that she said, "It was from nowhere but my home that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his night journey. He slept that night after having made the final evening prayer. When it

was just before dawn he woke us up and when it was morning we prayed together and he said, 'O Umm Hānī', last evening I prayed with you in this valley, then I went to Jerusalem and prayed there. And now here I am having said the morning prayer with you, as you see.'

"He then arose to leave, but I took hold of the hem of his cloak and said, 'O Messenger of God, do not make that statement to people; they will surely disbelieve you and do you harm.'

"But he replied, 'By God, I will certainly tell it to them!' And he did tell them and they did disbelieve."

Ibn Isḥāq went on (and the Prophet (ṢAAS) told the sceptical, tr.) "And the proof of this is that I passed by the caravan of such-and-such a tribe in such-and-such a valley, and the sound of the animal (*al-Burāq*) startled them and so one of their camels ran away. I led them to it, being then on my way to al-Shām. Then I continued on until I reached Ḍajanān, where I passed a caravan of such-and-such a tribe. I found the people asleep. They had a vessel with water in it that they had covered over with something. I took off the cover and drank the water and replaced its cover. And the proof of this is that their caravan is now making its way down from the pass at al-Tanʿīm al-Bayḍā. Leading it is an ash-coloured camel on which are two sacks, one of which is black, the other black and white.

"On hearing this, people hurried to the pass. The first camel, which was as he had described to them, was insufficient proof for them, so they asked about the vessel and the camel, and those in the caravan did tell them just as the Prophet (ṢAAS) had recounted."

Yūnus b. Bukayr related, from Asbāṭ, from Ismāʿīl al-Suddī, that the sun had almost set before that caravan arrived and so he prayed to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, who slowed it down until they came, just as he had described it to them.

He stated, "And the sun was never slowed for anyone except on that day for him, and also for Yūshaʿ (Joshua) b. Nūn."

Al-Bayhaqī related this account.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A source I do not doubt quoted Abū Saʿīd as having said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "When I had finished in Jerusalem, the *miʿrāj*, the ladder, was brought to me. Never before did I see anything finer; it is that to which your dying turn their eyes at the point of death.

"'"My companion (Gabriel) led me up it until I reached one of the gates of heaven known as the *bāb al-ḥāfiẓa*, 'the guards' gate'. It is overseen by an attendant who is an angel, and his name is Ismāʿīl. He commands 12,000 angels, each of whom controls 12,000 more."'

"He (Abū Saʿīd) stated, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) whenever he tells this *ḥadīth* recites, "And no one but He knows the armies of your Lord'" (*sūrat al-Muddaththir*; LXXIV, v.34).

He then recounted the remainder of the *ḥadīth* and it is very lengthy. We gave it in full with all its lines of transmission in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), and discussed it there. It is one of the strangest of *ḥadīths*, and there is some weakness in its line of transmission.

The same is true of the text of the *ḥadīth* of Umm Hānīʾ. What is well established in the *ṣaḥīḥayn* is the account of Shurayk b. Abū Nimr, from Anas, that the "night journey" took place from the mosque (the *kaʿba*), at the *ḥijr*, the sacred enclosure.

There are also several peculiarities in that text which we have discussed there. One such is his statement, "And this occurred before he received revelation." The fact is that their (the angels) coming on the first occasion was before he received revelation, but on that night nothing occurred. Then, on another night, the angels did come to him. So, he was not referring to the latter occasion when he said, "And that was before revelation came to him." In fact, he (Gabriel) came to him after he had received revelation.

The "night journey" certainly occurred after revelation (began), either shortly thereafter, as one group maintains, or much later, perhaps by as much as ten years, as others claim. And the latter is more likely.

The cleansing of his chest (by the angel) before the night journey was the second, or some say the third cleansing, and it was a prerequisite for the assembly on high and the Divine Presence.

He then rode upon *al-Burāq*, this being in veneration and honour of him. When he came to Jerusalem, he (Gabriel) inducted him into that circle by which the prophets were joined. He then entered Jerusalem and prayed at its prayer niche in salutation to that mosque.

Ḥudhayfa, God be pleased with him, denied his entry into Jerusalem, his tying up his mount, and his praying there. And this is strange. And a text that is affirmative is preferable to one that is negative.

There is also disagreement over his meeting the prophets and leading them in prayer, as to whether it was prior to his ascent to heaven, as the preceding account shows, or after his descent from there, as some accounts indicated. We will state that this latter view is to be preferred. But God knows best.

It is also said that his prayer with the prophets took place in heaven. Also there is disagreement over whether his making a choice between the vessels of milk, wine and water occurred in Jerusalem, as given above, or in heaven, as established in authentic traditions.

What is implied is that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) finished in Jerusalem the *miʿrāj*, the ladder, was set up for him; this was the ladder he used to ascend to heaven. The ascent was not upon *al-Burāq*, as some people imagine. *Al-Burāq* was tethered at the door of the mosque in Jerusalem to take him back to Mecca.

He rose one heaven to another on the ladder until he passed over the seventh heaven. Whenever he reached a heaven its favoured attendants and the most important angels and prophets therein would meet him.

He made reference to major persons from among the *mursalīn*, the messengers of God, like Adam in the nearest heaven, John and Jesus in the second, Idrīs in the fourth, Moses in the sixth, and Abraham in the seventh, leaning his back against the *bayt al-maʿmur*, the "eternal abode", that is entered each day by 70,000 angels who worship therein in prayer and circumambulation, and they do not return there again until Judgement Day.

He then ascended above their ranks and reached a level where the squeaking of pens could be heard.[7] There the *sidrat al-muntahā*, the "lote tree at the boundary",[8] stood high before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); its leaves were like the ears of an elephant, its fruit like summits of Mt. Hidjr, and covered all about by great deeds and many splendid colours, with angels perching upon it as numerous as starlings on a tree. And there was a canopy of gold, bathed in the light of our Lord, All-Glorious is He.

There also he saw Gabriel, peace be upon him. He had upon him 600 wings with the space between each two wings as great as that between heaven and earth. It is Gabriel of whom God Almighty spoke thus: "And he certainly saw him in another revelation, at the *sidrat al-muntahā*, at which is the garden of eternity. When the tree was shrouded in its covering, sight did not turn aside, nor did it exceed its bound" (*sūrat al-Najm*; LIII, v.13–17). That is, it (i.e. sight, tr.) did not turn aside to the right or to the left, nor did it look up at that which was out of bounds.

This was both tremendous fortitude (on the part of Muḥammad) and a great show of respect (for God).

This second vision (that he had) of Gabriel, peace be upon him, in the natural form in which God created him, is in accord with the statements transmitted by Ibn Musʿūd, Abū Hurayra, Abū Dharr and ʿĀʾisha, God be pleased with them all.

The first vision (that Muḥammad had of Gabriel) was, in the words of the Almighty, when, "(an) all-powerful (angel) taught him, the one endowed with supreme power, who (appeared) in his natural form while in the highest point on the horizon. He then drew near and came close, until he was two bow lengths away, or closer. Then he made his revelation to His servant" (*sūrat al-Najm*; LIII, v.6–10).

That took place at al-Abṭaḥ.[9] Gabriel stretched out over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the enormity of his being dominating all between earth and sky, until there was only the space of a bow's length or two between them both.

7. A reference to the Islamic belief that angels, working as scribes in the service of God, record the fate and destiny of the universe as dictated to them by Him.

8. A tree believed to be positioned to the right side of God's throne.

9. The name of a place near Mecca.

This is what is authentic in the exegesis, as is affirmed by the words of the eminent Companions mentioned heretofore, God be pleased with them all. As for Shurayk's comment about Anas concerning the tradition relating to the night journey, "and then *al-Jabbār*, the Omnipotent, the Lord of Glory drew close and descended, becoming as close as a bow's length or two," this might be the understanding of the reciter, and so he inserted it into the *ḥadīth*. But God knows best.

Even if this interpretation is correctly preserved, it is no interpretation of the holy verse, but relates to something quite different from that at issue. But God knows best.

It was on that night that God Almighty and Glorious enjoined the daily prayers upon His servant Muḥammad (God's peace and blessings be upon him and upon his nation); these were to number fifty prayers each day and night. Thereafter he repeatedly went between Moses and his Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, until finally the Lord, All Resplendent is He, and to Him is all credit due, decreed that they be five. He stated, "They are five and (yet) they are fifty, credit being ten times the number."

That evening speech came to him directly from the Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He. The Imāms of the orthodox faith are unanimous regarding this. They differ regarding his seeing Him. Some consider that he saw God twice, in his heart. Ibn ʿAbbās and his adherents maintain this. Ibn ʿAbbās generalized (in discussion) about the vision, but others have offered a more narrow interpretation.

Those who spoke in general terms about the vision include Abū Hurayra and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, God be pleased with them.

Some authorities, however, state their conviction that the vision was by means of his eyes.

Ibn Jarīr preferred this and insisted upon it, being followed in this by others of the more recent authorities.

Among those considering that the sight occurred through the naked eyes included Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, as reported by al-Suhaylī and it is the preferred view of Sheikh Abū Zakariyyā' al-Nawawī in his *fatāwa*,[10] his legal decisions.

One faction maintains that the vision never occurred, because of the *ḥadīth* in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, from Abū Dharr. It states, "I said, 'O Messenger of God, did you see your Lord?' He replied, 'A light! How could I have seen it!' In another account the words are, 'I saw a light'."

These scholars say that the sight of the Everlasting could never be through eyes that are ephemeral.

Therefore God Almighty said to Moses, as is reported in certain holy texts, "O Moses, no mortal being can see me until he dies, nor any dry thing until it moves."

10. The plural of *fatwa*, a term used to denote the pronouncements of a *mufti*, one who delivers formal legal opinions.

The dispute over this question perplexed the early scholars just as it does those who succeeded them. God alone knows best.

Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came back down to Jerusalem. And it seems clear that the prophets descended with him to express their respect for him on his return from the glorious Divine Presence, as is the custom for those who visit; visitors do not assemble with others before meeting that person to whom they have been summoned.

That is why when he passed by one of them Gabriel would say, as each approached to greet him, "This is so-and-so; greet him."

If he had met with them before his ascent he would not have needed introduction to them a second time.

Substantiation for this is given in his saying, "And when it was time for the prayer, I acted as their Imām." The only time for that, then, would have been the dawn prayer. He came forward as their Imām on the instruction of Gabriel, relaying what his Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, told him.

Some scholars deduce from this that the most eminent Imām takes precedence over the master of the house, since Jerusalem was their (the other prophets) place of residence.

He then left there, riding on *al-Burāq*, and returned to Mecca. Next morning he was back, in a state of complete security, peace and dignity.

That night he saw such signs and things as to make anyone else who saw them, even in part, either utterly amazed or even insane.

He, however, became merely sombre, quiet that is, and was fearful that if he started to tell his people what he had seen they would have promptly disbelieved him.

And so at first he told them calmly that he had been to Jerusalem that night.

That was when Abū Jahl, God damn him, saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in the sacred mosque sitting in sombre silence and spoke to him, asking, "Well, anything new?" He replied, "Yes." "What is it?" Abū Jahl asked. "I was taken this night to Jerusalem."

"To Jerusalem?"

"Yes."

Abū Jahl asked, "If I were to call your people over to you for you to tell them, would you say to them what you said to me?"

"Yes, I would," he replied.

Abū Jahl wanted to assemble Quraysh to hear that from him, and so too did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also want to gather them to tell them and so give them information.

Abū Jahl then said, "Come, O tribe of Quraysh!" They gathered there from their assemblies. He then said, "Well, tell your people what you told me."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) related to them what he had seen, that he had gone to Jerusalem that night and prayed there.

Amidst clapping and whistling of disbelief and derision at this report, the news spread quickly over Mecca.

People then went to Abū Bakr, God bless him, and told him that Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was saying such-and-such a thing.

He responded, "You are telling lies about him!"

They replied, "No, we swear it, he is saying that."

"Well," said Abū Bakr, "if he said that, he spoke the truth."

He then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was surrounded by the pagans of Mecca, and asked him about that. He told him of it all and Abū Bakr asked him to describe Jerusalem, so that the polytheists would hear him and recognize the veracity of what he had told them. In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection the account has it that it was the polytheists who asked the Messenger of God about that.

He said, "I then began telling them about His signs, and I became somewhat confused. And so God made Jerusalem clear to me until I could see it beyond 'Uqayl's house, and I described it to them."

He (Ibn Isḥāq) went on, "In his description he was correct."

Ibn Isḥāq recounted the information we gave earlier about him telling them of his having passed by their caravan and of having drunk their water.

And so God provided proof for them and illuminated the straight path for them. Some did believe because of their conviction from God, while others disbelieved despite the proof they had.

As God Almighty said, "And we only made the visions we have shown you as a test for the people" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*; XVII, v.60). That is, they were a way of testing and trying them.

Ibn 'Abbās said, "These were visions perceived by the eye that were shown to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

This view, that of the majority of scholars both ancient and more recent, holds that the night journey was both a physical and a spiritual experience for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This is shown in the clear accounts of his making a journey and of his ascending on the ladder, and such-like. God therefore stated, "Glory be to Him who took his servant by night from the 'sacrosanct mosque' to the 'further mosque' whose precincts we have blessed, to show him our signs" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*; XVII, v.1). Such evocation of glory would only occur for truly great and extraordinary signs. And this proves that it was by both body and spirit, and the word "servant" gives expression to both of these together.

Also, if it had been a dream, the Quraysh polytheists would not have promptly expressed their disbelief and outrage. For that would not have been so important a matter. And so it shows that he did tell them that he had been taken on his night journey while awake, not asleep.

And then there is the statement of Shurayk, from Anas: "Then I awoke and found myself inside the *ḥijr*, the sacred enclosure." This is either to be considered an error of Shurayk, or it must be concluded that the movement from the one state to the other is to be noted as "wakefulness".

This will also be suggested in the *ḥadīth* from ʿĀʾisha, God bless her, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to Ṭāʾif but they disbelieved him. (In it) he said, "I returned in a state of depression, and I only came out of it at Qarn al-Thaʿālib."

Also there is the *ḥadīth* of Abū Usayd, when he brought his son to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for the *taḥnīk* ceremony.[11] He placed him in the lap of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was engaged in conversation with the people. So Abū Usayd lifted his son up. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), *istayqaẓa*, he "awoke or became aware", and did not find the boy there. He asked about him, and they said he had been lifted off; and so he named the boy *al-Mundhir*, the rooster or awakener.

This interpretation is preferable to considering it an error. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq related as follows, "A member of Abū Bakr's family related to me that ʿĀʾisha, "mother of the believers", used to say, 'The body of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was never found to be missing, but God did journey away with his spirit.'"

He also said, "Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba related to me as follows, 'When he was asked about the night journeys of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Muʿāwiya would say, "These were true visions from God."'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "That is not refuted by the statement of both these authorities, according to the words of al-Hasan, to the effect that, 'The following verse was revealed on that subject: "and We only made the signs We have shown you as a test for the people."'"

Similarly Abraham, peace be upon him, said, "O my son, I see in my sleep that I am sacrificing you" (*sūrat al-Ṣāffāt*; XXXVII, v.102). And in the *ḥadīth* literature there is the statement: "My eyes are asleep while my heart is awake."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "God knows best which of that it was. He did go there and did see there what he saw of God Almighty, whether he was asleep or awake. All of that is, however, factual and true."

My own comment is that Ibn Isḥāq stopped at that point, having combined both possibilities in one whole. But one thing beyond doubt or disagreement is that he was certainly awake, for all the reasons given above.

It is not necessary to interpret the words of ʿĀʾisha, God bless her, that it was not his body, but his spirit that made the journey, as implying that he was asleep, as Ibn Isḥāq understood it. The journey might well have in fact occurred for his soul while he was awake and not asleep; he could have ridden *al-Burāq*, gone to Jerusalem, ascended into heaven and seen all he did while awake and not asleep.

11. This is an ancient Islamic custom of blessing a new-born by chewing dates and rubbing therewith the palate of the baby.

This may well be the purpose of 'Ā'isha, "mother of the believers", God bless her, as well as of those who agreed with her, and not what Ibn Isḥāq understood, which is that thereby they all implied that he was asleep. But God knows best.

I observe that we do not deny the occurrence of sleep visions before the experience of the night journey, as happened thereafter. For whenever he had visions they came (clearly) like the breaking of dawn. The *ḥadīth* dealing with the beginnings of revelation contained material to this effect. In such cases, what he saw when awake happen to him he had previously seen when asleep. That prior vision had been for the purpose of laying the foundation, making an introductory step, and giving him a sense of security and ease. But God knows best.

There is also disagreement among scholars over whether the night journey and the ascent took place on one night or whether each occurred on a different night. And some claim that the night journey came while he was awake and the ascent while he slept.

Al-Muhallab b. Abū Ṣufra has told, in his exegesis of al-Bukhārī's *ḥadīth* compendium, about some scholars maintaining that the night journey occurred twice, once with his spirit while he slept and once with both his body and his spirit when he was awake.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī related this, from his teacher, the jurist Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "This view combines the accounts. In the *ḥadīth* of Shurayk, from Anas, are the words, 'And that related to what his heart saw while his eyes slept. His heart was not asleep.' At the end of his account the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Then I awoke and found myself in the *ḥijr*.'"

This was sleep. Something else would suggest wakefulness.

There are some who also claim that there were several journeys while he was awake. One scholar stated, "There were four night journeys." Some claim that some took place in Medina.

Sheikh Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Shāma, God bless him, tried to reconcile the differing interpretations of the night journey by grouping them variously. He concluded that there were three night journeys. One was from Mecca specifically to Jerusalem, mounted on *al-Burāq*. One again was from Mecca to heaven also upon *al-Burāq*, according to the *ḥadīth* of Ḥudhayfa, and one was from Mecca to Jerusalem and thereafter to heaven.

We comment that if it is merely the differences in the accounts that leads him to these three views, then the wording relating thereto differs even more than these three.

Anyone wishing to understand these matters should peruse the research materials we compiled in our book of exegesis relating to the words of the Almighty, "Glory be to Him who took his servant by night" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*; XVII, v.1).

Even if one concluded that such division was restricted to three possibilities relating to Jerusalem and to heaven, such mental computations have no impact on actual events. But God knows best.

It is strange that Imām Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Bukhārī, God be pleased with him, gave the account of the night journey after recounting the death of Abū Ṭālib. He was thus in accord with Ibn Isḥāq in referring to the ascent to heaven in the later materials, but differed with him in reporting it after the death of Abū Ṭālib.

Ibn Isḥāq positioned his account of the death of Abū Bakr after the description of the night journey. But God alone knows how it really was.

This means that al-Bukhārī made a distinction between the night journey and the ascent. Each of these he therefore dealt with in a separate section.

His text reads, *Section on the night journey and the statement of God Almighty, 'Glory be to Him who took His servant by night.'*

"It was related to us by Yaḥyā b. Bukayr quoting al-Layth, from ʿUqayl, from Ibn Shihāb who said that Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to him as follows, 'I heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "When Quraysh expressed their disbelief in me I was in the *ḥijr*. And God made clear Jerusalem to me and so I set about telling them its distinctive features while I viewed it."'"

Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from Abū Salama from Jābir.

Muslim, al-Nasāʾī and al-Tirmidhī also related it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) in similar terms.

Al-Bukhārī's text goes on, *Section on the Ascent*:

"It was related to us by Hudba b. Khālid, from Hammām and Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, from Mālik b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) related to them as follows about the night he was taken on a journey, 'While I was lying down there in the *ḥatīm*'[12] – or he may well have said the *ḥijr* – 'an apparition came to me and began cutting.' I (Mālik b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, tr.) then heard him say, "And he split open from this to this." I asked al-Jārūd who was by my side, "What does he mean by that?" And he replied, "From the hollow of his neck down to his pubic hair." And I heard him say, from "his breastbone down to his pubic hair."'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) went on, 'Then he withdrew my heart and a basin of gold filled with faith was brought to me. He then washed my heart and it was stuffed and replaced. After that I was brought a white mount that was smaller than a mule but larger than a donkey.'

"Al-Jārūd asked, 'Was that *al-Burāq*, Abū Ḥamza?' Anas responded, 'Yes'.

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) continued, 'It could span with its stride as far as it could see. I was mounted upon it and Gabriel led me away until he reached the lowest heaven. He asked for me to go in and a reply came, "Who is this?" "Gabriel," he replied. "And who is with you?" He replied, "Muḥammad". "And

12. The semi-circular walled area next to the *kaʿba*.

has he been given a mission?" "Yes," Gabriel answered. "Then welcome to him! His arrival is a pleasure!"

"'And so he opened up. When I went in I found Adam therein. Gabriel said, "This is your father Adam; greet him!" I did so and he saluted me in return, saying, "Welcome to my pure son, to the pure Prophet!"

"'I was then taken up to the second heaven and when he asked to go inside, he was asked who it was. The same responses and questions as before followed and when I went in there were John and Jesus, who were cousins on the maternal side. Gabriel again introduced me and we exchanged the same greeting as with Adam.

"'Then I was taken up to the third heaven where Gabriel again asked entry and was met with the same questions and responses. When I went in, there was Joseph, whom I greeted, and I received welcome from him as before.

"'Taken to the fourth heaven, there were the same questions and responses and when I went in I found Idrīs there, exchanged greetings, and he welcomed me as before.

"'Brought up to the fifth heaven, the same questions and responses were made, and when I entered there was Aaron, with whom I exchanged greetings and from whom I received welcome.

"'Then at the sixth heaven the same questions and responses were made and when I entered, there was Moses, with whom I exchanged greetings and who made me welcome.

"'And when I went further on, he wept. When he was asked why, Moses replied, "I weep because a young man who has received his mission after me will have a greater number of his nation enter paradise than will of mine."

"'I was then taken to the seventh heaven where the same questions and responses were made. When I went in there was Abraham, with whom I exchanged greetings and who welcomed me.

"'Then I was raised up to the *sidrat al-muntahā*; there were four rivers, two open to see, two hidden. I asked Gabriel, "What is this, Gabriel?" He replied, "The two hidden rivers are those of paradise, while the two visible ones are the Nile and the Euphrates."

"'Then the *bayt al-maʿmur* was raised for me to see, wherein each day 70,000 angels enter. I was then brought a vessel of wine, another of milk, and a third of honey. I took the milk. Gabriel said, "That is *al-fiṭra*[13] that you and your nation follow."

"'Prayer was then enjoined on me, 50 prayers each day. Then I went back and when I passed by Moses, he asked, "What orders were you given?"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "I was ordered to pray 50 times each day."

"'Moses commented, "Your nation can't manage 50 prayers a day. I swear, I put people to the test before your time and I made some very severe requirements

13. The word has connotations of "God's way of creating", and therefore His plan or purpose. See the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

of the people of Israel. Return to your Lord and ask him for some relief for your nation."

"'And so I did return and ten prayers were lifted from me.

"'I went back to Moses, he said as he had before, I returned and ten more were removed.

"'Again back to Moses, I returned once more and ten more were removed.

"'Once more to Moses, he said as before, and I returned and was ordered to make ten prayers each day.

"'Moses then spoke as before, and again I returned and was ordered to make five prayers each day.

"'When I went back to Moses, he asked, "What were your orders?" I replied, "To make five prayers each day."

"'He commented, "Your people can't manage five prayers each day. I tried my people before your time and made severe requirements of the people of Israel. Return again and ask your Lord for some alleviation for your nation."

"'I replied, "I have already made such requests of my Lord as to make me ashamed; therefore I'd much rather accept and be satisfied." As I passed on, a voice called out to me, "I have completed my decree. I have alleviated the burden upon my servants."'"

Thus al-Bukhārī related this *ḥadīth* here. He also recounted it in other places of his compendium and so did Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī through various chains from Qatāda, from Anas, from Mālik b. Ṣa'ṣa'a.

We gave it by the account from Anas b. Mālik from 'Ubay b. Ka'b, as well as by the account of Anas from Abū Dharr. And we gave it by several paths from Anas, from the Prophet (ṢAAS).

We related all that in detail with its various chains of transmission and phraseology in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*).

In this text there is no mention of Jerusalem. It is as though some of the sources omit some information because of the broad knowledge of it. Or they forgot it, or mention only what are in their views the most important matters. Sometimes they elaborate and give the entire account in detail, while at others they omit selectively to stress what they consider most useful. Those who make each account of the *isrā'* a separate experience, as we have indicated of some above, have strayed too far from the truth. This is so because each of these accounts includes reference to the greeting made to the prophets, and in each the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is introduced to them. Also in each one prayer is made obligatory for him. How is it possible to claim that all these would have occurred several times? This is extremely unlikely and implausible. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī then stated, "Al-Ḥumaydī related to us, that Sufyān narrated to him from 'Amr, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who commented as follows about the words of God Almighty, 'And we only made the signs we have shown

you as a test for the people.' He (Ibn 'Abbās,) said, 'These were visions seen by the eye, shown to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the night he was taken to Jerusalem.' And of the *shajarat al-mal'ūna*, the 'accursed tree', mentioned in the Qur'ān he said, 'It is the *al-zaqqūm* tree.'"[14]

Division

On the morning following the night of his journey, Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at about noon. He then explained to him the manner of prayer and its times.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his followers to assemble and Gabriel led him in prayer all that day until the next, with the Prophet (ṢAAS) acting as the Imām of the Muslims, and following the example of Gabriel. This is told in the *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Abbās and Jābir, "Gabriel led me in prayer twice at the house (of God)."[15]

He thus explained to him the two times, the beginning and the end, that is, of the five daily prayers. The expanse of time between them is called the *al-waqt al-muwassa'* the 'extended period', but he made no mention of such an extension of time for the prayer at sunset.

This is affirmed in the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mūsā, Burayda and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr, all of which are in the compendium of Muslim. Discussion of this occurs in our book *al-Aḥkām* (*The Regulations*). And to God is all praise.

Also affirmed in the *ḥadīth* of the compendium of al-Bukhārī is the statement brought down from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhrī, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "When prayer was first prescribed it was just two *rak'āt*,[16] prostrations; this was subsequently established only for the prayer on travel, with more *rak'āt* being added for prayer when in residence."

Al-Awzā'ī related it thus, from al-Zuhrī, and al-Sha'bī gave it from Masrūq back to 'Ā'isha.

This is problematic in view of the fact that 'Ā'isha used to perform the prayer in its entirety while travelling, as also did 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. We discussed this matter with regard to God's words, "And if you journey in the world there is no blame on you if you shorten the prayer if you fear incitement from those who disbelieve" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.101).

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī held the view that prayer while resident when first prescribed was made to be four *rak'āt*. He similarly referred to it, through a *ḥadīth* with an incomplete chain of authorities, regarding the prayer made by the Prophet (ṢAAS) on the morning after the night journey,

[14] A tree said to produce bitter, poisonous fruit.

[15] A reference to the *ka'ba* in Mecca.

[16] In Islam the daily prayers are made up of liturgies and physical movements that are divided into cycles each of which is called a *rak'a* (plural *rak'āt*).

namely to the effect that there should be four *rakʿāt* at midday, four in the late afternoon, three at sunset, with the prayers of the first two being recited aloud, four at night with just two being recited aloud, and two in the morning, both recited aloud."

My own view is that ʿĀʾisha may have meant that before the night journey the prayer consisted of two *rakʿāt*, recited twice, separately, and then, when the five were made compulsory they were kept the same while in residence, and that permission was given that two *rakʿāt* be prayed while travelling, as had been the case previously. Based on this explanation, there would be no controversy at all. But God knows best.

Section: Concerning the splitting of the moon in the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

God did provide the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with a sign to prove the veracity of the guidance and religion of truth he brought, and that was at the time of his pointing (to the moon).

God Almighty spoke the following in His noble book, "The hour has drawn near and the moon has split asunder. And if they see a sign they turn away, saying, 'Just more trickery!' They call it deceit and follow their fancies, while all things are pre-determined" (*sūrat al-Qamar*; LIV, v.1–3).

Muslims are agreed that this did occur in the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); traditions with complete lines of transmission, through numerous paths, provide decisive proof for those who examine it and comprehend it.

We will provide some of those easily available traditions, if God wills it and in Him is all faith and reliance. We detailed this in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), and there gave the various chains of authorities and differences in phraseology verbatim. Here we will refer to some aspects of these and will attribute them to well-known texts, with the power and strength from God.

That is related from Anas b. Mālik, Jubayr b. Muṭʿim, Ḥudhayfa, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, God be pleased with them all.

Regarding the *ḥadīth* of Anas, Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us that Maʿmar related to him, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'The people of Mecca asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) for a sign. And so the moon over Mecca was split twice. And he spoke the words, "The hour has drawn near and the moon has split asunder"'" (*sūrat al-Qamar*; LIV, v.1).

And Muslim related this, from Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ from ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

This is one of the texts known as the *mursalāt al-ṣaḥāba*.[17] And it is plain that he received it from a large mass of the Companions, or from the Prophet (ṢAAS), or from everyone.

17. A statement of a Companion of the Prophet, and not of the Prophet himself.

Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim related this *ḥadīth* on a path through Shaybān. In his line of transmission al-Bukhārī added Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba. Muslim added Shuʿba to his. All three (sic) of them drew from Qatāda, from Anas. The tradition states that the people of Mecca asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to show them a sign. He showed them the moon in two parts, so that they could see Mt. Ḥirā' between them both.

This is the phraseology of al-Bukhārī.

Regarding the traditions quoted by Jubayr b. Muṭʿim, the Imām Aḥmad stated, "Muḥammad b. Kathīr related to us, that Sulaymān b. Kathīr related to him, from Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim, from his father, who said, 'The moon split in the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and became two parts; one was over this mountain, the other over that mountain. People said, "Muḥammad has performed a trick on us." Then they said, "He may have tricked us, but he can't trick everyone."'"

Aḥmad alone gives this *ḥadīth*.

Ibn Jarīr reported it similarly from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl and others, from an account of Ḥuṣayn.

Al-Bayhaqī related it through Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān and Hushaym, both of them from Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Jubayr b. Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim, from his father and grandfather. His account adds one further man to the chain of transmission.

As for Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān's tradition, Abū Nuʿaym related in the *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*), on a line through ʿAṭā' b. al-Sā'ib from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, as follows: "Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān made an address to us at al-Madā'in. He gave thanks and praise to God and then said, 'The hour has drawn near and the moon has split asunder. Yes indeed, the time is near. And yes, the moon did split. The world really is close to partition. Today we have the race-track, and the race is tomorrow!'

"The next Friday I went with my father to the mosque. Again he praised God and repeated what he had said, adding, 'And yes, indeed, the winner is he who comes first on Fridays.'

"On our way back, I asked my father what he had meant when he said, 'the race is tomorrow!' He replied, 'For who first reaches paradise.'"

Regarding the tradition of Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Bukhārī stated, "Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to us that Bakr related to him, from Jaʿfar, from ʿIrāk b. Mālik, from ʿUbayd Allāh b.ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The moon did split during the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS).'"

Al-Bukhārī also, along with Muslim, related this from a *ḥadīth* of Bakr, who was Ibn Naṣr, from Jaʿfar. Regarding "... the time is near and the moon has split asunder. And if they see a sign they turn away, saying 'Just more trickery!'" He said, "That time is past. That was before the *hijra*. The moon did split, and people could see both parts of it."

Al-ʿAwfī related it thus, from Ibn ʿAbbās, God bless him, this being one of his *mursal*[18] traditions.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym stated, "Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to us, quoting Bakr b. Suhayl, quoting ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Saʿīd, quoting Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAtāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās – also, it came from Muqātil, from al-Daḥḥāk, from Ibn ʿAbbās – with reference to God's words, 'The hour has drawn near and the moon has been split asunder' as follows, 'The polytheists gathered around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); they included al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil, al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām, al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Yaghūth, al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, Zamʿa b. al-Aswad and al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith, along with many other such men.

"'They said to the Prophet (ṢAAS), "If you are telling the truth, then split the moon for us into two parts, one half over Mt. Abū Qubays, the other over Mt. Quʿayquʿān'.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked them, "If I did so, would you believe?" "Yes, we would," they replied. It was a night of full moon, and so he asked God the Almighty and Glorious to grant him what they requested. That evening the moon did have one half removed and placed over Mt. Abū Qubays, the other being above Mt. Quʿayquʿān, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out, "O Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asād, and al-Arqam b. al-Arqam, be a witness (to this event)."'"

Moreover, Abū Nuʿaym stated, "Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to us, quoting al-Ḥasan b. al-ʿAbbās al-Rāzī, from al-Haytham b. al-ʿUmān, as did Ismāʿīl b. Ziyād, from Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAṭā, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The people of Mecca went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "Is there some sign by which we can know that you are the Messenger of God?"

"'Gabriel then came down and said, "O Muḥammad, tell the people of Mecca that they will rejoice this night when they will see a sign and benefit thereby."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) informed them what Gabriel had said and they all went outside on the night of the splitting, that of the 14th, and the moon split into two halves, one above Mt. al-Ṣafā, the other over Mt. al-Marwa. They looked, turned away and wiped their eyes, then looked once more, saying, "O Muḥammad, this is nothing more than the trickery of a monk!"

"'Then God revealed His words, "The hour has drawn near and the moon has split asunder"'" (*sūrat al-Qamar*; LIV, v.1–3).

Al-Daḥḥāk related from Ibn ʿAbbās as follows, "Rabbis came from the Jews to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, 'Show us a sign so we may believe in you.'

"He asked his Lord, and He showed them the moon split into two parts, one over Mt. al-Ṣafā, the other above Mt. al-Marwa. It remained so between early evening until night, with them looking on, and then it disappeared. They commented, 'This is just magic, a trick.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī said, "Aḥmad b. ʿAmr al-Razzāz related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Qitaʿī, quoting Muḥammad b. Bakr quoting

18. A *mursal ḥadīth* is a statement of a Companion that he or she has not attributed to the Prophet himself.

Ibn Jurayj quoting ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'In the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the moon was eclipsed and people said, "The moon is bewitched!" And so the words were revealed, "The hour has drawn near and the moon has split asunder. And if they see a sign they turn away saying, 'Just more trickery!'"'" (*sūrat al-Qamar*; LIV, v.1–3).

This has a fine chain of authorities; it states that the moon was eclipsed that night; perhaps its splitting occurred on the night of its eclipse and this is why what happened to it was hidden from most of the earth's inhabitants. However, this was in fact witnessed in many parts of the world. It is said that in some parts of India that became a point for dating, and that a building was constructed that night which was dated by the night when the moon split.

Regarding the tradition of Ibn ʿUmar, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "We were informed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, and by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī as follows: 'Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm related it to us, as did al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī, as did Wahb b. Jarīr, from Shuʿba, from al-Aʿmash, from Mujāhid.'"

Muslim said, "It is like the account of Mujāhid from Abū Maʿmar, from Ibn Masʿūd."

Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan* and *ṣaḥīḥ*."[19]

Regarding the tradition quoted by ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, the Imām Aḥmad said, "Sufyān related to us, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from Mujāhid, from Abū Maʿmar, from Ibn Masʿūd, who said, 'The moon split into two parts during the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) so that everyone looked at it. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Bear witness!"'"

(Both of these authorities) drew this from an account of Sufyān, he being Ibn ʿUyayna. And from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm, from Abū Maʿmar, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Samra, from Ibn Masʿūd, who said, "The moon split asunder while we were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Minā. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, 'Bear witness!' And one piece of the moon went off towards the mountain."

This phraseology is from al-Bukhārī.

Al-Bukhārī then said, "Abū al-Ḍaḥḥāk narrated it from Masrūq, from ʿAbd Allāh in Mecca, and Muḥammad b. Muslim followed him, from Ibn Abū Najīh, from Mujāhid, from Abū Maʿmar, from ʿAbd Allāh, God bless him."

Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālisī gave support to the *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from Masrūq, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, who said, "The moon split in the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and Quraysh said, 'This is the trickery of Ibn Abū Kabsha.' They commented, 'See what travellers say to you! Muḥammad can't trick everyone.'

"He said, 'And travellers did arrive, and they said the same.'"

19. These are among the categories that *ḥadīth* scholars us to describe the soundness of a chain of transmission; the words mean "good" and "true".

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh the *ḥāfiẓ* informed us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās, quoting al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī, that Saʿīd b. Sulaymān related to us, that Hushaym related from Mughīra, from Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from Masrūq, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'The moon split asunder in Mecca, into two parts.'

"And the unbelievers of Quraysh told the people of Mecca, 'This is magic. The son of Abū Kabsha has tricked you by it. Look to travellers arriving. If they saw what you say, then he is correct, but if they did not see what you did, then it is magic he has tricked you with.'

"He went on, 'So travellers were questioned, and,' he said, 'they came from all directions. And they reported, "We did see it."'"

Abū Nuʿaym reported this the same way from a *ḥadīth* of Jābir, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from Masrūq, from ʿAbd Allāh.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Muʾammil related to us, that Isrāʾīl related, from Simāk, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ʿAbd Allāh, he being Ibn Masʿūd, who said, 'The moon split in the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); I could see the mountain between the two splits in the moon.'"

Ibn Jarīr related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Asbāṭ from Simāk.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym stated, "Abū Bakr al-Ṭalḥī related to us, quoting Abū Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Wādiʿī, as did Yaḥyā al-Ḥimmānī, as did Yazīd, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Simāk, from Ibrāhīm, from ʿAlqama, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'We were with the Prophet (ṢAAS), at Minā, when the moon split until it was in two parts, one of which was behind the mountain. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, "Bear testimony! Bear testimony!"'"

Abū Nuʿaym stated, "Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to us, quoting Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Qalānisī, as did Ādam b. Abū Iyās, as did al-Layth b. Saʿd, as did Hishām b. Saʿd, from ʿUtba, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn Masʿūd, who said, 'The moon split while we were in Mecca. I saw one of its two pieces over the mountain at Minā while we were at Mecca.'

"'Aḥmad b. Isḥāq related to us, as did Abū Bakr b. Abū ʿĀṣim, Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, and Muʿawiya b. ʿAmr, from Zāʾida, from ʿĀṣim, from Zirr, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'The moon split at Mecca and I saw it in two parts.'"

He then related from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAlī b. Saʿīd b. Masrūq, Mūsā b. ʿUmayr related to us, from Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir, from Zayd b. Wahb, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, who said, "I saw the moon, I swear by God, split in two parts, with Mt. Ḥirāʾ between them both."

Abū Nuʿaym related, through al-Suddī al-Saghīr, from al-Kalbī, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The moon split into two halves, one of which left while the other remained."

Ibn Masʿūd stated, "I saw Mt. Ḥirāʾ between the two halves of the moon. One half left and the people of Mecca were amazed at this, and said, 'This is just some faked-up trick; it will pass.'"

Layth b. Abū Sulaym reported Mujāhid as having said, "The moon split into two pieces in the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said to Abū Bakr, 'Bear testimony, Abū Bakr!'

"And the polytheists said, 'He has bewitched the moon so that it split apart!'"

These various lines are strong in their links and provide decisive proof for those who consider them and the probity of these men. The version told by some storytellers, that the moon fell down to earth and entered one sleeve of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and came out of the other, has no foundation; it is a lie, an invention and untrue.

When the moon split it did not leave the sky. However, when the Prophet (ṢAAS) gestured towards it, it reacted by splitting and became two halves. One of these passed over until it was beyond Ḥirā' and they saw the mountain between that one and the other. This is how Ibn Mas'ūd related that he had witnessed it.

What we find in the account of Anas in the compendium of Aḥmad to the effect that, "The moon split 'twice' in Mecca" is controversial. Obviously he meant "into two parts". But God knows best.

Section: The death of Abū Ṭālib, uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and thereafter that of Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid, and the wife, may God be pleased with her, of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Some say that she preceded him in death, but the reverse is commonly known.

These were both sympathizers, he publicly, she privately. He remained a disbeliever while she was trusting and a believer; may God be pleased with her and please her.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Thereafter Khadīja and Abū Ṭālib both died, in one year.

"After the death of Khadīja troubles fell upon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in quick succession. She had been his trusted adviser in all his troubles and he would seek reassurance from her. The death of his uncle Abū Ṭālib meant he had lost a source of support and protection against his people.

"This occurred three years before his emigration to Medina.

"When Abū Ṭālib died, Quraysh harmed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to an extent they would never have dared during Abū Ṭālib's life; one fool of Quraysh even went so far as to throw dirt on his head.

"Hishām b. 'Urwa related to me, from his father, as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went into his house with the dirt still on his head. One of his daughters went to him, washing him off and weeping, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told her, "Don't weep, child. God is your father's protector," while he also commented, "Quraysh never treated me so badly before Abū Ṭālib died."'"

Ibn Isḥāq previously reported that they might toss something harmful into his cooking pot when it was set up for him. When they did that, he stated, quoting 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh from 'Urwa, he would lift out on a stick whatever they had

put there and take it to his door, saying, "O Banū ʿAbd Manāf, what kind of protection is this?" Then he would throw it out into the street.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When Abū Ṭālib became sick and Quraysh learned of his serious state, they noted how Ḥamza and ʿUmar had accepted Islam and how the prestige of Muḥammad had spread through the Quraysh tribes, so they decided to go to Abū Ṭālib to get him to reconcile his nephew to them. Otherwise, they concluded, he might subvert their authority completely.

"Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maʿbad related to me, from a member of his family, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'When they went to Abū Ṭālib and spoke to him, the Quraysh leaders, including ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, Shayba b. Rabīʿa, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, Umayya b. Khalaf and Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, along with others, said, "O Abū Ṭālib, you know what standing you have with us, and that your serious condition, of which you are aware, greatly concerns us. You also know of the dispute between us and your nephew. Would you now call him and reach a compromise by which he will do us no harm nor we him; let him tolerate our religion and we will his."

"'Abū Ṭālib sent for him and when he came, he told him, "O Nephew, these leaders of your people have gathered to reach a compromise with you and you with them."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "You all just need to say one word, uncle, and through it you can rule the Arabs and have the non-Arabs subject to you."

"'"Oh yes, I swear by your life," answered Abū Ṭālib, "along with ten words more!"

"'He told him, "Say, 'There is no god but God.' And repudiate whatever gods you worship besides Him!"

"'Those present clapped their hands and commented, "O Muḥammad, do you want to make all the gods into one? How strange."

"'Then they said to one another, "This man is not going to give us any part of what we want. We should leave and continue in the religion of our fathers until God decides between us and him." They then dispersed.

"'At that Abū Ṭālib said, "I swear, nephew, I don't think you asked anything excessive."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had high hopes of him now and said to him, "O Uncle, if you were to say it I would intercede for you on Judgement Day."

"'Recognizing the eagerness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Ṭālib replied, "O Nephew, I swear that were it not for fear of the curses there would be on you and your relatives after me, and the fact that Quraysh would think that I had only said it out of fear of death, I would say it. I will not say it only to please you thereby."

"'When death approached Abū Ṭālib, al-ʿAbbās saw that he was moving his lips and so he put his ear close to hear. Then he said, "O Nephew, I swear my brother did say the word you asked of him!"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "I did not hear."

"'And God Almighty revealed about that group of men, "*Ṣād*. By the Qur'ān of fine repute! Those who disbelieve act in pride and arrogance"'" (*sūrat Ṣād*; XXXVIII, v.1).

We have discussed this in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), and to God go all praise and credit.

Various scholars of the Shīʿa and other extremists hold the view that Abū Ṭālib died a Muslim because of what al-ʿAbbās said in this *ḥadīth*, that is, "O Nephew, my brother did speak the word you told him to say: 'There is no god but God.'"

There are many ways to respond to this. One is that there is some question relating to the chain of authorities that includes one link defined as "a member of his family" about whom nothing is known. The doubt here rests on ignorance of both the person and his circumstances. Such a tradition is normally regarded as an *ḥadīth mawqūf*,[20] if it remains unsubstantiated.

Imām Aḥmad, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Jarīr gave much the same chain, through Abū Usāma from al-Aʿmash (who said), "'Abbād related to us, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr ..." He gave the account without, however, mentioning the words of al-ʿAbbās.

Al-Thawrī also related it, from al-Aʿmash, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAmmāra al-Kūfī, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās. He gave it without the addition of the words of al-ʿAbbās.

Al-Tirmidhī related it and stated it to be a good tradition, as did al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Jarīr.

The wording of the tradition on the line given by al-Bayhaqī through al-Thawrī, from al-Aʿmash, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAmāra, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, quotes Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, "Abū Ṭālib fell sick and men of Quraysh and the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived at his home and there was a seat for one person at the head of Abū Ṭālib's bed. Abū Jahl arose to prevent him sitting there, all the while protesting to Abū Ṭālib about Muḥammad. He asked, 'Nephew, what is it you want from your people?'

"He replied, 'Uncle, all I want from them is a statement through which the Arabs will submit to them and which will bring them tribute from the non-Arabs. Just one statement.'

"'And what is that?'

"'There is no god but God,' he replied.

"They commented, 'What, make all the gods into one? That's ridiculous!'

"He went on, 'And God revealed about them, "*Ṣād*. By the Qur'ān of fine repute! ..." and so on to the words, "... nothing but a forgery!"'" (*sūrat Ṣād*; XXXVIII, v.7).

Moreover Ibn Isḥāq's account is contradicted by one more authoritative, namely that of al-Bukhārī, who said, "Maḥmūd related to us, that ʿAbd al-Razzāq

20. The term implies that the *ḥadīth* has an unknown person in its chain of transmission; it is therefore regarded as unsound.

related to them that Maʾmar informed them, from al-Zuhrī, from Ibn al-Musayyab, from his father, God bless him, that Abū Ṭālib was close to death when the Prophet (ṢAAS), along with Abū Jahl, went in to see him. He (the Prophet) said, 'Uncle, say, "There is no god but God!" One statement; (and) I will plead with God thereby on your behalf.'

"Abū Jahl and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Umayya then said, 'O Abū Ṭālib, are you leaving the faith of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib?' And they both continued talking to him until he spoke his last words to them, namely, '... in the faith of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'I will seek forgiveness for you for as long as I am not restrained from doing so.'

"And so there was revealed, 'It is not appropriate for the Prophet and for those who believe to seek forgiveness for the polytheists, even though near relatives, after it has become plain to them that they would inhabit hell' (*sūrat al-Tawba* (or *al-Barāʾa*); IX, v.113). And there was also revealed, 'You cannot give guidance to those you love'" (*sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*; XXVIII, v.56).

Muslim related this account from Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm and ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿAbd al-Razāq.

They also drew it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from his father in similar words. In it he states, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued to suggest this to him while the other two repeated their words until he spoke his final words, '... in the faith of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.' And he refused to utter the words 'There is no god but God.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'I will seek forgiveness for you.' And so God sent down, thereafter that is, the words, 'It is not up to the Prophet and those who believe to seek forgiveness for the polytheists, even though near relatives.'"

Concerning Abū Ṭālib, it was revealed, "You cannot give guidance to those you love."

Imām Aḥmad, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Kaysān, from Abū Ḥāzim, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "When death was near for Abū Ṭālib, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to him and said, 'Uncle, say "There is no god but God" and I will testify for you about it on Judgement Day.'

"He replied, 'If it were not for Quraysh insulting me and saying that it was only fear of death that made me say it, I would do so, and please you. I would not, however, say it only to please you.'[21]

"And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed, 'You cannot give guidance to those you love.'"

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, Ibn ʿUmar, Mujāhid, al-Shaʿbī, and Qatāda all stated that the above verse was revealed about Abū Ṭālib when the Messenger of God

21. The passage could also be translated, "Were it not for Quraysh insulting me by saying that it was only fear of death that induced me to say so, or that I did so in order to please you, I would have uttered this statement; but only to please you."

(ṢAAS) suggested to him that he say, "There is no god but God" and he refused to do so. Instead, he said that he subscribed to the faith of the elders. The last thing he said was that, "He is following the religion of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib."

All this is affirmed by al-Bukhārī's narration from Musaddad, who related from Yaḥyā, from Sufyān, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith who said, "Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib related to us that he said, 'I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "What benefit were you to your uncle? He used to protect and defend you."

"'He replied, "He is in a shallow stream of hell-fire; if it were not for me, he would be in its lowest depths."'"

Muslim related this same account in his compendium by various paths, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr.

Both these scholars narrated it in both their works from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, as follows, "Ibn al-Hādd related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Khabbāb, from Abū Saʿīd, that he heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) say when someone mentioned his uncle, 'Perhaps my intercession may help him on Judgement Day, and he will be placed in a shallow stream of hell-fire that will reach up to his ankles and cause his brain to boil.'"

This is the phraseology of al-Bukhārī. In one account the words used are, "... cause *umm dimāghihi*", the centre of his brain, instead of "*dimāghuhū*", his brain, to boil.

Muslim related, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from ʿAffān, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from Abū ʿUthmān, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Abū Ṭālib receives more lenient punishment than any other inhabitant of hell; he wears two shoes of fire that cause his brain to boil."

In the *Maghāzī*, the history of the conquests, by Yūnus b. Bukayr, the statement given is "... and from them (his shoes) his brain will boil so that it streams down over his feet." Al-Suhaylī makes mention of this.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated in his compendium, "'Amr – he being the son of Ismāʿīl b. Mujālid – related to us, saying that his father related to them, from Mujālid, from al-Shaʿbī, from Jābir, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked, "Have you been of benefit to Abū Talib?"

"'He replied, "I drew him forth from hell-fire into a shallow stream of it."'"

Al-Bazzār alone gives this tradition.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "However, the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not accept the testimony of al-ʿAbbās that his brother (Abū Ṭālib) had made the said statement and replied, 'I did not hear it because al-ʿAbbās was at that time an unbeliever, from whom a testimony was unacceptable.'"

My comment is that this account thereof is in itself not to be considered authentic because of the weakness of its chain of transmission, as stated earlier.

Evidence for that is provided by the fact that he (al-ʿAbbās) asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) thereafter about Abū Ṭālib and he told him what is stated above.

If, however, we accepted the argument for the authenticity of the aforementioned statement of Abū Ṭālib, we would, none the less, aver that he only said what he did upon seeing the angel after the death-rattle, when expression of faith cannot be of use to a soul.

But God knows best.

Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālisī stated, "Shuʿba related to us, that Abū Isḥāq said, 'I heard Nājiyya b. Kaʿb say, "I heard ʿAlī say, 'When my father died, I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him, "Your uncle has died." He replied, "Go and bury him." I said, "He died a polytheist." So he replied, "Go and bury him and do not cause (a scene), then return to me."

"'"'"I did so, returned to him and he told me to wash.'"'"

Al-Nasāʾī related this from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Ghundar, from Shuʿba.

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān, from Abū Isḥāq, from Nājiyya, from ʿAlī who said, "When Abū Ṭālib died, I said, 'O Messenger of God, that misguided old man your uncle has died. Who will bury him?'

"He replied, 'Go and bury your father. Do nothing to cause (a scene), then return to me.'

"When I returned to him he told me to wash, and I did so. He then said some prayers for me that gave me more pleasure than would have anything else on earth."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī said, "Abū Saʿd al-Mālīnī informed us, Abū Aḥmad b. ʿAdī related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. Ḥumayd, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Razma, quoting al-Faḍl, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) returned after attending the funeral for Abū Ṭālib and said, "May your family ties be secure, and you be well rewarded, uncle."'"

He (al-Bayhaqī) went on to say that it was related from the Prophet (ṢAAS), though with an incomplete chain, with the addition "... and he did not stand at his grave."

He (al-Bayhaqī) also said, "This man, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who is mentioned in the context of the chain of authorities for this account, is that same al-Khawārizmī about whom there has been some controversy.

I note that several persons have related traditions from him, including al-Faḍl b. Mūsā al-Sinānī and Muḥammad b. Sallām al-Bīkandī. Nevertheless Ibn ʿAdī said, "He is not well known. And the traditions others have quoted from him are not sound."

We have already given accounts of the support and protection given by Abū Ṭālib to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), how he defended him and his followers. We also quoted from the verses he spoke in their praise and of the love and sympathy for them these verses express, as well as the criticism and blame they contain for those who opposed and ridiculed them. These verses exemplify the

eloquence, skill and fluency of the Hāshim and Muṭṭalibī clans, an ability to use the language that could not be matched, rivalled or excelled by any Arab.

In all of this he knew that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was truthful, innocent and right-guided, but his heart, nevertheless, did not believe.

There is a difference between the heart knowing and believing. We have affirmed this fact in our exegesis of the *Book of Faith* in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

Evidence for this is given in the words of the Almighty, "Those to whom we have brought the Book know it as they do their sons; (however) a group of them conceal the truth, while knowing it" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.146).

Regarding Pharoah's people, the Almighty said, "... and they denied them, though their souls were convinced ..." (*sūrat al-Naml*; XXVII, v.14). And Moses said to the Pharoah, "You know that it is only the Lord of the heavens and the earth who sent clear proofs, and I believe you, Pharoah, to be damned!" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*; XVII, v.102).

Some of the *salafi* or early authorities consider the Almighty's words "... they defend him yet reject him" (*sūrat al-Anʿām*; VI, v.26) to relate to Abū Ṭālib, since he used to defend the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from harm even though he rejected the guidance and true religion he brought.

(This opinion) is related as from Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Qāsim b. Mukhaymira, Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, ʿAṭā' b. Dīnār, Muḥammad b. Kaʿb and others and it is open to question. But God alone knows best.

Preferable, though God knows best, is the other account from Ibn ʿAbbās to the effect that the verse refers to those who prevented people from believing in Muḥammad (ṢAAS). Mujāhid, Qatāda, al-Daḥḥāk and others held this view. It is also the choice of Ibn Jarīr; though God knows best. Its implication is that this verse emphasizes the blame for the polytheists for preventing others from following him while themselves not benefitting from him either.

The Almighty therefore stated, "There are from among them those who listen to you over whose hearts we have placed covers that prevent them understanding, and holes in their ears; even if they see all signs they fail to believe in them. Even when they come to you to argue with you, those who disbelieve say, 'These are just legends of the ancients.' And they forbid others from (believing in it), and themselves keep away from it. It is only themselves they destroy, yet they do not sense this" (*sūrat al-Anʿām*; VI, v.25).

The phrase here: "... and they ..." indicates reference to a group. As for "they" as referred to in the subsequent comment, "... it is only themselves they destroy, yet they do not sense this", this gives evidence of the totality of the blame.

Such could not apply to Abū Ṭālib. On the contrary, he restrained people from harming the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his followers, using all action, speech, moral support and money available to him.

Nevertheless, God did not decree faith for him, in all His mighty wisdom, nor did He furnish him with the clear, irrefutable and decisive proofs whereby (one) is compelled to believe and submit.

And were it not for God's having forbidden us seeking forgiveness for disbelievers, we would certainly seek such forgiveness and mercy for him.

Division

On the death of Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid and reference to some of her qualities and virtues, may God bless and please her and make the gardens of paradise her place of dwelling and repose. And He has indeed done that in a reference made by him who is truthful and believed, in which he announced her being in a home in paradise made of pearl shell where there is neither discord nor distress.

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān said, "Abū Ṣāliḥ related to us, from al-Layth, who said that ʿUqayl related to him from Ibn Shihāb, as follows, 'ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr said, "Khadīja had died before the prayer was made obligatory."'"

This was related also in another path from al-Zuhrī which had him say, "Khadīja died at Mecca before the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for Medina, and before the prayer was made obligatory."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Khadīja and Abū Ṭālib died in the same year."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "I was informed that Khadīja died three days after the death of Abū Ṭālib. It was ʿAbd Allāh b. Mandah who mentioned this in his book *al-Maʿrifa* (*Knowledge*), as did our sheikh Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Wāqidī claimed that Khadīja and Abū Ṭālib both died in the same year they came out of the enclave, that is, three years before the emigration, and also that Khadīja died 35 days before the death of Abū Ṭālib."

My comment is that they mean before the five daily prayers were made obligatory, on the "night journey".

It would have been more appropriate for us to make reference to the deaths of Abū Ṭālib and Khadīja before the account of the "night journey", as al-Bayhaqī and others did. We have postponed it till after the "night journey" for a reason that you will see shortly. Discussion of this will effectively harmonize and order this section, as you will find, if God so wills it.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Qutayba related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān, from ʿUmāra, from Abū Zurʿa, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, "O Messenger of God, this is Khadīja who has brought a vessel of shortening – or food and drink. When she comes to you greet her from her Lord and from me and give her news of a house in paradise made of pearl shell and where there is neither discord nor distress."'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* transmitted from Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Musaddad related to us, from Yaḥyā, from Ismāʿīl, who said, 'I asked ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, "Did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) give glad tidings to Khadīja?" He replied, "Yes, of a house of pearl shell devoid of discord or distress."'"

Al-Bukhārī also related it, as did Muslim, in lines from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "He only announced good news of her having a house made of *qaṣab*, pearl shell, in paradise, because she had won the *qaṣab*, the first prize, (in the race) to faith. There was to be 'no discord or distress' there because she never raised her voice to the Prophet (ṢAAS), never once caused him trouble or was discordant with him, and never harmed him."

Both scholars gave it in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father that 'Ā'isha, God bless her, said, "The only one of the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) of whom I was jealous was Khadīja – who died before he married me – and this was because of how I would hear him mention her.

"And God ordered him to announce to her the tidings of a house of pearl shell for her in paradise; and if he slaughtered a sheep he would present to her friends as much of it as they wanted."

These are the words of al-Bukhārī.

In another version from 'Ā'isha, she said, "I was never so jealous of any woman as I was of Khadīja; this was due to the frequency with which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would mention her. He married me three years after (her death). And his Lord, or Gabriel, ordered him to announce the tidings of her having a house of pearl shell in paradise."

In another of his variant wordings, she said, "I was never so jealous of any of the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) as I was of Khadīja. I did not see her, but he talked often of her. He sometimes slaughtered a sheep then would cut off its limbs for her and send them off to Khadīja's women friends. I would say, 'Why, it's as if Khadīja were the only woman in the world!' and he would reply, 'She was what she certainly was, and I had a son by her.'"

Then al-Bukhārī stated, "Ismā'īl b. Khalīl related to us, 'Alī b. Mushīr informed us, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, that 'Ā'isha said, 'Hāla, daughter of Khuwaylid, Khadīja's sister, asked to come in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he thought of it as Khadīja's asking for entry; he was confused, then said, "O God, it's Hāla!"'"

'Ā'isha went on, "And so I was jealous and commented, 'Why think back on some red-mouthed old woman of Quraysh who died long ago and whom God has replaced for you with someone better!'"

Muslim related this thus, from Suwayd b. Sa'īd, from 'Alī b. Mushīr.

This comment gives clear evidence that 'Ā'isha was better than Khadīja, either in her personal or in her wifely qualities, for he did not contradict her or answer her back, as is obvious from the course of the account of al-Bukhārī, God bless him!

However, Imām Aḥmad said, "Mu'ammil Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from 'Abd al-Malik – he being Ibn 'Umayr – from Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, from 'Ā'isha, who said, 'One day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) referred to Khadīja and began speaking excessive praise for her. I was overcome

by that jealousy that affects women and I said, "O Messenger of God, God has awarded you with better than a red-mouthed old Quraysh woman!"'"

His account proceeds, "The face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) underwent such a change as I only ever saw when revelation happened or when he was imagining something and not knowing whether the outcome would be mercy or punishment."

He related it similarly on a path from Bahz b. Asad and ʿUthmān b. Muslim, both of these giving as authorities for it Ḥammād b. Salama, back to ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr.

After the words, "red-mouthed" this last account added the phrase "who died ages ago". And then she said, "His face then flushed in such a way as I only ever saw when revelation came or he was imagining something that might mean either mercy or punishment."

Aḥmad alone gave this version. Its chain of authorities is excellent.

Imām Aḥmad also stated, and quoted Ibn Isḥāq as having said, "Mujālid related to us, from al-Shaʿbī, from Masrūq, that ʿĀ'isha said, 'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) mentioned Khadīja he would speak of her with the finest of praise. One day I got jealous and commented, "How often you refer to that old, red-mouthed woman; God has given you better than her in exchange!"

"'He replied, "God has not given me better than her in exchange. She believed in me when the people disbelieved, and trusted me when they distrusted. She shared her wealth with me when others denied me. And God endowed a son to me from her, yet He withheld from me having sons with other women."'"

Aḥmad is also alone in giving this tradition. Its chain of authorities is fair. Muslim frequently gave Mujālid as a source, and he is controversial. But God knows best.

Perhaps this statement, I refer to his saying "God endowed a son to me from her yet He withheld from me having sons with other women" was before the birth of Ibrāhīm, the son of the Prophet (ṢAAS) by Mary, and may have actually been before her arrival. This is clearly so, for all the sons of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as we have seen and will report hereafter, were born to Khadīja, except for Ibrāhīm who was born to Mary, God bless her, the Egyptian Coptic woman.

A number of scholars refer to this statement as evidence of the superiority of Khadīja over ʿĀ'isha, God be pleased with her and make her content.

Other scholars have questions about its chain of authorities.

Yet others interpret this matter as referring to ʿĀ'isha as having been better in intimacy. This is likely or even obvious. The reason for this is that ʿĀ'isha's closeness involved her youth, beauty and the pleasure of intimacy with her. She had not implied by her words, "God has given you better than her in exchange" that she considered herself more pure and virtuous than Khadīja. For this is a matter that is the prerogative of God, Almighty and Glorious is He. As He stated, "Do not attribute purity to yourselves; He knows best who is the most pious" (*sūrat al-Najm*; LIII, v.32). And God Almighty also stated, "Have you not seen

those who attribute purity to themselves? It is God who attributes purity to whomever He wishes" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.49).

This is an issue subject to much debate among scholars old and new. On one side of it there are those versions to which members of the Shī'a and others restrict themselves, considering no woman equal to Khadīja because of the greetings made to her by the Lord and because the only sons of the Prophet (ṢAAS), except for Ibrāhīm, were born to her. Also they refer to the fact that he married no other woman until she died, and out of his respect for her acceptance of Islam, and for her having been of those who trusted. She has the status of having believed at the beginning of the mission and of devoting herself and her wealth to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

There are also *sunni*, orthodox, scholars who take extreme positions and attribute to each of them special virtues, as is well-known. However, the strength of their orthodoxy leads them to prefer 'Ā'isha for having been the daughter of al-Ṣiddīq, Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", and to her having been more knowledgeable than Khadīja. For in no nation was there ever any woman the like of 'Ā'isha in her ability to memorize, in her knowledge, eloquence or intelligence. Moreover, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not love any of his wives as much as he did her. And affirmation of her innocence came down from above the seven heavens. And she related after he had died a great deal of excellent and highly valued knowledge of him, to such an extent that many people make reference to the well-known *ḥadīth* "Take one half of your religion from al-Ḥumayrā'."[22]

The truth is that both of them have virtues so evident as to amaze and dazzle anyone who might have witnessed them. It is therefore best to defer this matter to God almighty.

One who possesses irrefutable proof, or is inclined to one view in this regard, ought to speak on the basis of such knowledge.

Anyone who is hesitant about any such matter will find that the best and the straightest path is for him to say, "God knows best".

Imām Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī related, through Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, from 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, God bless him, who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The best of their women was Mary, daughter of 'Imrān, and the best of *their* women was Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid.'" By this he meant the best women of their eras.

Shu'ba related, from Mu'āwiya b. Qurra, that his father Qurra b. Iyyās, God be pleased with him, stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'There have been many perfect men, but only three perfect women. These were Mary, daughter of 'Imrān, Āsiyya, the wife of Pharoah, and Khadīja, daughter of

22. Apparently a nickname applied to 'Ā'isha. The word, a diminutive form, means high born, of great excellence, or fair-skinned.

Khuwaylid. The greater virtue of ʿĀʾisha over other women is like that of *al-tharīd*[23] over other foods."

Ibn Mirdawayh related this in his *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), and this chain of authorities is good back to Shuʿba and beyond.

Scholars agree that the quality shared by these three women, Āsiyya, Mary and Khadīja is that each of them vouched for a prophet sent by God, gave them the best of companionship, and believed when they were given their mission.

Mary gave the most complete and full support and credence to her son when he received his mission.

Khadīja wished to have the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) marry her and gave her wealth for that, as we have stated previously. She also had full faith in him when revelation came down to him from God, Almighty and Glorious is He.

His statement "the greater virtue of ʿĀʾisha over other women is like that of *al-tharīd* over other foods" is also firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* compendia through Shuʿba, from ʿUrwa b. Murra, from Murra al-Ṭayyib al-Hamdānī, from Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'There have been many perfect men, but of women there were only Āsiyya, Pharoah's wife, and Mary, daughter of ʿImrān; and the greater virtue of ʿĀʾisha over other women is like that of *al-tharīd* over other foods.'"

Al-tharīd is a dish made of bread and meat mixed together. It is the finest food of the Arabs. As some poets have said:

"When bread is enriched with meat, that, by God's good grace, is *al-tharīd*."

His statement, "The greater virtue of ʿĀʾisha over other women" has the implication of being comprehensive and encompasses all those women mentioned as well as others; but it may apply equally to all women, excluding (the aforementioned three). The discussion about her (ʿĀʾisha's) status as compared to those three women would then remain undecided, with the probability of there being equality among them. Anyone wanting to express a preference for one of these over the others would therefore need extrinsic proof. But God knows best.

Section: On his marriage after the death of Khadīja, God bless her, to ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Abū Bakr, and to Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa, God bless them both.

What is true is that he contracted marriage first with ʿĀʾisha, as will be shown.

Al-Bukhārī stated in his chapter on his marriage to ʿĀʾisha as follows, "Muʿallā b. Asad related to us, quoting Wuhayb, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) told her, 'You have twice been shown to me in my sleep dressed in a silk cloth. And he (Gabriel) says, "This is your wife." And when I uncover her, it is you! And so I say that if this be God's will, then may He bring it about!'"

23. The word refers to a culinary dish the base of which is bread to which may be added marrow, eggs, meat and spices.

The text of al-Bukhārī reads, "*Chapter on Marriage to Virgins.* Ibn Abū Mulayka stated, 'Ibn 'Abbās said to 'Ā'isha, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) married no virgin other than yourself."'

"Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh related to us, as did his brother, from Sulaymān b. Bilāl, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, who stated, 'I said, "O Messenger of God, do you think that if you were to go down into a valley where there was one tree whose fruit had previously been eaten from, and another that had not been eaten from, at which of them would you graze your camel?" "At the one never eaten from." This implied that the Prophet (ṢAAS) married no other virgin but her.'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this tradition.

He then stated, "'Ubayd b. Ismā'īl related to us, that it was related to him by Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, that 'Ā'isha said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, "You were shown to me in my sleep being brought in a cloth of silk by an angel who said to me, 'This is your wife.' I withdrew the cloth from your face and it was you! So I said, 'If this be God's will, then may He bring it about!'"'"

In one account the wording is, "You were shown to me three nights in my sleep."

According to al-Tirmidhī Gabriel brought him her image in a piece of green silk and said, "This is your wife in this world and the next."

Al-Bukhārī's text reads, "*Chapter on Marriage between the Young and the Old.* 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to us, as did al-Layth, from Yazīd, from 'Irāk, from 'Urwa, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked Abū Bakr for 'Ā'isha's hand in marriage. Abū Bakr replied, 'But I'm your brother!' (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) responded, 'You are my brother in God's religion and His Book, and she is permitted to me.'"

The text of this tradition clearly suggests it to be *mursal*, incomplete,[24] even though al-Bukhārī and the authorities consider it uninterrupted. This is because it is a *ḥadīth* of 'Urwa from 'Ā'isha, God bless her. This is a tradition narrated by al-Bukhārī alone, God bless him.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married 'Ā'isha three years after (the death of) Khadīja. At that time (of the contract) 'Ā'isha had been a girl of six. When he married her she was nine. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died when 'Ā'isha was a girl of eighteen."

This tradition is considered *gharīb* (unique in this line).

Al-Bukhārī had related, from 'Ubayd b. Ismā'īl, from Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, who said, "Khadīja died three years before the emigration of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He allowed a couple of years or so to pass after that, and then he contracted marriage with 'Ā'isha when she was six, thereafter consummating marriage with her when she was nine years old."

24. This is so because 'Urwa, the narrator, is transmitting a conversation to which he was not a party, as is clear from the text. Also, he was too young to have witnessed this meeting.

What ʿUrwa stated here is *mursal*, incomplete, as we mentioned above, but in its content it must be judged as *muttaṣil*, uninterrupted.

His statement, "He contracted marriage with ʿĀ'isha when she was six, thereafter consummating marriage with her when she was nine" is not disputed by anyone, and is well established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections of traditions and elsewhere.

He consummated marriage with her during the second year following the emigration to Medina.

His contracting marriage with her took place some three years after Khadīja's death, though there is disagreement over this.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān stated, "Al-Ḥajjāj related to us, that Ḥammād related to him, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted marriage with me (after) Khadīja's death and before his emigration from Mecca, when I was six or seven years old. After we arrived in Medina some women came to me while I was playing on a swing; my hair was like that of a boy. They dressed me up and put make-up on me, then took me to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he consummated our marriage. I was a girl of nine.'"

The statement here "*muttawaffā Khadīja*", "Khadīja's death" has to mean that it was shortly thereafter. Unless, that is, the word *baʿda*, "after", originally preceded this phrase and had been omitted from the account. The statement made by Yūnus b. Bukayr and Abū Usāma from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, is, therefore, not refuted. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Farwa b. Abū al-Maghrā' related to us, that ʿAlī b. Mushir related to him, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, that ʿĀ'isha said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) contracted marriage with me when I was six. We went to Medina and took up residence with the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. I fell ill and my hair was cut short so that all I had was a head of hair like a boy's. My mother, Umm Rūmān, came to me when I was on a swing in the company of my friends. She shouted to me and so I went to her not knowing what she wanted. She took me by the hand and sat me down at the door of the house; I was panting, but settled down somewhat. Then she took some water and, having wiped my face and head, led me into the house. There I found a number of the wives of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and they addressed me with the words, "Blessings, good health and happy news!" Then she delivered me to them and they tidied me up. To my surprise it was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who came to me that morning. They gave me over to him; at the time I was nine.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated in the *musnad*,[25] of ʿĀ'isha, "the mother of the faithful", that "Muḥammad b. Bishr related to him, from Bishr and Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, who was told the following by Abū Salama and Yaḥyā: 'When Khadīja died, Khawlā, daughter of Ḥākim, the wife of ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, came and said, "O

25. The word connotes a collection of *ḥadīth* arranged in accord with the names of the persons in their chains of transmission.

Messenger of God, wouldn't you like to get married?" He replied, "To whom?" "To either a virgin or to someone previously married, as you wish."

"'"And who would the virgin be?" He asked. She replied, "That creation of God you enjoy above all others, 'Ā'isha, daughter of Abū Bakr!"

"'"And who would the previously married woman be?" he asked. "Sawda, daughter of Zam'a," she answered. "She has expressed belief in you and has become your follower."

"'"You may go," he told her, "and make mention of me to them."

"'She entered Abū Bakr's house and said to his wife, "Umm Rūmān, what goodness and blessings God brings you!" "How do you mean?" she enquired. "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has sent me to ask to become engaged to 'Ā'isha!"

"'"See Abū Bakr when he comes in," she replied.

"'Abū Bakr did come and Khawlā said, "O Abū Bakr, what goodness and blessings God brings you!"

"'"How so?" he asked.

"'"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has sent me to ask to become engaged to 'Ā'isha!"

"'"And would she be proper for him? After all, she is his brother's daughter," he responded.

"'So I returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him that and he replied, "Go back and tell him 'I am your brother, and you are mine, in Islam. Your daughter would be proper for me.'"

"'So I went back and told him this, and he replied, "Wait" and left. Umm Rūmān told me, "Muṭ'im b. 'Adī has asked for her in marriage to his son; and, I swear, Abū Bakr never before broke an agreement he had made."'

"'Abū Bakr went in to see Muṭ'im b. 'Adī who had his wife, Umm al-Ṣabī, with him. She commented, "Well, son of Abū Quḥāfa, are you perhaps having our friend change his religion and join yours if he gets married into your family?" Abū Bakr asked Muṭ'im b. 'Adī, "Is this how you respond?" He replied, "It's she who said that."

"'And so Abū Bakr left, God having relieved him of the promise he had made to Muṭ'im. He returned home and told Khawlā, "Call for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to come to me." She did so and he agreed to her marriage to him, 'Ā'isha at that time being six years old.

"'Khawlā then left and went in to see Sawda, daughter of Zam'a, saying, "What goodness and blessings God brings you!" "How do you mean?" she asked. "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has sent me to ask you to marry him!" "I would like that," she replied. "Go in and tell Abū Bakr of that."

"'He was an elderly man, too old to have gone on the pilgrimage, so she went in to him and gave him the salutation used before the coming of Islam. "Who is that?" he asked. "The Messenger of God" (ṢAAS) she told him, "has sent me to arrange his marriage with Sawda." "A fine match! What does your lady say?" he

responded. "She would like that," she replied. "Well, call her in to me," he told her. She did so and Abū Bakr said to Sawda, "My child, this woman claims that Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, has sent asking to become engaged to you. It's a fine match. Would you have me marry you to him?" "Yes, I would," she replied. "Then call for him," he said.

"'And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came, he did marry him to her.

"'Her brother ʿAbd b. Zamʿa then returned from the pilgrimage, his head covered with dirt. After greetings, he commented, "By your life, what a fool I am! The same day I cover my head with dirt[26] the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) marries Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa!"

"'ʿĀʾisha stated, "We moved to Medina and took up residence among the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Khazraj in al-Sunḥ. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came into our house where he had a meeting with some of the men and women of the *anṣār*,[27] 'the Helpers'. My mother came to me while I was on a swing, going to and fro between two date-palms. She took me down from the swing; my hair was short like a boy's and she parted it, washed my face with some water and then led me over to the door. I was out of breath and (stopped) there until I became calmer. Then she took me in and there was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) seated on a bed inside our house, in the company of a group of the *anṣār*, both men and women. She sat me down in his lap and said, 'These are your family; may God bless you by them and they by you.' The men and women then jumped up and left. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated our marriage there in our house; no camels or sheep were slaughtered for me. Eventually Saʿd b. ʿUbāda sent us a bowl of food such as he would provide whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was visiting his wives. At that time, I was nine."'"

This account, though seemingly incomplete is to be considered comprehensive.

This is an account of the same circumstances related by al-Bayhaqī through Aḥmad b.ʿAbd al-Jabbār, as follows, "'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Azdī related to us, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib who reported, 'ʿĀʾisha said, "When Khadīja died Khawlā, daughter of Ḥākim, came and said, 'O Messenger of God, would you like to be married?' 'To whom?' he enquired. 'It could, if you wish, be to a virgin or to a woman previously married,' she replied. 'Which virgin, and which previously married woman?' he asked. 'The virgin could be the daughter of that creation of God whom you love best; the previously married woman would be Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa. She has expressed belief in you and become your follower.' 'Make mention of me to them,' he told her."'"

The account hereafter relates the *ḥadīth* essentially as above.

26. Apparently placing dirt on the head was part of the pre-Islamic pilgrimage ritual in which he had engaged.

27. This refers to the people of Yathrib (later Medina) who accepted Islam and assisted the Muslim migrants from Mecca.

This tradition firmly establishes that his betrothal to ʿĀ'isha preceded his marriage to Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa.

However, he did consummate marriage with Sawda in Mecca, whereas that with ʿĀ'isha was postponed until Medina, in the second year (after the hegira) as indicated above and hereafter.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Aswad related to us, that it was related to him from Shurayk, from Hishām, from his father, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, 'When Sawda grew old and she gave to me the day assigned to her, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shared the day given to me (by her) with his other wives. She was the first woman with whom he contracted marriage after myself.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abū al-Naḍr related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Shahr and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became engaged to a woman from his people whose name was Sawda; she was a woman with many children, having some five or six from her husband who had died. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked her, 'Is there something holding you back from me?' She replied, 'O Prophet of God, nothing prevents you from being the most beloved of mankind to me. But I would do you honour by preventing these boys from being at your head morning and night!'

"'Does anything else keep you from me?' he asked. 'No, I swear,' she replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told her, 'God have mercy on you! The best of women ride on old camels; isn't that appropriate? The women of Quraysh are kind to a boy when young and they also take care of their husband however they can!'"

I observe that her husband before him was al-Sakrān b. ʿAmr, brother of Suhayl b. ʿAmr. He had accepted Islam and gone into exile to Abyssinia, as we reported before. He had then returned to Mecca and died there before the emigration, God be pleased with him!

All these accounts indicate that the marriage contract with ʿĀ'isha was prior to that with Sawda, this being the statement of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUqayl. Yūnus also related this from al-Zuhrī.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr preferred the contract with Sawda to have preceded that with ʿĀ'isha; he related this from Qatāda and Abū ʿUbayd.

He stated, "ʿUqayl related it from al-Zuhrī."

Division

Reference has previously been given to the death of Abū Ṭālib, the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and to his having been a supporter and defender of his, with all the moral, financial, verbal and practical help he could give.

When he died, foolish men of Quraysh were emboldened and engaged in such actions against him that they had not previously been able to undertake.

As al-Bayhaqī reported from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm: "Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Sanʿānī related to us, from Yūsuf b. Bahlūl, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs,

from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from someone else who told him, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, who said, 'When Abū Ṭālib died, a foolish fellow of Quraysh stood in the way of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and threw dirt at him. He, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), then returned home and one of his daughters came and wiped the dirt from his face, weeping. He told her, "Don't cry, daughter; God will protect your father."'"

He is supposed to have said during this conversation that Quraysh did not engage in any reprehensible actions against him until the death of Abū Ṭālib, at which point they began (to harass him).

Ziyād al-Bakāʿī related this from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, with an incomplete chain of authorities. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī also related, from al-Ḥākim and others, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Quraysh remained cowards until Abū Ṭālib died."

He then related this from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from ʿAbbās al-Dūrī, from Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn, who said, "We were related by ʿUqba al-Majdar, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀ'isha, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'Quraysh remained cowards until Abū Ṭālib died.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Faraj b. al-Jawzī related with a chain of authorities from Thaʿlaba b. Ṣuqayr and Ḥākim b. Ḥizam who both said, "When Abū Ṭālib and Khadīja died, five days apart, he suffered two tragedies together. He kept to his house and rarely went out. Quraysh treated him worse than they would have ever intended before.

"News of this reached Abū Lahab, who came to him and said, 'O Muḥammad, pass on freely as you want. Do whatever you did when Abū Ṭālib was alive. No, by al-Lāt, I swear no harm will befall you before I die.'

"Ibn al-Ghayṭala insulted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and so Abū Lahab went to him and punished him and he went off yelling, 'O tribe of Quraysh, Abū ʿUtba has become a Ṣabian!' Quraysh men then came and stood before Abū Lahab. He told them, 'I have not left the faith of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. But I will prevent my nephew from being harmed and ensure his own freedom of action.'

"They commented, 'You have done well and right, and maintained your family ties.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thereafter spent a period of some days coming and going without interference from Quraysh who respected Abū Lahab. But eventually ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayṭ and Abū Jahl went to Abū Lahab and asked him, 'Has your nephew told you where your father has been sent?'

"Abū Lahab then asked him, 'Muḥammad, where has ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib been sent?'

"He replied, 'With his people.' So Abū Lahab went out to ʿUqba and Abū Jahl and told them, 'I did ask him. And he replied, "With his people."'

"The two men commented, 'Well, he's claiming that he is in hell-fire then!'

"Abū Lahab then asked him, 'Muḥammad, is 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in the fire?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Whoever dies in the state 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was in does go into hell-fire.'

"Abū Lahab – God curse him – then announced, 'By God, I shall always be your enemy for your claiming that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib is in the fire!'

"At that Abū Lahab and the rest of Quraysh intensified their attacks upon him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The group of men who used to harm the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in his house were Abū Lahab, al-Ḥakam b. Abū al-'Āṣ b. Umayya, 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'ayṭ, 'Adī b. al-Ḥamrā', and Ibn al-Aṣdā' al-Huḍhalī.

"These were neighbours of his; the only one of them to ever accept Islam was al-Ḥakam b. Abū al-'Āṣ.

"It is said that one of them would throw a sheep's uterus over him while he was praying, or toss it into his cooking pot if set up for him. Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would take a position near a wall when praying and when they threw some such thing at him he would carry it outside on a stick, stand at his door and say, 'O Banū 'Abd Manāf, what kind of neighbourliness is this?' Then he would toss it out into the street."

My own view is that most of the matter being related here occurred after the death of Abū Ṭālib. Though God knows best. It is certainly very appropriate to mention them here. These incidents included the throwing of a camel's placenta over his shoulders while he prayed, as Ibn Mas'ūd related, and of Fāṭima's having come and removed it from him and having gone off and reviled them; when he had finished praying, he said prayers against seven of them. A similar incident was the account of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ of their having severely throttled him until Abū Bakr intervened, saying, "Would you murder a man merely for saying God is my Lord?" And there is the case of the intent of Abū Jahl, God damn him, to tread on his neck while he prayed, and of this being prevented.

Section: On his departure to the people of Ṭā'if to call them to Almighty God, and to come to the aid of His faith; how they refused him this and he returned to Mecca.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When Abū Ṭālib died, Quraysh treated the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) worse than had ever been the case during the life of his uncle Abū Ṭālib.

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for Ṭā'if seeking help from Thaqīf and their protection from his people. He hoped they would accept the message he brought them from God Almighty.

"He went to them alone.

"Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād related to me, from Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Kuraẓī, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Ṭā'if, he made for a group of Thaqīf, their leaders and nobles, who were three brothers. They were 'Abd

Yālīl, Masʿūd and Ḥabīb, all sons of ʿAmr b. ʿUmayr b. ʿAwf b. ʿUqda b. Ghiyara b. ʿAwf b. Thaqīf. One of these was married to a Quraysh woman of the Banū Jumaḥ.

"'He sat with them and invited them to God, asked them to help Islam and himself against those of his people who were opposing him. One of them replied, "He would tear off the covering of the *kaʿba* if it were God who had sent you!" Another said, "Did not God have anyone but you to send?" The third commented, "By God, I will never speak to you. If you were a messenger from God, as you claim, you are far too important for me to argue with, and if you are lying against God, then it would certainly not be appropriate that I talk to you."

"'And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and left them, despairing of any good from Thaqīf. I have been told that he had asked them, "Since you have so behaved, at least keep it secret for me." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not want his people to hear about this, since it would have encouraged them to oppose him.

"'However, they did not agree, and incited their fools and slaves to revile him and to shout out after him. A crowd gathered against him and forced him to seek refuge in a garden belonging to ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa and Shayba b. Rabīʿa, they both being there at the time. The Thaqīf fools who had been following him then withdrew.

"'He made for the shade of a grape vine, where he sat down, while the two sons of Rabīʿa watched him, having seen his ill-treatment by the Thaqīf fools.

"'As I have been told, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had met the woman from the Banū Jumaḥ and had told her, "Well, how is it we've been so treated by your husband's family?"

"'When he felt secure, as I have been told, he spoke the prayer, "O God, I complain to You about my weakness and inadequacy before the people. O You, most Merciful of all, You who are Lord of the oppressed, You who are my Lord, to whom would You entrust me, to those far away who greet me with displeasure, or to some enemy to whom You entrust me? As long as You are not angry with me, I will not care, but I would prefer your favour.

"'"I take refuge with the light of Your face that brightens the shadows, repairs the troubles of this world and the hereafter, ensuring that Your anger or discontent not alight upon me. May You be content and be pleased; all power and strength stem from You."

"'When Rabīʿa's two sons ʿUtba and Shayba saw what had happened to him, they felt compassion for him. They summoned a Christian servant they had called ʿAddās and told him, "Take a cluster of grapes, place it on a plate, then go over to that man and tell him to eat it."

"'ʿAddās did this; he placed it before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him to eat.

"'As the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed his hand upon it, he spoke the words, "In the name of God" then he ate. ʿAddās looked into his face and said,

"By God, people of this land do not say these words." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, "Where are you from, 'Addās, and what is your religion?" He replied, "I am a Christian, and I come from Nineveh."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "You mean from the village of that pious man Jonah, son of Amittai?"

"''Addās asked, "How do you know of Jonah, son of Amittai?"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "That man was my brother; he was a prophet and I am a prophet."

"''Addās bent low over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), kissing his head, hands and feet.

"'The two sons of Rabī'a said to one another, "He's already corrupted our servant!"

"'When 'Addās came back to them, they commented, "What was wrong with you, 'Addās? Why did you kiss the head, hands and feet of that man?"

"'"On all earth there is none finer than this man; he has told me of something that no one but a prophet could know," he told them.

"'"Be careful", they warned him, "you don't let him turn you from your faith. Your religion is better than his."'"

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related this similarly but did not include the prayer and added the words, "The people of Ṭā'if positioned themselves in two lines along his path and as he passed by every time he raised and put down a foot they threw stones at it until his feet began to bleed. His feet streaming with blood, he withdrew and made his way beneath the shade of a palm tree, completely overcome. In that garden were 'Utba and Shayba, the two sons of Rabī'a. He disliked being at their place because of their enmity towards God and His Messenger."

Mūsā then related the story of 'Addās the Christian much as above.

Imām Aḥmad recounted from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba as follows, "Marwān b. Mu'āwiya al-Fazārī related to us, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭā'ifī, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. Abū Jabal al-'Adwānī, from his father, that he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the winter quarters of Thaqīf standing on a staff or a bow, having gone to them seeking their help. The source said, 'I heard him say, "By the heavens and he who comes by night" (*sūrat al-Ṭāriq*; LXXXVI, v.1) up to its end.'"

He went on, "So I became aware of it in the *jahiliyya*, before Islam, while I was a polytheist, then I recited it after accepting Islam.

"Thaqīf summoned me and asked, 'What did you hear from that man?' so I recited it to them. One of the Quraysh men there with Thaqīf said, 'We are very well acquainted with him; if we knew that what he says is true, we would follow him.'"

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, through 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb, who said, "I was told by Yūnus b. Yazīd from Ibn Shihāb, who told him, 'It was related to me by 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr that 'Ā'isha related to him that she said to

the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "Has any day been harder on you than that of the battle of Uḥud?"

"'He replied, "The worst I suffered from your people was the day of *al-ʿaqaba*, when I presented myself to Ibn ʿAbdu Yālīl b. ʿAbd Kalāl, and he refused my request to him. I wandered off, dazed and depressed, and only came to myself at Qarn al-Thaʿālib. I raised my head and there above me was a cloud. Looking up, I saw Gabriel in it, and he called out to me, saying, 'God has heard what your people said to you, and how they rejected you. He has sent to you the angel of the mountain for you to order him to do with them whatever you like.'

"'"Then the angel of the mountain called out to me in greeting and said, 'O Muḥammad, God has sent me. God has heard what your people said to you. I am the angel of the mountain; your Lord has sent me to you to order me to do whatever you wish. If you wish, you can bring down the two mountains the *Akhshabayn* upon them.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I hope that God will bring forth from their loins those who will worship God and associate no other god or person with Him.'"'"

Division

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq told how the *jinn*, the spirits, overheard the recitation made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) upon his return from Ṭāʾif when he spent the night at Nakhla and said the morning prayer with his Companions. The *jinn* who had been dispatched to him heard his reciting there.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "They were seven in number. Concerning them God Almighty revealed His words, 'And when We dispatched towards you a group of *jinn*'" (*sūrat al-Aḥqāf*; XLVI, v.29).

My own comment is that we spoke about this in detail in the *Tafsir* (*Exegesis*), and included some material relating to it above. But God knows best.

Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on his return from Ṭāʾif and came under the protection of al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī. His people increased their anger and antagonism towards him and became ever bolder in their opposition. God is the one from whom to seek help, and reliance must be upon Him.

In his work on the *maghāzī*, the early military engagements, al-Umawī related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Urayqiṭ to al-Akhnas b. Sharīf and asked him to give him protection in Mecca. But he replied, 'An ally of Quraysh cannot give protection for one of their own.'

"He then sent to Suhayl b. ʿAmr to give him protection, and he responded, 'The Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy cannot give protection against those of the Banū Kaʿb b. Luʾayy.'

"He then sent him to al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī for his protection, who agreed, saying, 'Yes; tell him to come.'

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did go to him and spent that night with him. When morning came, he and his six or seven sons, all wearing swords,

went out with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They entered the mosque and told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Make your circumambulations.' And they sat, with their legs drawn up over their belted swords in the *maṭāf*, the space around the *ka'ba* for the circumambulations.

"Abū Sufyān came over to Muṭ'im and asked him, 'Are you giving protection or are you a follower?'

"He replied, 'No, I'm just protecting.'

"'Then you'll not be watched,' Abū Sufyān told him.

"He then sat with him until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished his circuits, and when he left al-Muṭ'im and his men went with him. Then Abū Sufyān went off to his seat."

The account went on, "This continued for a few days, then he was given permission to make the *hijra*, to leave for Medina.

"Shortly after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had left Mecca for Medina, al-Muṭ'im b. 'Adī died. Ḥassān b. Thābit said, 'By God, I shall certainly eulogize him!' And part of what he spoke were the following verses:

> 'If honour could today render any one person
> everlasting, his honour would today select Muṭ'im.
> You protected the Messenger of God from them and they
> became your slaves for as long as pilgrims don the *iḥrām* and
> shout "*labbayka*".
> If all Ma'add, Qaḥṭān or all the rest of Jurhum
> were asked about him,
> They would say, "He fulfils defence of his neighbour and
> protects if he takes on a difficult duty,"
> The shining sun above them does not look down on his like
> among them, one greater or more noble.
> Resolute if refusing, but kind by nature, sleeping well
> even if the night is dark and he protecting another.'

I observe that this is why the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, on the day the prisoners were taken at Badr, "If al-Muṭ'im b. 'Adī were alive now and asked me about these stinking people, I would have given them over to him."

Section: On the call of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to the Arab tribes during the pilgrimage seasons to help and support him against those persecuting and denying him. None of them agreed, since God Almighty had reserved that great honour to the anṣār *(the "Helpers" or "Partisans") of Medina, may God be pleased with them.*

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to Mecca, where his people were even more antagonistic to him and his religion than before, except for a few persons of no power who did believe.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would present himself at the fairs when they were held, addressing the Arab tribes and inviting them to God, Almighty

and Glorious is He. He would tell them that he was a prophet who had been given a mission, and would ask for their belief and their protection so that he could explain what God had entrusted to him."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "One of our fellow scholars, a man in whom I trust, related the following to me, from Zayd b. Aslam, from Rabīʿa b. ʿIbād al-Duʾalī, and another person from whom Abū Zinād had narrated. I was also related this by Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, who said, 'I heard Rabīʿa b. ʿIbād being addressed by my father who said, "I was once, when a young lad, with my father at Minā when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would stop at the camps of the Arab tribes and say to them, 'I am the Messenger of God to you. I tell you to worship God and to associate no other with Him and to abandon those others you revere; and you should have faith and belief in me and protect me so that I make evident that with which God sent me.'"

"'Behind him stood a squint-eyed, neatly dressed man, his hair in two braids and wearing a cloak from Aden. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished his prayer and address, that man would say to the tribe, "This man is only trying to get you to strip al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā off your necks, along with your allies the *jinn* of the Banū Mālik b. Uqaysh in favour of the wrongful innovation he himself brings. Do not obey him and do not listen to him."

"'I asked my father, "Who is that man who follows behind him and contradicts what he says?"

"'He replied, "That is his uncle, ʿAbd al-Uzzā b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Abū Lahab."'"

Imām Aḥmad recounted this *ḥadīth* from Ibrāhīm b. Abū al-ʿAbbās saying, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Zinād related to us, from his father, who said, 'A man named Rabīʿa b. ʿIbād of the Banū al-Dīl informed me – he having been a polytheist before Islam who converted – as follows, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the market of Dhū al-Majāz in the period before Islam was accepted; he was saying, 'O people, say, "There is no god but God" and you will prosper.' As people gathered around him there was one man with a handsome face, squint-eyed and wearing two plaits who would say, 'He's a Ṣabian, a liar.' And he would follow behind him wherever he went. I asked about him and was told he was his uncle Abū Lahab."'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this, through Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, from Rabīʿa al-Dīlī, as follows, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the market of Dhū al-Majāz following people into their homes and inviting them to God. Behind him came a squint-eyed man with flaming-red cheeks who was saying, 'Do not let this man lead you astray from your religion and that of your forefathers.' I asked who he was, and I was told that this was Abū Lahab."

Abū Nuʿaym related this similarly in the *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), through Ibn Abū Dhiʾb and Saʿīd b. Salama b. Abū al-Husām, both of them relating a similar account from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir.

Al-Bayhaqī also related it through Shuʿba, from al-Ashʿath b. Salīm, from a man of Kināna, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the market of Dhū al-Majāz and he was saying, 'O people, say, "There is no god but God" and you will prosper.' And there was a man behind him tossing dirt at him. This was Abū Jahl and he was saying, 'O people, do not let this man lead you astray from your religion. He only wants you to give up worship of al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā.'"

According to this account, these were words of Abū Jahl. This supposition might be illusory or it might sometimes have been Abū Jahl and sometimes the other, Abū Lahab. They might have taken turns in doing such harm to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the tribe of Kinda, visiting them in their homes, including one of their leaders named Mulayḥ. He invited them to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, and offered himself to them, but they refused him."

Ibn Isḥāq said, "Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the Banū Kalb in their homes in a valley of theirs where they were called the Banū ʿAbd Allāh. He called them to the path of God and offered himself to them, saying, 'O Banū ʿAbd Allāh, God named well indeed your forefather ʿAbd Allāh' (i.e. 'the slave or servant of God'). But they could not accept from him what he proposed to them.

"Some of our friends related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the Banū Ḥanīfa in their homes, called them to the path of God and offered himself to them. None of the Arabs gave him so rude a rejection as they did.

"Al-Zuhrī related to me that he went to the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and called them to the path of God, offering himself to them. One of their men, named Bayḥara b. Firās, replied to him, 'I swear, if I were to have this brave man of Quraysh, I could eat up the Arabs with him.' He then said to him, 'If we were to follow your orders and then God gave you victory against those opposing you, would we have power after you were gone?'

"He replied, 'God controls power and places it where He wishes.'

"Bayḥara commented in reply, 'Are we to present our throats to the Arabs in your defence and then, if God gave you victory, see power go elsewhere than to us? We'll have nothing to do with you!' And so they refused him.

"When the people there dispersed, the Banū ʿĀmir returned to a sheikh of theirs who, being elderly, was unable to attend the fairs with them. When they returned home they would tell him what had occurred at the fair. That year on their return he asked them who had been at the fair. They told him, 'A man of Quraysh, of the family of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, came to us claiming to be a prophet and he asked us to defend him and aid him and take him back to our territory.'

"The old man put his hand to his head and said, 'Could your mistake be put right? Can its consequences be reversed? I swear no descendant of Ishmael ever made such a claim falsely. It has to be true. Where did your good judgement go?'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, quoting al-Zuhrī, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would for the period of those years, present himself to the Arab tribes at each fair, speaking with each tribal leader but asking them only for their protection and support. He would say, 'I don't wish to force any one of you to do anything. Any of you who agree to what I ask may do so, but I would not compel anyone not so wishing. All I want is to guard myself against those wanting to kill me, so that I may fulfil my Lord's mission and carry out whatever decree He wishes regarding myself and those who support me.' But not one of them accepted him. Every one of those tribes reached the following conclusion: 'The man's own tribe knew him best; how could we accept as suitable for us someone who has subverted his tribe and whom they have expelled.'

"This rejection too was due to the honour God had in store for the *anṣār* (the 'Helpers') of Medina."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym related through ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ajlaḥ and Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawī, who both took their information from Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, 'I don't consider myself receiving protection from you or from your brother. Would you take me to the market tomorrow for us to stay in the homes of some of the tribespeople?' It was the time for the gathering of the Arab tribes.

"He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) went on, 'These are Kinda and those who mix with them. They are the best of those from Yemen who make the pilgrimage. Those are the homes of Bakr b. Wāʾil; those belong to the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. Choose for yourself.'"

ʿAbbas continued "He began with Kinda, asking them, 'From whom are you?' 'From Yemen,' they replied. 'From which tribe?' he asked. 'From Kinda.' 'From which sub-tribe?' he next enquired. 'From the Banū ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiya,' they told him.

"'Would you like to achieve good?'

"'How would that be?' they asked.

"'You would bear witness that there is no god but God, and would engage in prayer and believe in God's message.'"

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ajlaḥ quoted his father as having said, on the authority of the elders of his people, that Kinda replied to him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), "If you are successful, will you grant us power after yourself?"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "Power rests with God; He places it where He wishes."

They responded, "We don't need what you bring."

Al-Kalbī went on to state, "And they (Kinda) said, 'have you come to us to keep us from our gods and have us go to war with the Arabs? Remain with your people. We have no need of you!'

"He then left them and went to Bakr b. Wā'il. He asked, 'Who are these people?' 'They are part of Bakr b. Wā'il.' 'From which sub-tribe?' he asked. He was told, 'From the Banū Qays b. Thaʿlaba.'

"'How many are they?' he asked.

"'Very numerous,' he was told.

"'How would their protection be?' he asked.

"They replied, 'We border on Persia; we have no protection from them or for them.'

"He told them, 'Grant God custody over yourselves and He will keep you safe until you descend upon their homes, marry their women and enslave their children. Then give praise to God three and thirty times, then give thanks to Him three and thirty times, and say He is most great four and thirty times.'

"'Who are you?' they asked.

"'I am the Messenger of God,' he replied. Then he left.

"When he had left," al-Kalbī said, "his uncle Abū Lahab had been following him and telling people, 'Do not accept what he says.' When he passed by them, they asked, 'Do you know this man?' He replied, 'Yes, he's from our élite. What about him makes you ask?' They told him what he had offered them, saying, 'He claims to be the Messenger of God.' Abū Lahab commented, 'Take no account of whatever he says. He's crazy, and talks off the top of his head.'

"'We saw that,' they commented, 'when he spoke as he did about Persia!'"

Al-Kalbī stated, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿĀmirī told me that elders of his tribe said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to us when we were at the ʿUkāz fair. He asked, "From whom are these people?" We replied, "From the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa." "From which sub-tribe?" he asked.

"'We responded, "From the Banū Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa."

"'He asked, "How would protection be with you?"

"'We replied, "The best imaginable; we are invincible."

"'He stated to them, "I am the Messenger of God, and I am coming to you to protect me until I fulfil the mission of my Lord. I would not force any of you to anything."

"'They asked him, "From which part of Quraysh are you?"

"'"From the family of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib," he replied.

"'"What are your relations with the ʿAbd Manāf?" they asked.

"'"They were the first to deny and to drive me away," he told them.

"'"Well, we will neither drive you away nor believe in you; but we will protect you until you fulfil your Lord's mission."

"'So he took residence with them while they were attending the fair. And then Bayḥara b. Firāsh al-Qushayrī came to them and said, "Who is this man I now see with you; I don't know him?"

"'"He is Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh, of Quraysh," they replied.

"'"And what do you have to do with him?" he asked.

"'"He claims to be the Messenger of God and he has asked us to protect him until he fulfils his Lord's mission," they replied.

"'"And how did you respond?" he enquired.

"'"We made him very welcome," they told him. "We said we would take him to our own territory and protect him as we do ourselves."

"'Bayḥara commented, "I know of no one at this fair going back home with anything worse than you are. You have begun a policy that will alienate people; the Arabs will attack you in unison. His people know him very well; if they had perceived good in him, they would have been most delighted with him. Will you support a man cast out and denied by his own people and give him shelter and aid? Your policy is dreadful."

"'He then approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him, "Get up and join your people. I swear if you weren't here among my kin, I would strike you down!"

"'And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) got up and mounted his camel. That evil man Bayḥara then prodded the mount in its flank and it darted away with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and threw him.

"'With the Banū ʿĀmir on that day was Ḍabāʿa, daughter of ʿĀmir b. Qarṭ; she was one of the women who had accepted Islam with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca. She had come on a visit to the Banū ʿĀmir. She spoke out, "O people of ʿĀmir, you're not *ʿāmir* (i.e. civilized, cultured) to me! Could this really happen to the Messenger of God, right here among you without any one of you protecting him?"

"'Three of her relatives then attacked Bayḥara, while two assisted him. Each man fought with another, her supporters beating the others to the ground, sitting on their chests and slapping their faces.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spoke, "May God bless these men and damn the others!"

"'The three who had aided him later embraced Islam and died as martyrs in battle. These were Ghaṭīf and Ghaṭfān, two sons of Sahl and ʿUrwa – or ʿUdhra – b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Salama. God be pleased with them.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawī related this *ḥadīth* from his father in its entirety in his book of the *maghāzī*, the military campaigns.

The other men all perished. These were Bayḥara b. Firās, Ḥazn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Salama b. Qushayr and Muʿāwiya b. ʿAbbāda, one of the Banū ʿUqayl, may God damn them utterly.

This is a curious tale; we give it here for its strangeness. But God knows best.

Abū Nuʿaym related a similar account, from a *ḥadīth* of Kaʿb b. Mālik, God bless him, relating to the story of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and the rudeness of their reply to him.

Even stranger and lengthier than that was what Abū Nuʿaym, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī related; the text was given by Abū Nuʿaym, may God be pleased with them all. It comes from a *ḥadīth* of Abān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī, from Abān b. Ṭaghlib, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who quoted ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib as having said, "When God ordered His Messenger to present himself to the tribes of the Arabs, he left, along with myself and Abū Bakr, for Minā. There we were present at a *majlis*, a reception, given by the Arabs.

"Abū Bakr, God bless him, went forward and made his greetings. He was in the very vanguard of good, and an expert in genealogy. He asked, 'From whom do you people come?' 'From Rabīʿa,' came their reply.

"'From which Rabīʿa are you, from its mainstream or from a branch?'

"'From its greatest mainstream.'

"Abū Bakr asked them, 'Is ʿAwf of you, of whom it was said, "There is no *ḥarr*, no heat, in the ʿAwf valley?"'

"'No,' they told him.

"'Do Bisṭām b. Qays Abū al-Liwāʾ and Muntahā al-Aḥyāʾ belong to your tribe?'

"'No,' they replied.

"'Is al-Ḥawfazān b. Shurayk, the killer of kings and robber of their souls, a kinsman of yours?'

"'No,' they replied.

"'Is Jassās b. Murra b. Dhuhl, the protector of honour and defender of the neighbour, from you?'

"'No,' they said.

"'Is al-Muzdalif, he of the unique turban, from you?'

"'No,' they replied.

"'Are you related to the kings of Kinda?' he asked.

"'No,' they replied.

"'Are you related to the kings of Lakhm?' he asked.

"'No,' they replied.

"Abū Bakr, God bless him, then commented, 'So you're not from its mainstream, but from a branch.'

"At that a youth named Daghfal b. Ḥanẓala al-Dhuhlī, his beard beginning to sprout, jumped up and grabbed the bridle of Abū Bakr's camel, reciting, 'Those who ask of us will be asked of; as for the burden (of proof) we neither know it nor bear it (as a responsibility).'

"He also commented, 'Hey, you, you asked and we replied, hiding nothing from you. We want to ask you something; who are you?'

"He replied, 'A man of Quraysh.'

"The youth commented, 'Well said! You are a people of leadership and power, the vanguard and guide of the Arabs. What part of Quraysh?'

"He replied, 'I'm of the Banū Taym b. Murra.'

"The youth asked again, 'So you shot the bowman right through his mouth! Is Quṣayy b. Kilāb, he who killed at Mecca those trying to conquer it, a kinsman

of yours? That man, Quṣayy, who drove the rest of them away and brought in his own people from all over and settled them in Mecca, took over the temple and set Quraysh in the dwellings? The man who was therefore known as "the unifier", and about whom a poet spoke the verse,

> "Was it not your father who was called 'the unifier',
> by whom God brought together the tribes of Fihr?"'

"Abū Bakr replied, 'No.'

"'Were not ʿAbd Manāf, the ultimate giver of advice, and Abū al-Ghaṭārīf, the great leader, of your stock?'

"Abū Bakr replied, 'No.'

"'And ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Manāf Hāshim, who prepared bread and meat into the dish *al-tharīd* for his people and all of Mecca, was he not of you? The one of whom the poet said,

> "ʿAmr al-ʿUlā prepared the *al-tharīd* for his people,
> while the men of Mecca were destitute and under famine,
> To him they attribute both the journeys, that of the
> winter and that of the summer,
> Quraysh were as an egg which when split open came to have
> its best part, its yoke, as the ʿAbd Manāf.
> (They are) the wealthy, as is no other known, and they
> are those who say 'come on in' to the guests.
> They are those who strike down pure-white sheep, those
> who protect the innocent with their swords.
> How fine for you, if you stay at their abode; they will
> protect you from all ills and accusations."'

"'No,' responded Abū Bakr.

"'Then,' the youth continued, 'you must be related to ʿAbd al-Muṭib, that venerable man of much praise, controller of the Mecca caravan, and feeder of the birds of the skies and the wild beasts, of the lions in the desert, he whose face shines forth like a moon on a dark night?'

"'No,' said Abū Bakr.

"'Then you must be of those who have the privilege of the *ifāḍa*?' (The signalling to the pilgrims to move from Arafāt to Minā.)

"'No,' said Abū Bakr.

"'Perhaps of those who have the privilege of the *ḥijāba*? (The guardianship of the holy places.)

"'No,' said Abū Bakr.

"'Then those with the privilege of the *nadwa*?' (Making an address to the pilgrims.)

"'No,' said Abū Bakr.

"'Then you must be of those who have the privilege of the *siqāya*? (The provision of drink for the pilgrims.)

"'No,' said Abū Bakr.

"'Are you then of those with the privilege of providing the *rifāda*?' (The provisioning of the pilgrims.)

"'No,' replied Abū Bakr.

"'Are you then of those who give bounteous aid?'

"'No,' said Abū Bakr and he pulled his bridle out of the hands of the youth, who then quoted the line,

> 'Sometimes it happens that distinction is moved on
> down, at other times up.'

"Then he commented, 'Well, I swear, O Brother of Quraysh, if you had continued to hold out I would have proven you to belong to the lowest class of Quraysh, not to its élite!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) now came over to us, smiling," ʿAlī went on, "and I commented to Abū Bakr, 'Well, this bedouin has turned out to be a disaster for you!' 'Yes indeed, Abū al-Ḥasan,' Abū Bakr replied, 'And, there's never a catastrophe without another that follows, and calamity is compounded by words.'"

ʿAlī continued his account, "We then went on to a meeting underway marked by calm and dignity. There were sheikhs of high rank and fine appearance there. Abū Bakr went forward and made greeting." "And," ʿAlī commented, "Abū Bakr was always in the vanguard of good.

"Abū Bakr asked them, 'From whom are you?' They replied, 'We are of the Banū Shaybān b. Thaʿlaba.'

"Abū Bakr turned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and commented, 'I swear, no one has more *ʿizz*, power, in their people than these do.'"

In other accounts the words *ʿudhr*, responsibility, and *ghurar*, experience, are substituted for the word *ʿizz*, power, in the preceding sentence.

ʿAlī's account goes on, "Among this group were Mafrūq b. ʿAmr, Hāniʾ b. Qabīṣa, al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha and al-Nuʿmān b. Shurayk.

"The man most comparable to Abū Bakr was Mafrūq b. ʿAmr; he was their most eloquent. He wore his hair in two braids that came down to his chest. He sat closest to Abū Bakr.

"Abū Bakr asked him, 'How many are you in number?'

"Mafrūq replied, 'We are more than 1,000 strong; and "a few men can't beat 1,000", as they say.'

"'And how would protection be with you?'

"'We go to the limit; and "every people has a forefather," (i.e. "we are proud and noble"),' Mafrūq responded.

"Abū Bakr asked, 'And how is it when you make war with your enemies?'

"Mafrūq answered, 'When we meet in battle, we are the angriest of men. We take greater pride in our steeds than our sons, care more for our swords than our sperm; victory rests with God. Sometimes He grants us victory, sometimes others victory over us. You seem to be a member of Quraysh?'

"Abū Bakr answered, 'If you have heard of him who is the Messenger of God, this is he here.'

"'We have heard,' Mafrūq answered, 'that he says he is.'

"He then turned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and asked, 'What do you propound, O Brother from Quraysh?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then came forward and sat down, while Abū Bakr arose and stood shading him with his cloak. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spoke, 'I call upon you to bear witness that there is no god but God alone who has no associate, and that I am the Messenger of God. I ask you to shelter and protect me until I can carry out what God has ordered me to do. Quraysh have come out against God's commands and have denied His Messenger. They have sided with wrong against right. But God is All-Powerful, All-Praised.'

"'What else do you propound, O Quraysh brother?' he asked.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then recited to him, 'Say: Come! I shall recite for you what it was your Lord forbad you: that you must not associate another with Him, and that you must treat your parents with kindness' up to the words 'That He enjoined upon you that you might be pious' (*sūrat al-Anʿām*; VI, v.152–4).

"Mafrūq asked, 'And what else do you propound, O Quraysh brother? I swear these are not words of any earthly mortal; if they were, we would know them to be.'

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited to them, 'God enjoins justice, compassion and charity to your relatives. He forbids adultery, immorality and oppression. He exhorts you so that you will take heed' (*sūrat al-Naḥl*; XVI, v.90).

"Mafrūq commented, 'I swear, Quraysh brother, you are certainly advocating ethical conduct and good behaviour; and yet your people have denied, rejected and opposed you.'

"Apparently Mafrūq wanted to involve Hāniʾ b. Qubayṣa in the discussion and said, 'This is Hāniʾ b. Qubayṣa, our sheikh and religious leader.'

"Hāniʾ said, 'I heard what you said, O Quraysh brother, and believed what you said. I consider that our abandoning our religion and following you in yours because of one meeting we are having with you which had neither introduction nor follow-up, and without our giving it full consideration nor examining what the consequences would be of what you suggest – that would be a lapse in judgement, rashness and inadequate consideration for consequences. Lapse of judgement only comes with haste. We have behind us a people for whom we should be reluctant to make any pact. You should retire, as we should too; you should think it over, as we should.'

"Apparently Mafrūq wanted also to involve al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha in the discussion, for he then said, 'This is al-Muthannā, our sheikh and military leader.'

"Al-Muthannā then spoke, 'I heard and liked what you said, O Quraysh brother. I was impressed by your words. But our answer should be that of Hāni' b. Qubayṣa; for us to leave our religion and follow you after one sitting with us would be like us taking residence between two pools of stagnant water, one al-Yamāma and the other al-Samāwa.'

"The Messenger of God asked (ṢAAS), 'And what might those pools of stagnant water be then?'

"Al-Muthannā replied, 'One of these is where land extends to the Arab world, and the other is that of Persia and the rivers of Chosroe. We would be reneging on a pact that Chosroe has placed upon us to the effect that we would not cause an incident and not give sanctuary to a troublemaker. This policy you suggest for us is such a one that kings would dislike. As for those areas bordering Arab lands, the blame of those so acting would be forgiven and excuses for them be accepted, but for those areas next to Persia, those so acting would not be forgiven, and no such excuses would be accepted. If you want us to help and protect you from whatever relates to Arab territories alone, we should do so.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Your reply is in no way bad, for you have spoken eloquently and truthfully. (But) God's religion can only be engaged in by those who encompass it from all sides.'

"He then asked, 'Supposing it were only shortly after now that God were to award you their lands and properties and furnished you their young women, would you then praise God and revere Him?'

"Al-Nuʿmān b. Shurayk replied, 'Would to God you could accomplish that, Quraysh brother!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then recited to them, 'We have sent you as a witness, to bring good news and to warn, and to invite unto God, with His permission, and as a light-giving lantern.' (This quotation combines *sūrat al-Fath*; XLVIII, v.8 with *sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.46.)

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose, holding on to the hand of Abū Bakr."

ʿAlī went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then turned to us and said, 'ʿAlī, what fine character the Arabs used to have, in the *jahiliyya*; how noble a time that was; they sought refuge in the life of this world.'"[28]

ʿAlī went on, "We proceeded on to a meeting being held by the Aws and the Khazraj. We remained with them until they pledged allegiance to the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

ʿAlī continued, "And they were true, steadfast friends. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was delighted at the knowledge of Abū Bakr, God bless him, about their genealogies.

"Soon thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to address his Companions, telling them, 'Give much praise to God. For today the sons of

28. That is, from ignominy and boorishness.

Rabīʿa have triumphed over the people of Persia. They have killed their kings, and captured their troops and it was by me that they were given victory.'"

ʿAlī went on, "And the battle occurred at Qurāqir, by the side of Dhū Qār. And about this victory al-Aʿshā spoke the verses,

> 'My camel be a ransom for the Banū Dhuhl b. Shaybān and
> its rider at the clash, for it bore its burden well.
> They struck blows at the *ḥinw*, the bends of Qurāqir,
> against the vanguard of al-Hāmurz, until they fled.
> Glory be to the eyes that beheld those knights, like
> Dhuhl b. Shaybān, when they were in command.
> They rose up, and we did so too, with friendship
> between us, though we were overcome by the hardships of
> battle, clearly evident.'"

This *ḥadīth* is very strange. We have included it for its evidences of the proofs of the prophethood, its references to ethics and moral behaviour and its examples of the eloquence of the Arabs.

It also comes down through another line. It states, in that version, that when they battled against the Persians and met them at Qurāqir, a place near the Euphrates, they made their battle cry the name of Muḥammad (ṢAAS), and that it was thereby that they were made victorious over the Persians. Thereafter they converted to Islam.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Wābiṣa al-ʿAbsī, told us, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to us in our houses at Minā while we were staying there near the first *jamra*[29] which is next to the Khayf mosque. He was riding on his mount with Zayd b. Ḥāritha seated behind him. He called out an invitation to us, but we made no response to him; we were not given to make a good choice.

"'We had heard of him and of his preaching at the fairs; he stood and made a presentation and invitation to us, but we did not respond. We had with us Maysara b. Masrūq al-ʿAbsī and he said to us, "I swear by God, if we had believed this man and had taken him off to inside our territory, we would have triumphed. I swear by God, he will succeed and ultimately achieve all his objectives."

"'But our people replied, "Leave us alone. You'll not involve us in that over which we have no power."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had high hopes of Maysara and spoke to him. Maysara replied, "How fine, how enlightening your words are! But my people oppose me. All a man has is his own people. And if they don't stand by him, then enmity is more extensive."

"'So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left and people went off to their families. Maysara told them, "Let's turn off to Fadak. There are Jews there whom we can ask about this man."

29. One of three pillars at Minā at which pilgrims cast stones.

"'So they did go off to the Jews. They brought out a book of scriptures they had, put it down and studied. It made mention of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as the *ummī*, unlettered, Arab prophet who would ride an ass, reward himself with a piece of bread, a man neither tall nor short, neither curly nor straight-haired, with a redness to his eyes, and light in complexion. "If," (the Jews concluded) "it is he who appealed to you, then respond to him and enter his religion. We envy him and will not follow him. We will suffer greatly from him. All Arabs will follow him or fight him, so be among those who follow him."

"'Maysara said, "O people, this matter is very clear."

"'His people replied, "We will return to the festival and meet him." They then went home to their lands, but their elders refused to allow their return, and so none of them did follow him.

"'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) migrated to Medina and performed the "farewell pilgrimage" Maysara met with him and he recognized him. Maysara asked, "O Messenger of God, I swear I've continued wanting to follow you ever since that day you dismounted with us. But, as you see, God saw fit to delay my accepting Islam. All those who were with me at that time have since died; where have they been taken, O Messenger of God?"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "All those who died in any other state than Islam are now in hell-fire."

"'Maysara commented, "Praise be to God who saved me!" He then accepted Islam fully and he was treated with respect by Abū Bakr.'"

Imām Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Wāqidī has examined closely and related individually details about those tribes to which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented himself. These included the tribes of ʿĀmir, Ghassān, the Fazāra, the Murra, the Ḥanīfa, the Sulaym, the ʿAbs, the Naḍr b. Hawāzin, Thaʿlaba b. ʿUkāba, Kinda, Kaʿb, al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb, ʿUdhra, Qays b. al-Ḥaṭīm, and others.

The accounts of all these are very extensive; we have given here a goodly part of them, and to God belong all praise and credit.

Imām Aḥmad also stated, "Aswad b. ʿĀmir related to us, quoting Isrā'īl, from ʿUthmān – meaning Ibn al-Mughīra – from Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to present himself to the tribes at the assembly at ʿArafa, and say, "Will any man of you take me to his own people? For Quraysh have prevented me from delivering the words of my Lord. Almighty and Glorious is He!"

"'A man from Hamdān came to him thereafter and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, "From whom are you?"

"'"From Hamdān," he replied.

"'"And do your people grant protection?"

"'"Yes."

"'Thereafter the man feared that his people might be watching him, so he came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, "I will go to them and tell them, then I'll come to you next year."

"'"All right," the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) agreed.

"'The man then left, and in the month of Rajab the delegation of the *anṣār*, (the Helpers), arrived.'"

This *ḥadīth* is reported, by various paths, by scholars of all four of *al-sunan al-arbaʿa*,[30] from Isrāʾīl. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, good and authentic."

Division

On the arrival of the delegation of the *anṣār*, the Helpers, year after year, and their pledging their loyalty to him time after time. And thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved away to them in Medina, residing there among them, as will be explained in detail, if God wills it and in Him is all trust.

An Account from Suwayd b. Ṣāmit, the Anṣārī.

His full name was Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit b. ʿAṭiyya b. Ḥūṭ b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. Mālik b. al-Aws; his mother was Laylā, daughter of ʿAmr al-Najāriyya, the daughter of Salmā, daughter of ʿAmr, the mother of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim. This Suwayd was the son of the maternal aunt of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued as he had for some time; whenever people met for the festival, he would go to them and invite the tribes to God and into Islam, presenting himself to them and the message of guidance and mercy he brought. Whenever he heard of any Arab of good repute coming to Mecca, he would meet him, invite him to God Almighty and present him his message."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "ʿĀsim b. ʿAmr b. Qatāda informed me that the sheikhs of his tribe said that Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit, a brother from the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf came to Mecca, either for the *ḥajj*, the 'greater pilgrimage', or the *ʿumra*, the 'lesser pilgrimage'. Suwayd was known among his people as *al-Kāmil*, 'the perfect', for his strength, his poetry, his honour and his fine lineage. It was he who spoke the lines,

> 'Many men there are you call friends who would shock
> you to see the lies they tell of you in your absence.
> There before you his words may be sweet as honey, while
> in your absence they are an old sword at the base of your
> neck!
> What he shows you pleases you, while under his skin he's
> an amulet of deceit exploding behind your back.

30. A technical term used to identify the four compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* traditions, excluding al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

The eyes show you with suspicious glances what spite and hatred he conceals.
"Feather" me well; for long you have weakened me; the best allies are those who "feather" without weakening.'

"Having heard of him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to see him and invited him to God and to Islam. Suwayd replied, 'Perhaps what you have is like what I have.'

"'What is it you have?' asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"'The *majalla* of Luqmān,' he replied. By this word he meant the 'wisdom' of Luqmān.

"'Present it to me,' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, and when Suwayd had done so, he commented, 'These words are fine. But what I have is better – a Qur'ān that God has sent down to me to be a guide and a light.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then recited the Qur'ān to him and invited him into Islam. Suwayd did not draw away, but said, 'Those words were wonderful.'

"Suwayd then left and later came to Medina with his tribe. Shortly thereafter he was killed by the Khazraj tribe, though some of his own people say that he was a Muslim at the time of his death. His killing occurred before the battle at Bu'āth."

Al-Bayhaqī related this, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Isḥāq, in a shorter form.

THE ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAM BY IYĀS B. MU'ĀDH.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh related to him, from Maḥmūd b. Labīd, saying, "When Abū al-Ḥaysar, Anas b. Rāfi' came to Mecca, accompanied by other men of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, including Iyās b. Mu'ādh, seeking a pact with Quraysh against the Khazraj tribe, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard of their coming and went to them. He sat down among them and asked, 'Would you like something better than what it was you came for?' 'What would that be?' they asked.

"He replied, 'I am the Messenger of God to all mankind. And I invite them to worship God and to associate none other with Him. 'And,' he told them, 'the book has been revealed to me.' He then told them of Islam and recited the Qur'ān to them."

The account goes on, "Iyās b. Mu'ādh, who was a young man, spoke up, saying, 'My people, I swear this is better than what you came for.'

"Abū al-Ḥaysar Anas b. Rāfi' then took up a handful of dirt from the river bed and threw it into the face of Iyās b. Mu'ādh, saying, 'Clear off! We came for something different.'

"Iyās remained silent, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left them, and they returned into Medina. The battle of Bu'āth was between the Aws and the Khazraj tribes.

"And shortly thereafter Iyās b. Muʿādh died.

"Maḥmūd b. Labīd said, 'Some of his tribesmen who were present told me that they heard him constantly praising, glorifying and exalting God until he died. They did not doubt that he had died a Muslim. He had become conscious of Islam at that assembly when he had heard what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had to say.'"

My own comment is that this occurred on the day of the battle of Buʿāth, the name of a site at Medina. A major battle took place there which led to the death of a large number of the leaders of the Aws and the Khazraj; few of their prominent men survived it.

Al-Bukhārī related in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from ʿUbayd b. Ismāʿīl, from Abū Umāma, from Hishām, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "The battle of Buʿāth was one that God gave to His Messenger. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina when their leadership was divided, their elite having been killed."

Chapter: The commencement of the acceptance of Islam by the anṣār, *the "Helpers" of Medina, God bless them.*

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When God wished to display His religion, exalt His Prophet and fulfil His promise to him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out in that season of the pilgrimage in which he met a number of the *anṣār*. He presented himself to the Arab tribes as he had been doing in previous seasons. While he was at al-ʿAqaba he met a group of the Khazraj tribe for whom God had good in store.

"'Āṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that some of the leaders of his people said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met them he asked them, "Who are you?" "We are men of al-Khazraj," they replied. "Are you allies of the Jews?" he asked.

"'"Yes," they replied.

"'"Would you sit down so that I may talk with you?" he invited them, and they agreed.

"'So they did sit down and he called them to the path of God, explaining Islam to them. He also recited the Qurʾān to them.

"'One way in which God facilitated their (acceptance) of Islam was that the Jews were there with them in their country. These were followers of Scriptures and men of knowledge, though they themselves were polytheists and idol worshippers. They had previously attacked these Jews in their territories and whenever dispute had arisen, the latter had told them, "A prophet will now be sent. His day is coming. We will follow him and give you the same fate as that of the peoples of ʿĀd and Iram."

"'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressed these people, and invited them to God, they told one another, "This has to be the prophet the Jews foresaw; we should not let them get to him first!"

"'They therefore responded to his call for them to believe in him and accepted Islam, saying, "We have left our own people, for they have such discord and dissension between them not found in any other. Perhaps God may unite them through you. We will go forth among them and invite them to join you, presenting to them this religion we have accepted from you. If God should unite them around you, then no one will be dearer to us than you." They then left, returning to their territory, believing in him and the faith.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "These men, so I have been told, were six in number. Of the Khazraj there was Abū Umāma Asʿad b. Zurāra b. ʿUds b. ʿUbayd b. Thaʿlaba b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār. According to Abū Nuʿaym, he was the first of the *anṣār* of the Khazraj to accept Islam.

"From al-ʿAws there was Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān. It is said, however, that the first of them to accept Islam were Rāfiʿ b. Mālik and Muʿādh b. ʿAfrā'. But God knows best.

"Also there were ʿAwf b. al-Ḥārith b. Rifāʿa b. Sawād b. Mālik b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, he being the son of ʿAfra', both these last being Najjāris; Rāfiʿ b. Mālik b. al-ʿAjlān b. ʿAmr b. Zurayq al-Zurqī; Quṭba b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥadīda b. ʿAmr b. Ghanm b. Sawwād b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salama b. Saʿd b. ʿAlī b. Asad b. Sārida b. Yazīd b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj al-Sulamī. From the Banū Sawwād; ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir b. Nābī b. Zayd b. Ḥarām b. Kaʿb b. Salama, also of al-Sulam, and then from the Banū Ḥarām; Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Riʾāb b. al-Nuʿmān b. Sinān b. ʿUbayd b. ʿAdiyy b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salama, also of al-Sulam, then from Banū ʿUbayd. God be pleased with all these men."

It is similarly related from al-Shaʿbī, al-Zuhrī and others that those there that night were six men of the Khazraj.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba recounted, from al-Zuhrī and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, that at the first meeting between them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), they were eight in number and consisted of Muʿādh b. ʿAfra', Asʿad b. Zurāra, Rāfiʿ b. Mālik, Dhakwān, he being Ibn ʿAbd Qays, ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Yazīd b. Thaʿlaba, Abū Haytham b. al-Tīhān, and ʿUwaym b. Sāʿida. These all accepted Islam and made an appointment for the following year.

They then returned to their people and called on them to accept Islam. They also sent Muʿādh b. ʿAfrā' and Rāfiʿ b. Mālik to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking him to send to them someone who could give them religious instruction. He responded by sending Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, who went and stayed with Asʿad b. Zurāra.

This account goes on to conclude as Ibn Isḥāq's and more fully than that of Mūsā b. ʿUqba. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "And when these men arrived in Medina to their people they told them of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and invited them to Islam. Eventually news of him spread among them to such a degree that not a single home of the *anṣār* was without knowledge of him.

"The following year 12 of the *anṣār* kept to their appointment to attend the festival (of the *ḥajj*); they were Abū Umāma Asʿad b. Zurāra and ʿAwf b. al-Ḥārith, mentioned above, along with his brother Muʿādh, both these being sons of ʿAfrāʾ, and Rāfiʿ b. Mālik, also mentioned above.

"Then there were Dhakwān b. ʿAbd Qays b. Khalada b. Mukhlid b. ʿĀmir, the son of Zurayq al-Zurqī. (Ibn Hishām said that he was a Helper who had also migrated from Mecca.)

"Also there were ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit b. Qays b. Aṣram b. Fihr b. Thaʿlaba b. Ghanm b. ʿAwf b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj, along with their ally Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Yazīd b. Thaʿlaba b. Khazma b. Aṣram al-Balawī, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿUbāda b. Naḍla b. Mālik b. al-ʿAjlān b. Yazīd b. Ghanm b. Sālim b. ʿAwf b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj al-ʿAjlānī, ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir b. Nābī, mentioned before, and Quṭba b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥadīda, mentioned before.

"These men were from Khazraj.

"From Aws there were two men, ʿUwaym b. Sāʿida and Abū al-Haytham, Mālik b. al-Tayhān." Ibn Hishām stated that al-Tayhān could also be spelled al-Tayyihān, as in the words *mayt*, dead, and *mayyit*.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "The full name of Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayhān was Mālik b. Mālik b. ʿAtayk b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlam b. ʿĀmir b. Zaʿūr b. Jusham b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj b. ʿAmr b. Mālik b. al-Aws." And he also stated, "It is said that he was an Irāshī or a Balawī." But neither Ibn Isḥāq nor Ibn Hishām give him such a relationship. He also said, "The word *al-haytham* refers to an eaglet; it is also a type of plant."

By this he shows that these 12 men attended the festival that year with the intent of meeting with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); they did so at al-ʿAqaba, where they pledged allegiance to him with a pledge known as the "women's pledge"; this occurred at the first (meeting) at ʿAqaba.

Abū Nuʿaym related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited to them God's words in *sūrat Ibrāhīm*, "And when Abraham said, 'O my Lord, render this country secure' (*sūrat Ibrāhīm*; XIV, v.35).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Marthad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yazanī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUsayla al-Ṣunābihī, from ʿUbāda, he being Ibn al-Ṣāmit, who said, 'I was among those who attended the first (meeting at) ʿAqaba. We were 12 men. We pledged allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by the so-called "women's pledge". That was before war was enjoined. It was to the effect that we would not associate any other with God, we would not steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill our children, nor make false accusations, nor disobey him in anything good. "If you keep to this," he told us, "you shall go to paradise. But if you commit any of these, then God will decide your fate; if He wishes He will either punish you or forgive you."'"

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim related this *ḥadīth* through al-Layth b. Saʿd, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb in much the same terms.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī recounted, from ʿĀʾidh Allāh Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī that ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit related to him, saying, 'We pledged to

the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the night of the first (meeting at) ʿAqaba, that we would not associate any other with God, that we would not steal, commit fornication, kill our children, make false accusations, nor disobey him in anything good. (He told us) "If you keep to this, you shall have paradise. But if you give up any of this, and you are punished for it in this world, then that will provide atonement for you. But if it is overlooked until Judgement Day, it will be up to God to decide whether to punish or forgive you."'"

This *ḥadīth* is given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections and elsewhere with paths from al-Zuhrī in much the same version.

The words here, the "women's pledge", are a reference to the similarity between this and the revelation relating to the pledge later made by women in the year of the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya. And on that occasion the revelation accorded with what had been revealed regarding the pledge he had required of his Companions on the night of al-ʿAqaba. This is not strange, for a Qurʾānic revelation sometimes came in more than one location, as was affirmed by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, as we have explained in both his biography and in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And since this pledge resulted from revelation that was not recited,[31] it makes the aforementioned observation all the more plausible. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the group left, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to them Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf b. ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. He told him to recite the Qurʾān to them, to teach them Islam and to instruct them in the faith."

Al-Bayhaqī reported, on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq, who said, "ʿĀsim b. ʿUmayr b. Qatāda related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only sent Muṣʿab when they wrote to him asking that he send him to them. It was he who was mentioned by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, as given above, even though in that case he applied to the first of the meetings what is here said of the second."

Al-Bayhaqī commented, "The account of Ibn Isḥāq is more complete."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr used to say, 'I don't know what this "first (meeting at) ʿAqaba" means.'" Ibn Isḥāq then commented, "Certainly, I swear it, there was an ʿAqaba meeting, and then another one."

All authorities agree that Muṣʿab took up residence with Asʿad b. Zurāra and that he was known in Medina as the *muqrʾ*, the reciter.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿĀsim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that he used to lead the prayer for them. This was because the Aws and the Khazraj disliked that they be led in prayer by one who belonged to the other tribe. God be pleased with them one and all."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Abū Umāma b. Sahl b. Ḥunayf related to me, from his father, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb b. Mālik who said, 'When my

31. This refers to a genre of revelation different from that of the Qurʾān. It is therefore not *matlū*, recited, as liturgy in the Muslim daily prayers.

father had lost his sight, I used to lead him. When I would take him out to the Friday meeting, and he heard the call to prayer there he would say a prayer for Abū Umāma Asʿad b. Zurāra.'"

The account goes on, "'This went on for some time; he never heard the Friday call to prayer without praying for him and asking forgiveness for him. I told myself it was weakness on my part not to ask him why this was and said, "Why is it, father, that whenever you hear the Friday call to prayer, you pray for Abū Umāma?" He replied, "My son, he was the first to unite us in Medina at the *hazm al-nabīt*, in the quarter of the Banū Bayāḍa, in *al-baqīʿ*, the plain, known as the *baqīʿ al-Khaḍimāt*." "And how many were you there that day?" I asked. "We were 40 men," he replied.'"

Abū Dāʾūd and Ibn Māja told this *ḥadīth* through Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, God bless him.

Al-Dārquṭnī related, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote to Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr telling him to establish the Friday prayer. But there is some peculiarity in the line of transmission he gives. God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Mughīra b. Muʿayqib related to me, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, that Asʿad b. Zurāra went off with Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr to visit the homes of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal and the Banū Ẓafr. Saʿd b. Muʿādh was the son of the maternal aunt of Asʿad b. Zurāra. He took him inside one of the gardens of the Banū Ẓafr at a well known as the 'Maraq well'. They sat there and received visits from some of the men who had accepted Islam.

"Saʿd b. Muʿādh and Usayd b. al-Ḥuḍayr were at that time leaders of their people of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal; both were polytheists practising their nation's religion.

"When they heard of him, Saʿd said to Usayd, 'Go to those two men who have come to our homes to make fools of our weakest elements; rebuke them and forbid them from entering our quarters. If Asʿad b. Zurāra were not related to me, as you know, I'd save you the trouble. But he is my maternal aunt's son, and I can't approach him'

"And so Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr took his spear and went to them. When they saw him, Asʿad b. Zurāra said to Muṣʿab, 'This is his tribe's chief who has come to you; trust God through him.'

"Muṣʿab said, 'I will speak to him if he sits down.'

"Usayd stood glowering at them and asked them, 'Why did you both come here and make fools of our weak? Keep away from us if you value yourselves.'

"Mūsā b.ʿUqba said, 'At this point a youth commented, "It's you who have come to our homes with this strange threatening of yours to have our weak elements behave stupidly and advocate it to others."'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muṣʿab replied to him, 'Why not sit down and listen to us. If you like what you hear, you can accept it; if you dislike it you can ignore it.'

"He replied, 'You have spoken fairly.' He then put down his spear and sat with them. Muṣʿab then spoke to him about Islam and recited the Qur'ān to him.

"According to what is reported, they both said, 'By God, we recognized Islam in his face, from its radiant calm, even before he spoke.'

"Usayd then said, 'How beautiful, how wonderful that is! What does one do to enter this faith?'

"They told him, 'You wash, and clean yourself and your clothes. You then give testimony to the truth and say prayers.'

"Usayd then arose, washed, cleaned his clothes and made testimony to the truth. He then performed two prayer prostrations and told them, 'Behind me there is a man who if he follows you, will not leave behind any one of his people. I will send him to you now. He is Saʿd b. Muʿādh.'

"He then took his spear and left for Saʿd and his people who were sitting in their assembly. When Saʿd b. Muʿādh saw him coming, he commented, 'I swear by God, Usayd is coming back to you with an expression quite different from when he left you.'

"When Usayd stopped at the assembly, Saʿd asked him, 'Well, what did you do?' He replied, 'I spoke to both men and, I swear, I saw no harm in them. I warned them and they replied, "We will do whatever you wish." And I was informed that the Banū Ḥāritha had gone off to kill Asʿad b. Zurāra; that was because they knew that he is your aunt's son and wanted to harm you.'

"Saʿd b. Muʿādh arose angrily at this, anxious because of what they had said about the Banū Ḥāritha. He took the spear in his hand and said, 'I can see, by God, that you have accomplished nothing!'

"Saʿd then left to go to the two men and when he saw them to be untroubled, he realized that Usayd had merely wanted him to listen to them. He came to a stop, in a rage, and said to Asʿad b. Zurāra, 'By God, Abū Umāma, if we weren't relatives, you wouldn't behave this way to me. Will you behave in our very homes in ways that offend us?'

"Asʿad had told Muṣʿab, 'I swear, a leader has come to you who has such influence that if he follows you, no two others will hold back from you.'

"Muṣʿab therefore told him, 'Would you sit and listen; if you hear what you like, you can accept it; if you dislike it, we'll not bother you with it again.'

"Saʿd replied, 'You speak fair.' He then put down his spear and sat. Islam was then explained to him, and the Qur'ān was recited to him."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba recounted that it was the first part of *sūrat al-Zukhruf* (XLIII) that was recited to him.

"The account continued, 'And, I swear, we recognized Islam in his face even before he spoke, from its radiant calm.'

"Saʿd then asked them, 'What does one do to accept Islam and enter this religion?'

"They told him, 'You wash, and clean yourself and your clothes. Then you give testimony to the truth and make two prayer prostrations.'

"Saʿd arose, performed the ablutions, washed both his garments, gave testimony to the truth and then performed two prayer prostrations.

"After that Saʿd took his spear and returned to his people's assembly, Usayd b. al-Ḥuḍayr accompanying him. When his people saw him coming, they said, 'My God, Saʿd is returning with quite a different expression from when he left.'

"When he stood there before them, he said, 'O Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, how do you view my position among you?'

"They replied, 'You are our leader, the wisest man among us, and the man with the happiest disposition.'

"Saʿd told them, 'It is forbidden for any man or woman among you to speak to me until you believe in God and His Messenger.'

"The account continues, 'And, I swear, by that evening every single man and woman there in the quarters of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal had become Muslims.'

"Saʿd and Muṣʿab then returned to the home of Asʿad b. Zurāra and remained there calling upon people to join Islam until there was not a single one of the homes of the *anṣār* that did not have Muslims living there. Except, that is, for the homes of the Banū Umayya b. Zayd, Khaṭma, Wāʾil and Wāqif. These were of the Aws, that is, al-Aws b. Ḥāritha.

"This is because they had among them Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, known as Ṣayfī. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār said, 'His name was al-Ḥārith, but also it was said to be ʿUbayd Allāh. His father's name was al-Aslat ʿĀmir b. Jusham b.Wāʾil b. Zayd b. Qays b. ʿĀmir b. Murra b. Mālik b. al-Aws. Al-Kalbī gave him the same genealogy. He was a poet and a leader of theirs; they would listen to him and obey. He kept them from Islam until after the battle of *al-khandaq*, "the battle of the trench".'"

I observe that this Abū Qays b. al-Aslat has poetry quoted by Ibn Isḥāq that is eloquent and good and reminiscent of the poetry of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt al-Thaqafī.

Ibn Isḥāq commented concerning the above, "As news of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spread among the bedouins and the towns, this was reported in Medina. No Arab quarter was more knowledgeable about the affairs of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), both before and after he became the subject of report, than this territory of the Aws and the Khazraj. This was because of what they had heard from the Jewish rabbis.

"When circumstances developed in Medina for him as they did and people discussed the dispute between him and Quraysh, Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, brother of the Banū Wāqif spoke some verses."

Al-Suhaylī gave his name as Abū Qays Ṣirma b. Abū Anas. The full name of Abū Anas was Qays b. Ṣirma b. Mālik b. ʿAdī b. ʿAmr b. Ghanm b. ʿAdī b. al-Najjār. And he said, "It was about him and ʿUmar that the following verse was revealed, 'It has been made lawful for you to visit with your wives on the night of the fast'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.187).

Ibn Isḥāq commented, "He greatly liked Quraysh. He was a son-in-law of theirs, his wife being Arnab, daughter of Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy. He had spent some years living among Quraysh with his wife.

"He spoke an ode in which he extolled sacrosanctity and advised Quraysh against war. In it he referred to their good qualities and their aspirations and reminded them of how God had tested them and how He had repelled from them those of the elephant and all their strategies. He also told them to leave the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) alone. In these verses, he said,

'O rider, if you do not object, then carry this message
from me to the tribe of Luʾayy b. Ghālib.
The messenger of a man upset by your enmity, sad at the
distance between you, tired of it,
I had a place to stop at for my troubles, yet I did not
by it fulfil my needs and wishes.
Your abode, however, has two factions, each one clamouring
noisily, like the sound made by kindling and wood burning,
I bid you take refuge with God from your evil deeds, from
the evil of your desires and from the scorpion's sting,
From the display of bad morals, from evil plottings like
the prick of an awl, having great impact,
And remind them firstly of God and at the sanctioning of
things forbidden, like wombs of young maidens.
And tell them, "And God will make His judgement; abandon
warfare and let it depart from you."
When you incite it, you arouse something blameworthy; it
is an evil spirit for those related to you or not.
It severs family ties, can destroy a nation, use up the
fat from a camel's hump and withers.
For it fine, thin clothes are exchanged for coats of
chainmail and the rust-spotted garb of the warrior,
While musk and camphor are exchanged for clouds of dust,
the chain-links looking like locusts' eyes.
Beware lest war attach itself to you, for it is a pool
whose water is unhealthy and bitter to drink.
It seems attractive to nations, then they see its
consequences reveal it as an ugly old woman.
It burns up rather than cooks those who are weak, and
diverts your nobles to certain death.
Do you not know how it was in the war of Dāḥis; give
thought; and to the war of Ḥāṭib too.
How many great leaders were then struck down, fine,
up-standing men whose guests were never disappointed,
Great men, like fine charcoals, men to be revered, men of
pure character, of exemplary nobility,
Like water spread out in a waste-land as though poured
there by the winds of East or South,

Of which you are told by a truthful man who has knowledge of its events, knowledge based on experience.

Buy weapons from a warrior, and remember well your account, for God is the best accountant.

A man's patron is He, and chose a religion; and let there be no guardian over you but the Lord of the stars.

Establish a *ḥanīf* religion for us, for You are a goal for us, and one can be guided by great peaks.

And You are a light and protection for this people; You are a refuge they go to, and dreams do not disappoint.

And if the people find a jewel, to You goes the credit (lit. for You are the valley's centre, the rabbit's nose).

You ensure noble and ancient lineage, lines that are refined and blemish-free.

Those in need see moving towards your abodes groups of those destroyed, leading other groups.

Those most righteous have learned that your heights are in all ways the best of all abodes.

It is the most wise and the best in conduct who, among all the processions, are most given to the truth.

And so arise and pray to your Lord, and touch the pillars of this temple amidst the mountains.

For among you from Him has come a favour and a proof on the day of Abū Yaksūm, leader of the phallanges.

His forces will march over the plain, and his men will traverse the clefts of the high mountains.

When the assistance of the Throne-possessor comes to you armies of angels will repel them, raising dust and stones,

And they shall turn tail and flee, and only a few groups will return from captivity to their people.

And if you perish, so let us die, along with festivals long lived by; so will a man say who will not lie.'"

The war of Dāḥis mentioned by Abū Qays in his poetry was famous and occurred in the *jāhiliyya* period. According to Abū ʿUbayd Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā and others, its cause was as follows: Qays b. Zuhayr b. Judhayma b. Rawāḥa al-Ghaṭafānī owned a mare called Dāḥis, and he ran her in a race with a mare called al-Ghabrāʾ owned by Ḥudhayfa b. Badr b. ʿAmr b. Juʾayya, also of Ghaṭafān. Dāḥis came in first but Ḥudhayfa ordered it to be struck in the head. Mālik b. Zuhayr jumped up and struck al-Ghabrāʾ in the head. At that Ḥamal b. Badr struck Mālik. After, Abū Junaydab al-ʿAbsī met ʿAwf b. Ḥudhayfa and killed him. Then a man of the Banū Fazāra met and killed Mālik. And so war erupted between the Banū ʿAbs and Fazāra. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr, his brother Ḥamal b. Badr and other groups were killed. A great deal of poetry, which it would take much time to quote and explain, was written concerning this.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Qays started Dāḥis and al-Ghabrā' in the race, while Ḥudhayfa started al-Khaṭṭār and al-Ḥanfā'." The former account is more accurate.

As for the war of Ḥāṭib, the reference is to Ḥāṭib b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. Haysha b. al-Ḥārith b. Umayya b. Muʿāwiya b. Mālik b. ʿAwf b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. Mālik b. al-Aws who had killed a Jew who was under the protection of the Khazraj. Zayd b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. Mālik b. Aḥmar b. Ḥāritha b. Thaʿlaba b. Kaʿb b. Mālik b. Kaʿb b. al-Khazraj b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, he being known as Ibn Fusḥum, went out after this man Ḥāṭib, accompanied by a group of his men of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Khazraj. They killed Ḥāṭib and this led to a war between the Aws and the Khazraj. The fighting was very fierce and ultimately the Khazraj were victorious. At that time al-Aswad b. al-Ṣāmit al-Awsī was killed by al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyād, an ally of the Banū ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj. This led to further wars between them that would be lengthy to relate.

The point is that Abū Qays b. al-Aslat gained nothing from all his knowledge and understanding when Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr came to Medina and called upon its people to accept Islam, many of whom agreed.

So that, as has been said, not a house there was without a Muslim man or woman except that of the Banū Wāqif, Abū Qays's tribe, who held them back from Islam. It was also he who spoke the verses:

> "O Lord of mankind, some things have given pain,
> significant and trivial matters combined,
> O Lord of mankind, if we should have gone astray, then
> guide us to the proper path.
> Were it not for our Lord, we would be Jews, and the
> religion of the Jews lacks proper form.
> Were it not for our lord, we would be Christians, with
> the monks up in the mountains of Galilee.
> But when created, we were made *ḥanīfs* from many
> generations back.
> We lead the camels to slaughter, passive and in shackles,
> their necks bare, but wearing saddles."

The gist of what he says is that he was undecided as to how to react to what he had heard about the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so he prevaricated despite his learning.

The person who kept him back from Islam initially was ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl, after Abū Qays had informed him that the person who had announced his coming was a Jew; and so he dissuaded him from accepting Islam.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "He did not accept Islam up to the time of the conquest of Mecca, he and his brother, and so he left."

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār denied that Abū Qays accepted Islam. As did al-Wāqidī, who stated, 'He had intended to accept Islam when first the Messsenger of God

(ṢAAS) invited him to do so. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, however, criticized him for this and he pledged that he would not accept Islam until the next year. But he died in the month Dhū al-Qaʿda.'"

Others, as related by Ibn al-Athīr in his work *Usūd al-Ghāba* (*The Jungle Lions*) state that when death was close for him, the Prophet (ṢAAS) invited him to Islam and he was heard to say, "There is no god but God."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥasan b. Mūsā related to us, that Ḥammād b. Salama related to him, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) visited an *anṣār* man and said, 'O *khāl*, "maternal uncle", say, "There is no god but God."' He replied, 'Do you say *khāl*, maternal uncle or *ʿamm*, paternal uncle?' 'No, I say *khāl*,' he replied. The man asked, 'So it is best for me to say, "There is no god but God?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Yes.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Ikrima and others related that when he died, his son wanted to marry his father's widow, Kabīsha, daughter of Maʿan b. ʿĀṣim. She asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about this and God revealed, "Do not marry those same women your fathers married" (*surat al-Nisaʾ*; IV, v.22).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, as did Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā al-Umawī in his work on the *maghāzī*, the military campaigns, "This man Abū Qays became a monk during the *jāhiliyya* period before Islam and adopted wearing a hair-cloth gown. He abandoned the idols, washed after being in a state of ritual impurity and kept away from menstruating women. He thought of adopting Christianity but then refrained. He took a house and made it into a mosque where he allowed no menstruating women entrance nor anyone in a state of ritual impurity. He said, 'I worship the God of Abraham when he had abandoned and expressed hatred for the idols.'

"This went on until the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then accepted Islam and became a good Muslim.

"He was a respected elder and man of truth who glorified God in that *jāhiliyya* period, before Islam, in which he lived. He spoke fine verses on the subject. It was he who said,

> 'Abū Qays, about to leave, says, "Perform all you can of this my advice.
> I commend God to you, righteousness, piety and honour, but devotion to God comes first.
> If your people lead, do no envy them; if you attain leadership, then be just.
> If a disaster should befall your people, then place yourselves in front of your tribe.
> If a disastrous loss afflicts them, keep them company and bear up beneath whatever it is they place on you.
> If hardship afflicts you, remain pure, and if wealth should come to you, then be generous."'

"Abū Qays also said,

'Glorify God at dawn each day His sun rises, and at every crescent moon.
He knows both what is plain and secret; nothing our Lord says is misguided.
The birds are His that stray far away then return to their nests in the safety of the mountains.
The wild beasts of the deserts are His; you see them in the sand tracts and the shades of the dunes.
The Jews pray to Him and perform every ritual out of fear of disaster.
The Christians bow down to Him and offer all feasts and celebrations to their Lord.
The hermit monk is His; you see him live in poverty though formerly in ease.
O my people, do not sever kinship's ties, but ever join the short to the long.
Fear God when treating weak orphans; sometimes what is forbidden is considered fair.
And know that orphans have an All-Knowing protector who guides without question.
Do not consume the wealth of orphans; the wealth of orphans does have a protector.
My people, do not ignore the bounds; there are limits to ignoring bounds.
My people, do not feel secure in the future; beware of its deceit and of time's passage. Realize that time's passing destroys all things created, young and old alike.
Resolve yourselves for goodness and piety; forsake indecency and do only right.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Qays also composed another piece in which he records how God had honoured them by the gift of Islam and by having sent His Messenger (ṢAAS) down to them. The following line is part thereof:

'He resided among Quraysh a dozen years, preaching in case he should find there some helpful friend.'"

We will give the full text of this poem later, if God wills it, and in Him is all trust.

An Account of the second meeting at al-ʿAqaba.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr returned to Mecca and the *anṣār* Muslims came there along with those of their people who were making the pilgrimage and were still polytheists. (The *anṣār*) made a pact with the Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) at al-ʿAqaba, in the medial days of the *tashrīq*[32] when God granted them honour, ensured victory for the Prophet and glory for Islam and its people, and cast down idolatry and its supporters.

"Maʿbad b. Kaʿb b. Mālik related to me, that his brother ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb, one of the most learned of the *anṣār*, told him that his father Kaʿb told him as follows, having been one of those who was present at al-ʿAqaba and pledged allegiance there to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He stated, 'We left in the company of those of our people who were polytheists; we had prayed and received religious instruction. With us was al-Barāʾ b. Maʿmūr, our elder and leader. When we had headed out on our journey from Medinā, al-Barāʾ said, "I've had an idea, and I wonder whether or not you will agree with me on it." We asked what it was and he replied, "I think I will not leave this building – meaning the *kaʿba* – to my back. I shall pray towards it." We commented, "We've not heard that our Prophet (ṢAAS) never prays in any other direction than towards Syria[33] (i.e. Jerusalem). We don't want to contradict him."

"'He replied, "I am going to pray towards it."

"'"Well, we will not," we told him.

"'When time for prayer came we did face towards Syria, while he prayed in the direction of the *kaʿba* until we reached Mecca. We criticized him for persisting in doing this. Upon reaching Mecca, he told me, "Nephew, let's go off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and ask him about what I've been doing on this journey. The disapproval I have seen in you has somewhat disturbed me."

"'So off we went, asking the whereabouts of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). We had not seen him prior to that. We met a Meccan and asked after him, and he replied, "Do you know him?" "No," we replied. "Then do you know al-ʿAbbās b. al-Muṭṭalib, his uncle?" "Yes," we told him, for we did know al-ʿAbbās. He often came to us on business trips. The Meccan told us, "If you go to the mosque, he will be sitting next to al-ʿAbbās."

"'So we went in the mosque and there was al-ʿAbbās sitting with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by his side. We made greetings then sat down facing him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked al-ʿAbbās, "Do you know these two men, Abū al-Faḍl?" He replied, "Yes; this is al-Barāʾ b. Maʿmūr, his people's leader, and this is Kaʿb b. Mālik."'"

The account proceeds, "'I swear, I'll never forget what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said: "You mean the poet?" "Yes," he replied.

"'Then al-Barāʾ b. Maʿmūr addressed him, "O prophet of God, I have come on this journey having been given guidance to Islam by God Almighty. I had the

32. During the pre-Islamic pilgrimage season, the *tashrīq* days, those between the 11th and the 13th of Dhu al-Ḥijja, were apparently given over to eating, drinking, and sensual pleasure. The *tashrīq* days were later incorporated into Islam, without, however, the aforementioned practices of the *jahiliyya*.

33. Lit. "Greater Syria". Jerusalem was often referred to as *al-Sham*, Syria, because it was a part of what was then Greater Syria.

idea of not facing my back to this building, so I prayed towards it. My friends opposed me in this, causing me concern. What do you think?"

"'"You already had a *qibla*, a direction for prayer, and should have kept to it," he replied.

"'And so al-Barā' reverted to the prayer direction adopted by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and so prayed along with us towards Syria.'"

The account concludes, "But his family claim that he continued his prayers towards the *kaʿba* until he died. But it was not as they said; we know better than they about it."

Kaʿb b. Mālik stated, "We then left on the pilgrimage, having made an agreement to meet the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-ʿAqaba in the middle of the *tashrīq* period. When we had finished the pilgrimage the night arrived for which we had an appointment with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). We had kept our purpose unknown to those of our people who were polytheists, but there with us was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām Abū Jābir, one of our leaders. To him we spoke, telling him, 'Abū Jābir, you are one of our noble leaders, and we would like you to give up your practices; otherwise one day you will end up as fuel for hell-fire.' We then invited him into Islam, and told him of our rendezvous with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-ʿAqaba. He did accept Islam, was present at al-ʿAqaba and became a *naqīb*, a leader."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ibrāhīm related to me, quoting Hishām, that Ibn Jurayj told them, from ʿAṭā', that Jābir said, 'I, my father and my two maternal uncles were present at al-ʿAqaba.' ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad stated, 'Ibn ʿUyayna said, "One of these two men was al-Barā' b. Maʿmūr."' ʿAlī al-Madīnī related to us, quoting Sufyān, 'ʿAmr used to say, "I heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh state, 'My two maternal uncles were present at al-ʿAqaba with me.'"'"

The Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Maʿmar, from Ibn Khuthaym, from Abū al-Zubayr, that Jābir said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained for ten years in Mecca following people to their homes, going to ʿUkāẓ and Majanna during the festivals asking, "Who will give me refuge? Whoever will help me until I can fulfil the mission of my Lord will attain paradise." But he found no one to shelter or aid him. So much so that someone from Yemen or the Muḍar would appear and respond favourably to this plea, only to have his relatives and friends tell him, "Watch out that that man of Quraysh doesn't corrupt you!" And if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were to pass through their encampments, they would point their fingers at him.

"'This went on until God sent us from Yathrib (Medina) to him and we gave him refuge and believed in him. Our people would go off, believe in him, have the Qur'ān recited to them and then return to their own folk who would then accept Islam as they had. Eventually no *anṣār* home was devoid of Muslims displaying their faith in Islam.

"'At last we all consulted together and asked ourselves how long we were going to leave the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) doing his rounds and being harassed in the Meccan mountains in a state of fear.

"'So 70 of us men went to see him during the pilgrimage season. We made a rendezvous with him at the defile at al-ʿAqaba, going there in ones and twos until all were present. Then we asked him, "O Messenger of God what do you wish us to pledge to you?"

"'He replied, "You must pledge to hear and obey at times of both action and inaction, to give whether times are hard or easy, and to advocate goodness and prohibit evil. You must speak out for God and not fear any blame for supporting God. You must help and defend me if I come to you in the same ways you help and defend yourselves, your wives and your children. You will then attain paradise." And so we stood up before him and pledged allegiance. Asʿad b. Zurāra took him by the hand, he being one of the youngest there.'"

In the account of al-Bayhaqī, the text reads, "He was the youngest of the 70 except for myself. He (Asʿad) said, 'Slowly now, people of Yathrib! We only hurried here because we know that he is the Messenger of God. Bringing him out now, however, would be a provocation to all the Arabs that would cause you to lose your élite and would box you in with swords raised against you. If you are able to withstand that, then adopt him and it will be up to God to reward you. But if you are a people who have great fear for yourselves, then leave him and make that fact plain; that course would be more forgivable in God's sight.'

"'Keep away from us, Asʿad,' (they replied). 'We won't renege on this pledge. We will never deny it.'"

He continued, "So we all stood and pledged to him. He made us make promises and assured us paradise in return."

Imām Aḥmad related this also, as did al-Bayhaqī through Dāʾūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭṭār.

Al-Bayhaqī's account adds to the chain of authorities al-Ḥākim back to Yaḥyā b. Sālim; both of them include ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū Idrīs, with much the same content.

This chain of authorities is excellent and meets the criteria for *aḥādith* prescribed by Muslim; the scholars, however, did not cite it.

Al-Bazzār commented, "Several authorities quote it from Ibn Khuthaym, but we only know of Jābir being a link in this one account."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Sulaymān b. Dāʾūd related to us, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "Al-ʿAbbās was holding the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while the latter was verifying our pledges. When he had finished, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I have taken, and I have given.'"

Al-Bazzār stated, "Muḥammad b. Maʿmar related to us, quoting Qubayṣa, quoting Sufyān – he being al-Thawrī – from Jābir – meaning al-Juʿfī – from Dāʾūd – he being the son of Abū Hind – from al-Shaʿbī, from Jābir – meaning

the son of ʿAbd Allāh – who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to the *anṣār* leaders, "Will you then give me refuge and protect me?" "Yes," they said, "and what will we receive?" "Paradise," he replied.'"

Al-Bazzār then added, "We know of this *ḥadīth* only from this one chain of authorities back to Jābir."

Ibn Isḥāq then related, from Maʿbad, from ʿAbd Allāh, from his father Kaʿb b. Mālik, who said, "That night we went to bed among our people in our caravan. But when one-third of the night had passed, we left the caravan to attend the rendezvous with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). We slipped away, keeping ourselves hidden like sand-grouse and met in the defile at al-ʿAqaba. We were 73 men in number and two of our women accompanied us, Nasība, daughter of Kaʿb, mother of ʿUmāra, a wife from the Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār, and Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿAmr b. ʿAdī b. Nābī, one of the wives of the Banū Salama, she being the mother of Manīʿ."

Ibn Isḥāq quoted from an account of Yūnus b. Bukayr, giving their names and genealogies and the information that some sources give their number as 70; but the Arabs (*i.e.* the bedouin, tr.) often deal only in round numbers.

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "They were 70 in number, with one woman." He also said that 40 of them were adult, while 30 were youths, the youngest of them being Abū Masʿūd and Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh.

Kaʿb b. Mālik stated, "When we met at the defile we waited and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did come, accompanied by al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. At that time al-ʿAbbās was still following his people's religion, although he was keeping track of his nephew's affairs and watching over him.

"When they sat down, the first to speak was al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who said, 'O Khazraj' – the Arabs used to know the *anṣār* as Khazraj, whether they were Khazraj or Aws – 'Muḥammad holds with us a position of which you are aware. We protect him from our people who think about him as we do. He is respected among his people and safe in his own town. But he is determined to join up with you. If you think you will keep trust with him in the invitation you have given him and will protect him from his opponents, then it's up to you to accept your responsibilities. But if you think you might deliver him over and abandon him after he has joined you, then leave him right now. He does have respect and protection among his own people and in his town.'

"We replied, 'We hear what you say. Speak to us, O Messenger of God, and take for yourself and for your Lord whatever you want.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spoke, recited the Qurʾān, invited people to God and acclaimed Islam. He said, 'I ask you to pledge that you will defend me as you do your women and children.'

"Al-Barāʾ b. Maʿmūr then took him by the hand and said, 'Yes indeed; we will, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, protect you as we do our women from whatever threatens them. We pledge ourselves to you, O

Messenger of God, and we are, I swear it, warriors from father to son over many generations.'

"While al-Barāʾ was speaking to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he was interrupted by Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān, who said, 'O Messenger of God, we have certain ties to others' – meaning the Jews – 'and if we break these, we are concerned that if God gives you victory, you might return to your own people and abandon us.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled at this and said, 'If your blood be sought, our blood shall be sought, and your destruction is mine as well. I am of you and you are of me. I will battle those you battle and make peace with those with whom you make peace.'"

Kaʿb b. Mālik went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Bring forth twelve from among you to be leaders to take charge of their people's affairs.'

"They selected twelve men, nine from al-Khazraj, three from Aws."

These were, according to Ibn Isḥāq, Abū Umāma Asʿad b. Zurāra, mentioned above, Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ b. ʿAmr b. Abū Zuhayr b. Mālik b. Imruʾ al-Qays b. Mālik b. Thaʿlaba b. Kaʿb b. al-Khazraj b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa b. Thaʿlaba b. Imruʾ al-Qays b. Mālik b. Thaʿlaba b. Kaʿb b. al-Khazraj b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj; Rāfiʿ b. Mālik b. al-ʿAjlān, mentioned above, al-Barāʾ b. Maʿmūr b. Ṣakhr b. Khansāʾ b. Sinān b. ʿUbayd b. ʿAdī b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salama b. Saʿd b. ʿAlī b. Asad b. Sārida b. Tazīd b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām b. Thaʿlaba b. Ḥarām b. Kaʿb b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salama, ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, mentioned above, Saʿd b. ʿUbāda b. Dulaym b. Ḥāritha b. Abū Khuzayma b. Thaʿlaba b. Ṭarīf b. al-Khazraj b. Sāʿida b. Kaʿb b. al-Khazraj, and al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr b. Khunays b. Ḥāritha b. Lawdhān b. ʿAbd Wudd b. Zayd b. Thaʿlaba b. al-Khazraj b. Sāʿida b. Kaʿb b. al-Khazraj.

These were the nine men of the Khazraj.

From Aws there were three: Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk b. ʿAtīk b. Rāfiʿ b. Imruʾ al-Qays b. Zayd b. ʿAbd al-Ashhal b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj b. ʿAmr b. Mālik b. al-Aws, Saʿd b. Khaythama b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Kaʿb b. al-Naḥḥāṭ b. Kaʿb b. Ḥāritha b. Ghanm b. al-Salm b. Imruʾ al-Qays b. Mālik b. al-Aws, Rifāʿa b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir b. Zunayr b. Zayd b. Umayya b. Zayd b. Mālik b. ʿAwf b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. Mālik b. al-Aws.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Some scholars include among these Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān instead of al-Rifāʿa, who is above mentioned." He is also included in the account of Yūnus quoting Ibn Isḥāq. And al-Suhaylī and Ibn al-Athīr in his *Usūd al-Ghāba* (*Jungle Lions*) included him.

Ibn Hishām gave testimony to this in a quotation he makes from Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī of poetry by Kaʿb b. Mālik giving reference to the twelve men selected that night of the second meeting at al-ʿAqaba:

"Tell Ubayy that his opinion is wrong; he died the
morning of the (meeting in) the defile, but death does come,
May God deny what your soul craves; He watches over
man's affairs, seeing and hearing.
And inform Abū Sufyān that, through Aḥmad, there has
appeared to us a shining light of God's guidance.
Do not covet acquiring something you want; just take and
gather whatever it is you receive.
Take care! Know that breaking vows with us was forbidden
you by the group when they gave allegiance.
Both al-Barā' and Ibn ʿAmr forbad it, and Asʿad and Rāfiʿ
too forbid it.
Saʿd al-Sāʿidī forbad it, and Mundhir would cut off your
nose if you tried it.
And Ibn Rabīʿ, if you received his pledge, would not give him
up. Let no one expect that.
Similarly Ibn Rawāḥa would not give him to you; to
protect him he would even take poison.
Al-Qawqalī b. Ṣāmit too is far removed from what you try
to achieve, living up to the promise he made.
Abū al-Haytham also is true to his pledge, secure in the
oath he had made.
And you should have no hopes of Ibn Ḥuḍayr for what you
want; perhaps you should abandon your foolish error.
And Saʿd, brother of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, is far removed and
opposed to what it is you want.
These are not stars that will arise in the dark of night
and repel bad luck from you."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Abū al-Haytham is mentioned here among these men, whereas Rifāʿa is not."

My own comment is that the poet also mentions Saʿd b. Muʿādh who was definitely not one of the leaders of the gathering that night.

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān recounted, from Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-ʿAʿla, from Ibn Wahb, from Mālik who said, "The *anṣar* on the night of al-ʿAqaba were 70 men; their leaders were twelve in number, nine from Khazraj, three from Aws.

"An *anṣār* elder told me that Gabriel was indicating to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) which of these men he should appoint as leaders on that night of al-ʿAqaba, and Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr was one of those leaders."

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to these leaders, 'You shall be those entrusted for your people just as the apostles were for Jesus, son of Mary. I shall be entrusted with my own people.' They replied, 'So be it.'

"'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to us that when this group met to pledge allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), al-'Abbās b. 'Ubāda b. Naḍla al-Anṣārī, of the Banū Sālim b. 'Awf, said, 'O Khazraj, do you know what it is you are pledging this man?' 'Yes,' they replied.

"He continued, 'You are pledging to go to war against all kinds of people. If you think that if you suffered great losses to your wealth and had your leaders killed, you would give him up, then do it now or suffer the punishment of this life and the next. If you think you will keep faith with him in what he has called upon you to do, despite loss of wealth and your leaders being killed, then do accept him. For he is, by God, the best in this world and the next.'

"They replied, 'We will take him regardless of loss of wealth or the death of our leaders. But what will we receive in return for this, O Messenger of God, if we keep faith with you?'

"'Paradise,' he replied.

"'Then hold out your hand,' they asked.

"He did so and they pledged allegiance to him.

"'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda commented, 'Al-'Abbās b. 'Ubāda only said this to emphasize the pact they were making.'

"'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr claimed that al-'Abbās had only said that to delay the pledge of allegiance that night in the hope that 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl, leader of the Khazraj would attend so that the action of the group would be even stronger. God knows best which of these is true."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Banū al-Najjār claim that Abū Umāma As'ad b. Zurāra was the first who touched his hand in allegiance. The Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, however, claim that it was Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān."

Ibn Isḥāq also said, "Ma'bad b. Ka'b related to me from his brother 'Abd Allāh, from his father Ka'b b. Mālik, who said, 'The first man to touch the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr. Then all the rest pledged allegiance to him.'"

Ibn al-Athīr stated in his work *al-Ghāba* (*The Jungle*), "The Banū Salama claim that the first who pledged allegiance to him that night was Ka'b b. Mālik."

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī and in that of Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b, from his father, from Ka'b b. Mālik in his *ḥadīth* when he absented himself from the battle of Tabūk. He stated, "I was present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the night of al-'Aqaba when we pledged ourselves to Islam, and I would not rather have witnessed the battle of Badr than it, even though at Badr there were more men involved."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bashrān informed us, quoting 'Amr b. al-Sammāk, quoting Ḥanbal b. Isḥāq, quoting Abū Nu'aym, and Zakariyya' b. Abū Zā'ida, from 'Āmir al-Sha'bī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went off with his uncle al-'Abbās to meet 70 of the *anṣār* at al-'Aqaba, beneath a

tree. He told them, 'Let your spokesman speak, but not talk too long. For there are polytheists watching you and if they have knowledge of you they will expose you.'

"Abū Umāma, their spokesman, said, 'Ask, Muḥammad, for your Lord whatever it is you want. Then after that ask for yourself what it is you want. Then tell us what reward we will have from God and from you if we do that.'

"He replied, 'For my Lord I ask you to worship Him and to associate no other god with Him. For myself, and my Companions, I ask you to give me refuge and to help me and protect me from what it is you protect yourselves.'

"They asked, 'What will we receive if we do that?'

"'You shall have paradise,' he replied.

"'Shall you have that?' they asked."

Ḥanbal also related this from Imām Aḥmad, from Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā', from Mujālid, from al-Shaʿbī, from Abū Masʿūd al-Anṣārī who, having recounted it, stated, "Abū Masʿūd was the youngest man there."

Aḥmad stated, from Yaḥyā, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from al-Shaʿbī, who said, "No one, old or young, ever heard such an address."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥmish narrated to us from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Faḍl al-Fahḥām from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī from ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān al-Raqqī, as follows: 'Zuhayr related to us, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Ismāʿīl b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Rifāʿa, from his father, who said, "Skins of wine were brought out, but ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit went up to them and pierced them open, saying, 'We have pledged to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that we will listen and obey, in action and at rest, expend our wealth in good times and bad, enjoin good and forbid evil, express our faith in God without fear of reproach, and assist the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) if he comes to Yathrib with the same protection we give ourselves and our children in body and soul. And we shall have paradise.'"

"'This was the pledge we made to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

This chain of authorities is strong and excellent but the scholars do not cite it.

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Isḥāq, "ʿUbāda b. al-Walīd b. ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit related to me from his father, from his grandfather ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had us pledge to him that we would fight, that we would listen and obey in good and bad times alike, regardless of the incentives or disincentives or pressure upon us, that we would not dispute among ourselves, that we would speak the truth wherever we were and hear no reproach in our worship of God.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated in his account from Maʿbad b. Kaʿb, from his brother ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, who said, "When we pledged ourselves to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) Satan called out from the top of the defile in the most piercing voice I have ever heard. He said, 'O people of the *jabājib*' – the word meaning 'houses' – are you going to support this reprehensible man and the fools with him who have tried to make war upon you?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'That was Azabb of al-ʿAqaba. He's the son of Azyab.'"

Ibn Hishām suggested that the name given was "son of Uzayb".

"'Do you hear, O enemy of God,' he went on, 'I swear I will destroy you!'

"Then he told them, 'Return to your caravans.'"

The account continues, "Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿUbāda b. Naḍla said, 'O Messenger of God by Him who sent you with the truth, if you wish tomorrow we will fall on those at Minā with our swords!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'We have not been ordered to do that; however, do go back to your caravans.'

"And so we returned to our beds and slept in them until morning.

"Next morning leaders of Quraysh came to us in our camps and said, 'O Khazraj, we have learned that you have come to this man of ours asking him to leave us and pledging to fight against us. We swear that there is no Arab group we would like less to do battle with than you.'

"Those of our people who were polytheists promptly swore that they had no knowledge of any such thing.

"And they spoke the truth; they knew nothing. We, meanwhile, were exchanging glances.

"Then Quraysh arose; they included al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī who was wearing new sandals. I spoke to him as if I wanted to associate the entire group with what the polytheists had said. Then I said (changing the subject) 'Abū Jābir, seeing that you are one of our chiefs, can't you get sandals like those of that young Quraysh fellow?'

"Al-Ḥārith heard this, took off his sandals and hurled them at me, saying, 'By God, you can put them on!'

"Abū Jābir replied, 'Now easy there; you've annoyed the lad; give him back his sandals.'

"I replied, 'I swear, I'll not return them. They're a good omen; and if it proves true, I'll keep the sandals!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that they went to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl and said much the same as Kaʿb had. He told them, 'This is a very grave matter; my people are not such as to divide over a matter like this. I have no knowledge of it.' The Quraysh leaders then left.

"The pilgrims then left Minā and some of them investigated the report further, finding it to have happened. They set about pursuing our people and caught up with Saʿd b. ʿUbāda at Adhākhir, along with al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr, a brother from the Banū Sāʿida b. Kaʿb b. al-Khazraj; both of these were 'leaders' (i.e. appointed at al-ʿAqaba, tr.).

"Al-Mundhir evaded them but they captured Saʿd b. ʿUbāda and tied his hands behind his neck with the cords holding his saddle and led him into Mecca, beating him and pulling him along by his hair which was very full.

"Saʿd reported, 'So there I was in their hands when up came a group of Quraysh among whom was one tall, handsome, fair-skinned man. I told myself, "If there is any good in any of their men, it has to be him."

"'But when he drew near he raised his hand and struck me hard. I told myself, "Well, I swear, after this there's no good in them at all!"

"'Well, there I was in their hands, being pulled along, when one of their men came up to me and said, "Too bad! Don't you have any pact or protection agreement with any Quraysh man?" I replied, "Yes, indeed I do. I used to give protection to Jubayr b. Muṭʿim and his merchants on business trips and prevent those of my people who wanted to harm them. And also I protected al-Ḥārith b. Ḥarb b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams." He commented, "Cry out the names of the two men and tell of your connection to them."

"'So I did this and that man went off to look for those two merchants. He found them in the *kaʿba* and told them, "There's a man of Khazraj now out there in the valley being beaten and calling out for both of you." They asked, "Who is he?" "He is Saʿd b. ʿUbāda," he told them. "Well," they said, "he has spoken the truth. He did protect our merchants from some in his country who wanted to harm them."'"

The account continues, "The two men then went and released Saʿd from his attackers, and he fled. The man who struck Saʿd was Suhayl b. ʿAmr."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The man who gave him refuge was Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām."

Al-Bayhaqī related with a chain of authorities from ʿIsā b. Abū b. Jubayr, who said, "Quraysh heard someone speak out in the night on the mountain of Abū Qubays, 'If Saʿdān (i.e. "two Saʿds", tr.) be safe, then Muḥammad should not fear any opposition in Mecca.'

"Next morning, Abū Sufyān asked, 'Who is al-Saʿdān? Asʿad b. Bakr or Saʿd b. Hudhaym?'

"The second night they heard someone reciting,

> 'O Saʿd, Saʿd of al-Aws, may you be victorious; and
> you, O Saʿd, Saʿd of Khazraj, a hero.
> Answer to him who calls for guidance and beseech God for
> paradise as those who know.
> For God's reward to Him who seeks guidance is gardens of
> paradise where birds fly.'

"Next morning Abū Sufyān said, 'I swear, it has to be Saʿd b. Muʿādh and Saʿd b. ʿUbāda!'"

Division

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the *anṣār* who had pledged themselves to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the night of the second meeting at al-ʿAqaba returned to Medina, they proclaimed their acceptance of Islam.

"Among their people there were still a few elders persisting in their polytheistic beliefs. One of these was ʿAmr b. al-Jamūḥ b. Zayd b. Ḥarām b. Kaʿb b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salama.

"His son Muʿādh b. ʿAmr was one of those who were present at al-ʿAqaba. ʿAmr b. al-Jamūḥ was a leader of the Banū Salama. He had a wooden idol, named Manāt, in his home; this was a practice common among those chieftains. They would treat these idols as gods and would venerate them and show them off. When the young men of the Banū Salama, Muʿādh, and Muʿādh b. Jabal accepted Islam, they would sneak in at night to that idol of ʿAmr, carry it out and toss it head first into pits used to contain the excrement of the Banū Salama. Next morning ʿAmr would ask, 'Who could have attacked our god tonight?' He would then look around for it and when he found it he washed it, purified it and scented it. Then he would say, 'I swear, if I knew who did that to you I would put him to shame!'

"When ʿAmr slept at night they would again seize it and do as before. ʿAmr again found it harmed as before and he would wash, purify and scent it. That night they returned and did the same, as he did. But this time he brought his sword and attached it to the idol saying, 'I swear I do not know who is doing this to you, but if there is any good in you, then defend yourself! You have this sword now.'

"That night while ʿAmr slept they returned to the idol, took the sword off its neck and then replaced it with a dead dog they attached to it. Then they threw it into one of the cesspools of the Banū Salama. Next day ʿAmr b. al-Jamūḥ did not see it in its place, so he went out to find it and did so in the cesspool, upside down and with the dead dog attached. When he saw it in this state he reflected upon his state and one of his people who had accepted Islam went and spoke to him, and, by God's mercy, he accepted Islam himself and remained a good Muslim. When he accepted Islam and knew what he now did of God, he reflected on his own state and what he had seen happen to the idol. He thanked God who had saved him from his former blindness and error and spoke the following verses,

> 'By God, if you had been a god, you would not have been
> hurled into a well tied to a dog!
> Yekh! for treating you as a god; now we have assessed
> you and (turned from) evil ways,
> Praise be to God the Almighty, the Benevolent, the
> Giver, the Provider, the establisher of the religions,
> He it was saved me before I was encased in the darkness
> of a grave.'"

Section: That gives the names of those who attended the second meeting at al-ʿAqaba, their number, according to Ibn Isḥāq, totalling seventy-three men and two women.

There were 11 men from Aws: Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr, one of the "leaders"; Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān, who was also at Badr; Salama b. Salāma b. Waqash, at Badr; Ẓuhayr b. Rāfiʿ; Abū Burda b. Niyār; Nuhayr b. al-Haytham b. Nābī b.

Majdaʿa b. Ḥāritha; Saʿd b. Khaythama, one of the "leaders" who was killed at Badr; Rifāʿa b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir b. Zunayr, a "leader", at Badr; ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr b. al-Nuʿmān b. Umayya b. al-Burak, at Badr, killed at Uḥud where he was a commander of the bowmen; Maʿan b. ʿAdī b. al-Jadd b. ʿAjlān b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḍubayʿa al-Balawī, an ally of the Aws, present at Badr and its aftermath and died a martyr in al-Yamāma; ʿUwaym b. Sāʿida, who attended Badr and thereafter.

From the Khazraj there were 62 men: Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd, who participated at Badr and thereafter, dying a martyr in Byzantine territory during the reign of Muʿāwiya; Muʿādh b. al-Ḥārith, along with his brothers ʿAwf and Muʿawwidh, sons of ʿAfrā', all at Badr; Umāra b. Ḥazm who witnessed Badr and thereafter, was killed in al-Yamāma; Asʿad b. Zurāra Abū Umāma, one of the "leaders", who died before Badr; Sahl b. ʿAtīk, at Badr; Aws b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir, at Badr; Abū Ṭalḥa Zayd b. Sahl, at Badr; Qays b. Abū Ṣaʿṣaʿa ʿAmr b. Zayd b. ʿAwf b. Mabdhūl b. ʿAmr b. Ghanm b. Māzin, a commander of the rear-guard at Badr; ʿAmr b. Ghaziyya; Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ, one of the "leaders", who was at Badr and was killed at Uḥud.

Also there were ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, one of the "leaders"; he was present at Badr, Uḥud and the *khandaq*, "the trench". He was killed at the battle of Mu'ta, acting as commander. Also there was Bashīr b. Saʿd, at Badr, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿAbd Rabbihī, who was shown how to call people to prayer. He was present at Badr.

Khallād b. Suwayd, who was present at Badr, Uḥud and *al-khandaq*. He died a martyr battling the Banū Qurayẓa; a millstone was hurled at him and it crushed him. It is said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "He will have the reward of two martyrs."

Also there was Abū Masʿūd ʿUqba b. ʿAmr, at Badr. However, Ibn Isḥāq stated, "He was the youngest person to witness al-ʿAqaba, and he was not present at Badr."

There was Ziyād b. Labīd, at Badr, Farwa b. ʿAmr b. Wadhafa; Khālid b. Qays b. Mālik, at Badr; Rāfiʿ b. Mālik, a "leader"; Dhakwān b. ʿAbd Qays b. Khalda b. Mukhlid b. ʿĀmir b. Zurayq. He it is who was called both *muhājirī* and *anṣārī*, "Emigrant" and "Helper", because he stayed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca until his migration to Medina. He was present at Badr and was killed at Uḥud. Also there was ʿAbbād b. Qays b. ʿĀmir b. Khālid b. ʿĀmir b. Zurayq, at Badr, and his brother al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. ʿĀmir, also at Badr.

And al-Barā' b. Maʿrūr, a "leader" and the first man to pledge allegiance (at ʿAqaba) according to the claim of the Banū Salama. He died before the arrival of the Prophet (ṢAAS) in Medina and pledged to him a third of his wealth. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned the money to his heirs. His son was Bishr b. al-Barā'; he was present at Badr, Uḥud and *al-khandaq*. He died a martyr at Khaybar as a result of eating, along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from the poisoned sheep. God bless him!

Also there was Sinān b. Ṣayfī b. Ṣakhr, at Badr, al-Ṭufayl b. al-Nuʿmān b. Khansā', at Badr; he was killed at the battle of *al-khandaq*.

And there was Maʿqil b. al-Mundhir b. Sarḥ, at Badr, and his brother Yazīd b. Sinān al-Mundhir, at Badr; Masʿūd b. Zayd b. Subayʿ; al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḥāritha b. Zayd b. Thaʿlaba, at Badr; Yazīd b. Khadhām b. Subayʿ; Jabbār b. Ṣakhr b. Umayya b. al-Khansāʾ b. Sinān b. ʿUbayd, at Badr; al-Ṭufayl b. Mālik b. al-Khansāʾ, at Badr.

And Kaʿb b. Mālik; Sulaym b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥadīda, at Badr; Quṭba b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥadīda, at Badr, and his brother Abū al-Mundhir Yazīd, at Badr also; and Abū al-Yusr Kaʿb b. ʿAmr, at Badr, and Ṣayfī b. Sawwād b. ʿAbbād.

And Thaʿlaba b. Ghanama b. ʿAdī b. Nābī, at Badr and martyred at *al-khandaq*. And his brother ʿAmr b. Ghanama b. ʿAdī; ʿAbs b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAdī, at Badr; Khālid b. ʿAmr b. ʿAdī b. Nābī; and ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays, an ally of theirs from Quḍāʿa.

And ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām, one of the "leaders", at Badr, martyred at Uḥud, and his son Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh; Muʿādh b. ʿAmr b. al-Jamūḥ, at Badr; Thābit b. al-Jadhʿ, at Badr and martyred at al-Ṭāʾif; ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥārith b. Thaʿlaba, at Badr; Khadīj b. Salama, an ally of theirs from Baliy; Muʿādh b. Jabal who witnessed Badr and thereafter; he died of the plague at ʿImwās in the Caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

And ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, a "leader", at Badr and thereafter; al-ʿAbbās b. ʿUbāda b. Naḍla, who stayed at Mecca until he emigrated from it. He also was known as a *muhājirī anṣārī*. He was martyred at Uḥud. And Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Yazīd b. Thaʿlaba b. Khazma b. Aṣram, an ally of theirs from the Banū Ghuṣayna from Baliy; ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Labda; Rifāʿa b. ʿAmr b. Zayd, at Badr; ʿUqba b. Wahb b. Kalda, an ally of theirs, at Badr. He was one of those who left for Mecca and remained until he emigrated from there. He was one of those also called a *muhājirī anṣārī*. And Saʿd b. ʿUbāda b. Dulaym, a "leader"; al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr, a "leader" and at both Badr and Uḥud. He was killed at Biʾr Maʿūna, acting as a commander. It was he of whom it was said, "He was manumitted only to die."

The two women were Umm ʿUmāra Nasība, daughter of Kaʿb b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. Mabdhūl b. ʿAmr b. Ghanm b. Māzin b. al-Najjār, of Māzin and al-Najjār.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "She, along with her sister and her husband Zayd b. ʿĀṣim b. Kaʿb and her sons Ḥabīb and ʿAbd Allāh, was present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) during the war. This son of hers, Ḥabīb, was killed by Musaylima, "the liar", the latter asked him, 'Do you bear witness that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God?' 'Yes,' he replied. He asked, 'Do you bear witness that I am the Messenger of God?' He replied, 'I do not hear!' At that he began cutting off one member after the other from him until he died right there before him; he got nothing more from him. Umm ʿUmāra was one of those who left for al-Yamāma with the Muslims when Musaylima was killed. When she came back she had 12 wounds caused by hits and cuts. God bless her.

The other woman was Umm Manīʿ, Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿAmr b. ʿAdī b. Nābī b. ʿAmr b. Sawwād b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salama. May God be pleased with them all.

Chapter: The beginning of emigration from Mecca to Medina.

Al-Zuhrī stated, from 'Urwa, that 'Ā'isha said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he being at Mecca at the time, addressed the Muslims as follows,'I have been shown the place of your migration; I have been shown a salty, swampy plain with palm-groves between two tracts of rocks.'

"Some people migrated towards Medina when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said that, while other Muslims who had gone to Abyssinia returned and went there instead."

Al-Bukhārī related this.

Abū Mūsā stated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "In my sleep I saw that I would be migrating from Mecca to a place where there were palm-groves. My imagination told me that it was to be in al-Yamāma or Hajar, but it turned out to be the town of Yathrib."

This *ḥadīth* is given at length by al-Bukhārī with a variety of chains of authority.

Muslim also related both of the above *aḥadīth* with lines of authority from Abū Kurayb. Muslim added 'Abd Allāh b. Murād and quoted both traditions on the authority of Abū Usāma, from Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Burda, from his grandfather, Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā 'Abd Allāh b. Qays al-Ash'arī, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), giving the whole *ḥadīth*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū al-'Abbās al-Qāsim b. al-Qāsim al-Sayārī of Merv, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl, quoting al-'Āmirī, from 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Shaqīq, quoting 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd al-Kindī, from Ghaylān b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Āmirī, from Abū Zur'a b. 'Amr b. Jarīr, from Jarīr, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'God revealed to me, "Any one of these three places you go to will be the place of your migration: Medina, al-Baḥrayn or Qinnasrīn."'

"The scholars state that thereafter he decided for Medina, and told his Companions to migrate there."

This is a very strange *ḥadīth*. Al-Tirmidhī related it in a digression in his compendium, giving only one account, from Abū 'Ammār al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥurayth, from al-Faḍl b. Mūsā, from 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd, from Ghaylān b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Āmirī, from Abū Zur'a b. 'Umar b. Jarīr, from Jarīr, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'God revealed to me, "Any one of these three places you go to will be the site of your migration: Medina, al-Baḥrayn or Qinnasrīn."'" He (al-Tirmidhī) then commented, "This tradition is *gharīb*, unique; we know of it only on the authority of al-Faḍl, and Abū 'Ammār alone narrated it."

I comment that this authority Ghaylān b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Āmirī is mentioned by Ibn Ḥibān in *al-Thiqāt* (*The Trustworthy Authorities*). However, he states, "He related, from Abū Zur'a, a spurious *ḥadīth* about the *hijra*, the emigration." But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When God Almighty gave permission for warfare with His words, 'Permission (to fight) is being given to those against whom war is being wrongfully waged. God has power to give them victory, those who have been expelled unjustly from their homes merely for having said, "Our Lord is God"' (*sūrat al-Ḥajj*; XXII, v.39–40).

"When God gave permission to do battle and that group of *anṣār* had followed him into accepting Islam and had agreed to give him and his Muslim followers aid and refuge, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his supporters, both those who had previously emigrated and those who had stayed with him in Mecca, to leave in migration to Medina to join their Muslim brethren there. He told them, 'God has provided brothers and a home where you may be secure.'

"And so they left for Medina in groups.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in Mecca waiting for his Lord to give him permission to emigrate from Mecca to Medina.

"The first of his supporters to emigrate to Medina of the Quraysh and of the Banū Makhzūm was Abū Salama ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm. His migration took place one year before the pledge made at al-ʿAqaba. This was because, following his return from Abyssinia, he had been badly treated by Quraysh and had decided to return there, but, when he learned of fellow Muslims in Medina, he went there instead."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "My father related to me, from Salama b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Abū Salama, from his grandmother Umm Salama, who said, 'When Abū Salama decided to depart for Medina, he saddled his camel for me, mounted me on it and put my son Salama in my lap. He then led us away.

"'When some men of the Banū al-Mughīra saw him they approached and said, "We can accept what you yourself do, but why should we allow this woman of ours to be taken off by you somewhere else?" She went on, "And they snatched the camel's bridle out of his hand and took me off it."

"'This angered the Banū ʿAbd al-Asad, Abū Salama's people, and they said, "By God, we'll not leave a son of ours with her now you've taken her away from our man." So they tugged at my son Salama and dislocated his arm. The Banū ʿAbd al-Asad then took him away, while the Banū al-Mughīra kept me among themselves. My husband, Abū Salama, then left for Medina. So I was separated from both my son and my husband.

"'Thereafter I would go out every morning and sit in the valley and weep till evening; I kept this up for about a year.

"'Then one day a man from my uncle's family, one of the Banū al-Mughīra, passed by, saw the state I was in and took pity on me. He told the Banū al-Mughīra, "Can't you let this poor woman go? You've separated her from both her son and her husband!"

"'They then told me I could join my husband if I liked.

"'So then the Banū ʿAbd al-Asad returned my son to me; I saddled a camel, took my son in my lap and headed out to my husband in Medina.

"'I was entirely alone. But eventually, at al-Tan'īm, I met 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa, a relative of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār, and he asked, "Where are you going, daughter of Abū Umayya?" I replied, "I'm heading for my husband in Medina." He said, "And there's no one with you?" "There is no one with me except God and this son of mine," I replied.

"'He commented, "You shouldn't be left like that."

"'He then took the camel's halter and began accompanying me. And, I swear, I was never in the company of any Arab more honourable than him. When we made a stop, he would make my camel kneel and then he would move away until I had dismounted. When I made a halt he would take my mount away, unload it, and tie it to a tree. He would then move off and make his bed beneath a tree. When it was time to leave, he would get my camel, lead it up, saddle it and then stand away from me. He would then say, "Do mount!" And when I mounted and was secure, he would come and take its halter and lead me away until we next stopped.

"'He continued behaving in this way until he brought me to Medina. When he saw the village of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf at Qubā', he said, "Your husband is in this village. Abū Salama is living here. Go on in, with God's blessings." He then left, returning to Mecca.'

"She used to say, 'I know of no other family in all Islam who suffered like that of Abū Salama. And I swear I never had a more honourable companion than 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa.'"

This man, 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa al-'Abdarī, accepted Islam after the Ḥudaybiyya truce. He emigrated along with Khālid b. al-Walīd. His father and brothers, al-Ḥārith, Kilāb and Musāfi', were killed at Uḥud, along with his uncle 'Uthmān b. Abū Ṭalḥa. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) handed over to him and to his cousin Shayba, head of the Banū Shayba, the keys of the *ka'ba* on the "conquest of Mecca"; he affirmed their being in their care in Islam as they had been in the *jahiliyya*. On that subject the Almighty revealed, "God orders you to give over matters of trust to those entitled to it" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.58).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The first of the emigrants to go there after Abū Salama was 'Āmir b. Rabī'a, an ally of the Banū 'Adī. With him went his wife Laylā, daughter of Abū Ḥathma al-'Adawiyya. Then followed 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb b. Ya'mur b. Ṣabra b. Murra b. Kabīr b. Ghanm b. Dūdān b. Asad b. Khuzayma, an ally of the Banū Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, accompanied by his family and his brother 'Abd, that is Abū Aḥmad."

Ibn Isḥāq gives his name as 'Abd, though it is also said to have been Thamāma. Al-Suhaylī stated that the first of these names was correct.

"Abū Aḥmad was blind; however, he used to make his way all over the length and breadth of Mecca without any guide. He was a poet and had a wife named al-Fāri'a, daughter of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. His mother was Umayma, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

"The home of Banū Jaḥsh was shut up when the migration occurred. ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Abū Jahl b. Hishām passed by it on their way up to the heights of Mecca. ʿUtba looked at its doors blowing open, unoccupied, and he sighed deeply and said,

> 'Every house, no matter how long safe, will one day be
> beset by disaster and outrage.'"

Ibn Hishām, however, mentioned that this verse was a line from a poem by Abū Dāʾūd al-Iyyādī. Al-Suhaylī said that Abū Dāʾūd was Ḥanẓala b. Sharqī; also his name was given as Ḥāritha.

(Ibn Isḥāq continued) "ʿUtba then said, 'The home of Banū Jaḥsh has become devoid of its people.' Abū Jahl commented, 'No one at all will weep over that!' He then said, to al-ʿAbbās that is, 'All this is the work of your nephew! He has split us up and completely divided our community.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Salama, ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa and the Banū Jaḥsh took up residence at Qubāʾ with Mubashshir b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir; after this the Emigrants arrived in groups.

"Banū Ghanm b. Dūdān had accepted Islam and moved as Emigrants to Medina, men and women both. They consisted of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh and his brother Abū Aḥmad, ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan, Shujāʿ and ʿUqba, both sons of Wahb, Arbad b. Jumayra, Munqidh b. Nubāta, Saʿīd b. Ruqaysh, Muḥriz b. Naḍla, Zayd b. Ruqaysh, Qays b. Jābir, ʿAmr b. Muḥṣin, Mālik b. ʿAmr, Ṣafwān b. ʿAmr, Thaqf b. ʿAmr, Rabīʿa b. Aktham, al-Zubayr b. ʿUbayda, Tamām b. ʿUbayda, Sakhbara b. ʿUbayda and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh. Their women included Zaynab, Ḥumna and Umm Ḥabība, daughters of Jaḥsh, Judāma, daughter of Jandal, Umm Qays, daughter of Muḥṣin, Umm Ḥabīb, daughter of Thumāma, Āmina, daughter of Ruqaysh, and Sakhbara, daughter of Tamīm.

"Abū Aḥmad b. Jaḥsh spoke the following verses concerning their emigration to Medina:

> 'When Umm Aḥmad saw me leaving under the protection of
> One supernatural whom I fear and revere,
> She said, "If this is what you have to do, then take us
> some place else, far from Yathrib."
> I said to her, "Yathrib is not just a possible location;
> man does whatever the All-Merciful wishes.
> I head towards God and to the Messenger; and whoever
> directs himself to God one day will not be disappointed.
> What a lot of true, real friends we have left behind, and
> a woman, too, who weeps tears and laments.
> You think it is vengeance that distances us from our
> land; we think that it is our aspiration that we seek.

I invited the Banū Ghanm to spare their bloodshed; for there is a course open to people when the path to truth is clear."

They responded, praise the Lord, when someone invited them to the truth and to success, and they came united.

We, and our fellows who had left the true path and had helped those using weapons against us, had become,

Like two battalions; one of these was successful in achieving truth, rightly guided, while the other would be punished.

Acting unjustly, they thought up lies; Satan made them err away from the truth. They failed and caused to fail.

We delighted in the words of the Prophet Muḥammad and those of us who supported truth acted well and were well treated.

We are very closely related to them, though there is no close relationship if there is no closeness.

What nephew would, after us, give you their trust; what in-law after us could be respected?

One day you will learn which of us is closer to the truth, when they have passed on and the people's dispute is concluded."

(Ibn Isḥāq continued) "Then ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb left, along with ʿAyyāsh b. Abū Rabīʿa, and went to Medina.

"Nāfiʿ related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from his father, saying, 'Having made up my mind to emigrate to Medina, I arranged a rendezvous with ʿAyyāsh b. Abū Rabīʿa and Hishām b. al-ʿĀṣ at al-Tanāḍub of Iḍāt of the Banū Ghifār, above Saraf. We agreed, "Any one of us who doesn't arrive there in the morning must have been detained; in such a case the others must go ahead."

"'Next morning ʿAyyāsh and I were there at al-Tanādub. Hishām was detained. He was enticed and apostatized.'

"'When we reached Medina we went to live among the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf in Qubāʾ. Abū Jahl b. Hishām and al-Ḥārith b. Hishām came over to see ʿAyyāsh who was their cousin and their brother through their mother. They came to Medina at a time when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in Mecca. They talked to ʿAyyāsh and told him, "Your mother has warned that she will not allow a comb to touch her hair until she sees you, nor will she shelter from the sun." ʿAyyāsh was worried about her, but I told him, "These people, I swear, only want to entice you away from your faith; so beware of them. You can be sure that if your mother gets lice she'll be sure to comb her hair, and if she finds Mecca's heat severe, she'll surely seek shade!"

"'But ʿAyyāsh said, "I will remove my mother's oath; and I have money there I can get." I told him, "You already know I'm one of the wealthiest men of Mecca, and if you don't go, I'll give you half what I have!"

"'He refused my offer, insisting on leaving with them. When that was all he would do, I said, "Well, if you have to do it, then take this camel of mine. It is a splendid mount and docile. Keep on her back and if you get suspicious about them, then escape on her."

"'He then rode off on her with them. Some way along Abū Jahl asked him, "Say, brother, I find my mount difficult to ride. Would you mind if I rode behind on yours?" "Sure," he responded. Then he made his camel kneel as the other two men dismounted to change mounts. But when they were all on the ground the others ran up at ʿAyyāsh and tied him up. Then they took him off to Mecca, subverted him and he apostatized.

"'And,' the narrator ʿUmar said, 'we used to say, "God will not accept repentance from those who apostatize." And those who apostatized made similar statements about themselves.'

"He went on, 'This was so until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina and God revealed, "Say: 'O my servants who have harmed themselves, do not despair of God's mercy. God will forgive all sins. He is the All-Forgiving, the All-Merciful. Turn back to your Lord and submit to Him before punishment reaches you; then you shall not be helped. Follow the best that has been revealed to you from your Lord before punishment comes suddenly to you, and you are caught unawares.'"' (*sūrat al-Zumar*; XXXIX, v.53–5).

"ʿUmar went on, 'I wrote this down and sent it on to Hishām b. al-ʿĀṣ.

"'Hishām said, "When it reached me I began reading it at Dhū Ṭuwā, holding it this way and that, but I didn't understand it. Eventually I said, 'O God, make me understand this!' And God made me realize that it had been sent down specifically about us and what we used to tell ourselves and what was said about us."

"'So I went to my camel, mounted it and joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina.'"

Ibn Hishām recounted that it was al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra who brought Hishām b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAyyāsh b. Abū Rabīʿa to Medina. He stole them away from Mecca and brought them on his own mount while he walked beside them. He stumbled and bloodied his toe, and so spoke the line,

"Are you anything but a toe that bleeds; what happened to you was in God's cause!"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Abū al-Walīd related to us, quoting Shuʿba, quoting Abū Isḥāq who heard al-Barāʾ say, 'The first to come to us were Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr and Ibn Umm Maktūm, and they were followed by ʿAmmār and Bilāl.'

"Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to me, quoting Ghundar quoting Shuʿba, from Abū Isḥāq, who said, 'I heard al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib say, "The first to join us were Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr and Ibn Umm Maktūm. They would read to the people. Then came Bilāl, Saʿd and ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, followed by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb along with 20 of the supporters of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

"'Then came the Prophet (ṢAAS); and I never saw the people of Medina so happy as they were to see him. So much so that the slave girls sang out, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has come!" And he did not arrive until after I had read the verse in the Qur'ān: "Glorify the name of your Lord most high!" (*sūrat al-Aʿlā*; LXXXVII), along with other verses from *al-Mufaṣṣalāt*.'"[34]

Muslim related this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from an *ḥadīth* of Isra'īl from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barā' b. ʿĀzib, in similar words.

In it there is the assertion that Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ emigrated before the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina. Mūsā b. ʿUqba, quoting al-Zuhrī, claimed that he emigrated only after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); the information that precedes this however, is correct.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and members of his family came to Medina, they included his brother Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿAmr and ʿAbd Allāh, the two sons of Surāqa b. al-Muʿtamir, Khumays b. Ḥudhāfa al-Sahmī, husband of his daughter Ḥafṣa, his cousin Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, Wāqid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamīmī, an ally of theirs, Khawlā b. Abū Khawlā and Mālik b. Abū Khawlā, two allies of theirs from the Banū Ijl, (and from) the Banū al-Bakayr, Ilyās, and Khālid, and ʿĀqil and ʿĀmir, and their allies from the Banū Saʿd b. Layth. They took up residence with Rifāʿa ʿAbd al-Mundhir b. Zunayr among the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf at Qubā'."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Then the emigrants, God bless them, followed on after them. Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Ṣuhayb b. Sinān, took up residence with Khubayb b. Isāf, brother of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj at al-Sunḥ. It is also said that Ṭalḥa stayed with Asʿad b. Zurāra."

Ibn Hishām stated, "It was told to me that Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī said, 'I learned that when Ṣuhayb wished to emigrate the polytheists of Quraysh said to him, "When you came to us you were a poverty-stricken beggar. With us you grew wealthy and acquired status and now you want to take yourself and your money away! By God, that won't happen!"

"Ṣuhayb told them, 'If I were to make my money over to you, would you let me leave?'

"'Yes,' they agreed.

"That information reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he commented, 'Ṣuhayb made a profit! Ṣuhayb made a profit!'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to us, by dictation, that Abū al-ʿAbbās Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Mīkāl informed him, quoting ʿAbdān al-Ahwāzī, quoting Zayd b. al-Juraysh, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhrī, quoting Ḥusayn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Ṣayfī b. Ṣuhayb, quoting his father and uncles, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from Ṣuhayb who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I was shown the place of your emigration: a

34. That portion of the Qur'ān from *sūrat al-Ḥujurāt* to *sūrat al-Nās*.

salt-plain between two uplands and two lava-rock plains. That would either be Hajar or Yathrib."'"

"He went on, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for Medina accompanied by Abū Bakr. I had wanted to leave with him, but some young Quraysh men blocked my way. I remained up that night, not lying down, and they commented, "God has diverted him from you through his stomach!" But I made no complaint, and they went to sleep. So I left, but some of them caught up with me after I had gone some way and wanted to take me back. I told them, "If I were to give you some ounces of gold, would you let me go and be fair to me?" They did so and I followed them back to Mecca. I told them, "Dig beneath the threshold of the door; that's where the ounces of gold are. And if you go off to a certain woman, you can take two sets of vestments."

"'So I left and joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Qubāʾ before he moved out from there. When he saw me he said, "Well, Abū Yaḥyā, you made a good deal!" I replied, "O Messenger of God, no one got here to you before me, so it could only be Gabriel, peace be upon him, who informed you!"'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, Abū Marthad Kannāz b. al-Ḥuṣayn and his son Marthad, both of the Ghanawī tribe, allies of Ḥamza; Anasa and Abū Kabsha, freed-men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); all these stayed with Kulthūm b. al-Hadm, brother of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, at Qubāʾ. However, it is also said that they stayed with Saʿd b. Khaythama. It is stated, moreover, that Ḥamza stayed with Asʿad b. Zurāra. But God knows best."

He went on, "ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith and his two brothers al-Ṭufayl and Ḥuṣayn, Misṭaḥ b. Uthātha, Suwaybiṭ b. Saʿd b. Ḥuraymila, brother of the ʿAbd al-Dār, Ṭulayb b. ʿUmayr, brother of the Banū ʿAbd b. Quṣayy, Khabbāb, freed-man of ʿUtba b. Ghazwān stayed with ʿAbd Allāh b. Salama, brother of Balʿajlān at Qubāʾ.

"ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf and some other emigrants stayed with Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ. Al-Zubayr b. ʿAwwām and Abū Sabra b. Abū Ruhm stayed with Mundhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿUqba b. Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ at al-ʿUṣba, the home of the Banū Jaḥjaḥī. Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr stayed with Saʿd b. Muʿādh. Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ʿUtba and Sālim, his freed-man, stayed with Salama."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Al-Umawī said that (some stayed) with Khubayb b. Isāf, brother of the Banū Ḥāritha. ʿUtba b. Ghazwān stayed with ʿAbbād b. Bishr b. Waqqāsh among the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān stayed with Aws b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir, brother of Ḥassān b. Thābit in the home of the Banū al-Najjār."

His account continues, "The unmarried emigrant men stayed with Saʿd b. Khaythama since he was unmarried. But God knows best about this."

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān stated, "Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥārith b. Zurāra b. Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b.

Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, 'We arrived from Mecca and took up residence at al-'Uṣba, including 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarāḥ, and Sālim, freed-man of Abū Hudhayfa. It was Sālim who acted as their Imām because he had greater knowledge of the Qur'ān than the others.'"

Section: On the cause of the emigration of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

God Almighty revealed, "Say: O God, make my place of arrival good and make my place of departure good. And grant me an aid and authority from Yourself" (*sūrat Banī Isrā'īl*; XVII, v.80).

And God did give him good guidance and inspired him to call out the above prayer to provide him prompt relief and a rapid departure. The Almighty gave him permission to migrate to the "Medina, the 'city', of the Prophet", where there were the *anṣār* and friends, a place where he could make his home in security and whose people would be his helpers.

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba said, from Jarīr, from Qābūs b. Abū Zubyān, from his father, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at Mecca when he was ordered to migrate and there was revealed to him the verse, "Say: O God, make my place of arrival good, and make my place of departure good. And grant me an aid and authority from Yourself."

Qatāda said, "The phrase 'place of arrival' referred to Medina, while the words 'place of departure' referred to his emigration from Mecca. The words 'grant me an aid and authority from Yourself' referred to God's book and His ordinances and restrictions."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed on in Mecca after his supporters had emigrated, waiting for permission to be given to himself to leave.

"There remained there with him only those (Muslims) who had been detained or who had apostatized, except for 'Alī, son of Abū Ṭālib, and Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa, God bless them both.

"Abū Bakr often asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for permission to leave, but he would reply, 'Don't be in a hurry. God may well give you a companion.' And Abū Bakr hoped it would be him.

"When Quraysh saw that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had assembled a party and had supporters from others than their own people and from a town other than theirs, and saw his Companions moving out to join these others, they realized that the Muslims had found a new home with them and had acquired their protection.

"Quraysh were concerned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would leave and join them, since they knew that he had decided to do battle with them.

"They therefore gathered in the *Dār al-Nadwa*, the house of assembly, the home of Quṣayy b. Kilāb, where all their decisions were made. They discussed

there what they should do about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since they now feared him."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "A colleague whose views I do not doubt, as did others I consider reliable, related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ, from Mujāhid b. Jabr, that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās said, 'The day arrived when they had agreed to meet to enter their assembly to discuss what to do about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). That day is known as the *yawm al-zaḥma*, "the day of the gathering", and upon it Satan, God curse him, came before them in the form of a venerable sheikh dressed in a heavy cloak. He stood at the door of the house and, when they saw him they asked who he was. He replied, "I am come from Nejd, from the highlands; I have heard why you agreed to meet, and I've come to listen to what you say and perhaps offer some comment or advice." They invited him in.

"'He entered the meeting where the Quraysh nobles had assembled. They consisted of ʿUtba, Shayba, Abū Sufyān, Ṭaʿīma b. ʿAdī, Jubayr b. Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī, al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. Nawfal, al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith, Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām, Zamʿa b. al-Aswad, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, Nabīh and Munabbih, sons of al-Ḥajjāj, and Umayya b. Khalaf, along with various others of their supporters from Quraysh.

"'They reminded one another what they had experienced from the behaviour of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and agreed that they felt insecure from the possibility that he and his supporters might make an attack upon them.

"'Having discussed the issue, one of them, said to have been Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām, suggested, "Put him in irons and gaol him; then wait for him to have the same fate that befell poets like him before, such as Zuhayr and al-Nābigha. He would die as they had."

"'But the Najdī sheikh objected, saying "No; that's not a good plan. If you do shut him up, news of him will get right past the door you have locked on him and reach his supporters. They will promptly attack you and release him and then increase in numbers until they overcome you. That's not a good idea."

"'They consulted further and one suggested, "Let's exile him from our territory. Once he has gone, we shouldn't care where he ends up or what happens to him. So long as he is gone, we'll be rid of him and we'll be able to restore our affairs as they were before."

"'But the Najdī sheikh observed, "No, that's not a good idea for you. You know how sweet his talk is, and his reasoning, and how he convinces others of his message. If you do that you'd have no security against him going to live with some Arab tribe and using his speech and discourse to get them to follow him. Then he would lead them against you and perhaps defeat (or) dispossess you and do what they like with you. No, think of something else."

"'Abū Jahl b. Hishām then said, "I have an idea that hasn't occurred to you yet."

"'"What is it, Abū al-Ḥakam?" they asked him.

"'He replied, "I think we should select one young man from each tribe, and someone who is strong, of excellent lineage and reputation as a leader. We should

give each one a sharp sword and they would go to him and use the swords to strike him in unison. They would kill him and we would then be rid of him. If they do this, his blood will be spread over all the tribes. And the Banū 'Abd Manāf will not be able to do battle against them all. So they will accept blood money which we can pay them."

"'The Najdī sheikh commented, "What he says is right. This is the right idea, and no other."

"'Having agreed upon this, the assembly broke up.

"'Gabriel then came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, "Do not sleep tonight on the bed you usually use."

"'When it was fully dark that night the Quraysh men gathered outside his door, waiting for him to sleep so they could attack him. Having seen where they were, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to 'Alī b. Abu Ṭālib, "Sleep on my bed, wrapping yourself in this green cloak of mine from Ḥaḍramaut; sleep in it. You'll not come to any harm from them." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in the habit of sleeping in that cloak of his.'"

This story told by Ibn Isḥāq is also related by al-Wāqidī, with the chains of authority from 'Ā'isha, Ibn 'Abbās, 'Alī, Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju'shum and others, the various accounts overlapping and saying much as above.

Ibn Isḥāq's account continues, "Yazīd b. Abū Yazīd related to me, from Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī, who said, 'The men having met there at his door, Abū Jahl, who was among them, said, "Muḥammad claims that if you follow him you'll become kings of the Arabs and non-Arabs alike. Then you'll be given life after death and be provided with gardens like those of the Jordan. If you don't do that, then, he says, you will be slaughtered, given life after death but be put into hell-fire where you will be burned."'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then picked up a handful of dirt, saying, 'Yes, I do say that. And you are one of them!'

"Then God took away their sight from them and they could not see him. He began sprinkling the dirt on to their heads while he recited the following verses: *'Yā sīn. By the Qur'ān the wise. You are among those sent forth upon a straight* path' up to the verse 'We have placed a barrier before them and a barrier behind them, and have covered them over so that they cannot see' (*sūrat Yā Sīn*; XXXVI, v.3–9). Every single man among them had dirt thrown on his head.

"He then left, and went where he wished.

"Someone who had not been there with these men then arrived and asked, 'What are you waiting for here?' They replied, 'For Muḥammad.' He commented, 'God damn you! Muḥammad just came out to you and he did not leave any single one of you without throwing dirt on your head. He then left and went elsewhere. Can't you see what has happened to you?'

"Each man then placed a hand on his head and found dirt there. Looking closely, they saw 'Alī on the bed covered in the cloak of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They stayed there like that until morning; when 'Alī arose from the bed, they said, 'By God, what he told us must have been true!'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Concerning what they had agreed upon that day, God revealed, among others, the following verses, 'And when the disbelievers plotted to confine, kill or exile you they made plans; but God makes plans and He is the best planner of all' (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.30).

"And there was the verse, 'Or do they say he is a poet; we await for him incidents of fate.' Say: 'Do await! I with you am one who awaits!'" (*sūrat al-Ṭūr*; LII, v.30–1).

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "And so God gave His permission to His Prophet (ṢAAS) to emigrate."

Chapter: The emigration of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Mecca to Medina accompanied by Abū Bakr "the Trusting", God be pleased with him.

That event marks the beginning of the Islamic era as was agreed upon by the *ṣahāba*, "the Companions", during the rule of ʿUmar, as we have shown in the biography of ʿUmar, God be pleased with him and with them all.

Al-Bukhārī stated, ʿMaṭar b. al-Faḍl related to us, quoting Rawḥ, quoting Hishām quoting ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) received his mission when he was 40 years old. He continued in Mecca receiving revelation for 13 years and then was ordered to emigrate. He did so for 10 years, then died at the age of 63.

"His emigration took place in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal in the 13th year of his mission, on a Monday."

Similarly Imām Aḥmad recounted from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Your Prophet was born on a Monday, left Mecca on a Monday, first received revelation on a Monday, entered Medina on a Monday and died on a Monday."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Whenever Abū Bakr asked permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to emigrate, he would be told, 'Don't be in a hurry. God may well give you a companion.' And Abū Bakr hoped it would be the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that he was really referring to himself.

"He therefore purchased two camels which he kept and fed at his home to be prepared."

According to al-Wāqidī, he paid 800 dirhams for them both.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "A man in whom I have confidence related to me, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from ʿĀ'isha, mother of the faithful, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would go without fail to Abū Bakr's house either in the morning or the evening. Eventually that day arrived when God gave the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) permission to emigrate, to leave Mecca and his people there. He came to us that day at midday, a time unusual for him.

"'When Abū Bakr saw him, he said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) can only have come at this hour because something has happened."

"'When he came in, Abū Bakr gave up his couch for him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat down. There was no one else in the house except myself and my sister Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Send away anyone else who is with you." Abū Bakr replied, "There are only my two daughters; what can be wrong, I pray you?"

"'"God has given me permission to leave, to emigrate," he replied.

"'"As companions then, O Messenger of God?" Abū Bakr asked.

"'"Yes, as companions," he answered.'

"Ā'isha continued, 'And, I swear, before that day I never knew anyone who wept for joy until I saw Abū Bakr do so that day.

"'He then said, "O Prophet of God, these are two camels I have readied for this.'"

"They hired ʿAbd Allāh b. Arqaṭ."

Ibn Hishām suggests an alternative name, ʿAbd Allāh b. Urayqiṭ.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "He was a polytheist, of the Banū al-Dīl b. Bakr, his mother of the Banū Sahm b. ʿAmr. He was to act as their guide on the way and they gave him the two mounts to look after until needed.

"And, as I have been told, no one knew of the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) except ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", and his family.

"'Alī was ordered to remain behind to return to people the items they had deposited with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); anyone in Mecca who had concerns about things they owned would leave them in his care, such was his reputation for honesty and trustworthiness.

"Having decided to leave, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the house of Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa and they made their exit via a window at its rear."

Abū Nuʿaym recounted, through Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said, "I have been informed that as he was about to leave Mecca as an emigrant to Medina for God, he said, 'Praise be to God who created me when I had been nothing. O God, protect me from earthly terrors, misfortunes and mishaps in the nights and days to come. O God, accompany me on my journey and keep my family safe. Bless me in what You have granted me and humble me before Yourself. Raise me to the finest qualities in my character. Endear me to You, O Lord. And do not entrust (my fate) to people.

"'O Lord of the frail, you are my Lord. I take refuge in Your noble visage before which the heavens and the earth rejoice, the dark shadows dissipate and the troubles of those who are first and those who are last are made right. (I pray) that You spare me your anger and discontent. I appeal to You not to cease your favours and to spare me your sudden wrath, removal of your favour and all your anger. I will repay as best I can all your favours to me. And there is no power nor strength except in You.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "They then made their way to a cave on Mt. Thawr, south of Mecca, which they entered. Abū Bakr ordered his son ʿAbd Allāh to spend the

day listening to what people were saying about them and then to bring them whatever news there might be. And he told ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra, his freed-man, to tend his flock during the day and then to bring them to the cave in the evening.

"'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr would spend the day among Quraysh listening to their planning and what they were saying regarding the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr. He would then visit them in the evening and report to them.

"'Āmir b. Fuhayra would tend his flock in the pasturage of the people of Mecca and in the evening he would bring them to Abū Bakr who would milk and slaughter them. When next morning ʿAbd Allāh, Abū Bakr's son would leave them to return to Mecca, ʿĀmir would follow him down with the flock in order to efface his footprints."

The following account from al-Bukhārī will give evidence of this.

Ibn Jarīr related from various sources that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) preceded Abū Bakr in leaving for the cave on Mt. Thawr and that he told ʿAlī to guide his (Abū Bakr's) path to join him, and that he did so on the way. This account is strange and contradicts what is well known, that they travelled together.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Each evening Asmāʾ, daughter of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with her, would bring them food to restore them.

"Asmāʾ said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr had left, a group of Quraysh, including Abū Jahl b. Hishām, came and stood at Abū Bakr's door. I went out to them and they asked, "Where is your father, O Daughter of Abū Bakr?" I replied that I did not know, whereupon Abū Jahl, an evil and uncouth man, raised his hand and slapped me so hard on the cheek that my earring fell off. They then left.'

"Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me that his father told him, that his grandmother Asmāʾ said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left, along with Abū Bakr, the latter took all his cash with him, some 5,000 or 6,000 dirhams. My grandfather, Abū Quḥāfa, whose sight was gone, came in thereafter and commented, "I swear, he's put you all into some difficulty by taking his money with him."

"'I replied, "No, father, he left us plenty." I then took some stones and placed them in a space in the house where my father used to put his money and placed a cloth over them. Then I took my grandfather's hand and told him, "Put your hand on this money." He did so and said, "Not bad at all. He did well by leaving you all this. This will be enough money for you."

"'But in fact he had left us nothing; I just wanted to reassure the old man.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "A certain scholar told me that al-Ḥasan b. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr, went to the cave at night. Abū Bakr went in first and searched the cave to ensure there were no snakes or lions inside, thus using himself to protect the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

The line of authorities here is incomplete at both ends.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated, "Dā'ūd b. 'Amr al-Ḍabbī related to us, quoting Nāfi' b. 'Umar al-Jumaḥī, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left with Abū Bakr for Mt. Thawr, Abū Bakr would first position himself ahead and then at the rear. The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked him why this was and he replied, 'When I'm behind you I'm afraid you'll be attacked from the front, and when I'm ahead of you I fear you'll be attacked from behind.'

"When they finally reached the cave on Mt. Thawr Abū Bakr said, 'Stay where you are until I put my hand inside and examine it; if there is some creature there it will attack me before you.'

"Nāfi' said, 'I have heard that there was a crevice inside the cave in which Abū Bakr placed his foot, fearing that some creature might emerge and harm the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

This tradition is incomplete in its chain of authorities. But we have given several other testimonials for it in our biography of Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", God be pleased with him.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Isḥāq, that Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan narrated that 'Abbād related, quoting 'Affān b. Muslim, quoting al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā, quoting Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, as follows, 'Some men were talking during the period of the rule of 'Umar and apparently expressed their preference for 'Umar over Abū Bakr. This reached 'Umar and he commented, "By God, a single night or a single day of Abū Bakr would be better than the whole clan of 'Umar! On the night when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the cave with Abū Bakr, the latter would walk in front for a while, then walk behind. Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) realized this and asked, 'Abū Bakr, why do you walk behind for a while, then go and walk ahead?' He replied, 'O Messenger of God, I think of pursuit and walk behind you, but then I think of ambush and so walk ahead of you.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'You mean if something happened you'd rather it be to you than to me?' 'Yes indeed, by Him who sent you with the truth,' he replied.

"'"When they reached the cave Abū Bakr said, 'Stay outside, O Messenger of God, until I make sure the cave is safe for you.' He went inside and made sure it was safe, but then remembered he had not checked out the crevice. So he said, 'Stay were you are, O Messenger of God, while I check again.' He then went back in, made sure the crevice was safe and said, 'Come on down, O Messenger of God.' And he did so."

"'"'Umar then commented, "By Him who holds my soul in His hand, that night was better than the whole clan of 'Umar!"'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this comment from 'Umar through a different chain. In that account the wording is "Abū Bakr sometimes walked ahead of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and at others behind him, sometimes to the left and

at others to the right." That account also states that when the feet of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became sore, Abū Bakr would carry him on his back. Also, that when he went into the cave he blocked up all the crevices except one, and over that he placed his heel. Snakes then struck at him and his tears ran down. Seeing this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "Don't be sad; God is with us!"

There are some strange and unsatisfactory aspects to the course of this anecdote.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abū Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAmr informed us as follows, 'Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm related to us, quoting ʿAbbās al-Dūrī, quoting Aswad b. ʿĀmir Shādhān quoting Isrāʾīl, from al-Aswad, from Jundub b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "Abū Bakr was with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the cave when he hit his hand on a rock. He then spoke the following verse:

> 'You are nothing but a finger that bleeds; what
> happened to you was in God's cause!'"'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Abd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Maʿmar, quoting ʿUthmān al-Jazarī, that Miqsam, the freed-man of Ibn ʿAbbās, told him that Ibn ʿAbbās made the following comment about the verse in the Qurʾān. 'And when those who disbelieve were scheming to imprison you' (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.30). He said, 'Quraysh were engaged in discussion one night in Mecca and some of them suggested, "In the morning imprison him in shackles." They were referring to the Prophet (ṢAAS). Others of them said, "No; kill him!" Yet others said, "No, exile him!" God made his Prophet (ṢAAS), aware of that and so ʿAlī spent the night on his bed, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the cave. The polytheists spent the night watching ʿAlī, thinking him to be the Prophet (ṢAAS). When morning came they attacked him and when they saw ʿAlī, God turned their trickery against them. They said, "Where is that master of yours?" He replied, "I don't know."

"'They followed his tracks, but these became too confused for them in the mountains. They climbed on up the mountain and passed by the cave but saw a spider's web over its opening. They said, "If anyone had gone inside here, the spider would not have put a web over its opening." And so he stayed there three nights.'"

The chain of authorities for this is good; it is one of the best accounts given relating to the spider's web over the mouth of the cave, which was God's protection for His Messenger (ṢAAS).

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Qāḍī stated in his collection of traditions relating to Abū Bakr as follows, "Bashshār al-Khaffāf related to us, quoting Jaʿfar, quoting Sulaymān, quoting Abū ʿImrān al-Jawnī, quoting al-Muʿallā b. Ziyād, that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) hurried away with Abū Bakr to the cave. Quraysh came looking for him and when they

saw the spider's web over the mouth of the cave, they said, "No one went in here."

"'The Prophet (ṢAAS) was at the time standing there praying while Abū Bakr watched. Abū Bakr then said to the Prophet (ṢAAS), "Those are your people searching for you. It's not for myself I am sad, but because I might see something terrible happen to you."

"'The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, "Abū Bakr, don't be afraid. God is with us."'"

This tradition from Ḥasan is incomplete, but it is good as textual evidence. It includes, however, the praying of the Prophet (ṢAAS) in the cave; it was his custom to pray when something saddened him.

This same source, I mean Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Qāḍī, related from ʿAmr al-Nāqid, from Khalaf b. Tamīm, from Mūsā b. Muṭīr, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, that Abū Bakr said to his son, "Son, if something should happen among the people, then go to the cave where I and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took refuge. Stay there and you will find sustenance come to you both morning and night."

A poet composed the following line:

> "'David's web' is what protected the occupant of the
> cave, and glory goes to the spider."

It is also said that two doves made their nest over its entrance. Al-Ṣarṣarī composed the following line on that:

> "The spider roofed it over with his web, and the dove
> having eggs remained at the entrance."

The *ḥadīth* dealing with this was related by the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir, through Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿAlī, who said that ʿAwn b. ʿAmr Abū ʿAmr al-Qaysī, nicknamed ʿUwayn, related to us that Abū Muṣʿab al-Makkī said, "I am aware of Zayd b. Arqam, al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba and Anas b. Mālik as relating that on the night the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the cave, God gave an order to a tree that emerged right in front of him and hid him. God also sent the spider that made a web between them, so hiding the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then commanded two wild doves which came fluttering down and alighted between the spider and the tree. Now the young warriors of Quraysh approached, one from each of the tribes there, carrying sticks, bows and staves. When they got to within 200 yards of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the guide, who was Surāqa b. Mālik b. Juʿshum al-Mudlajī, said, 'That's the rock; but I don't know where he placed his foot.' The young warriors commented, 'You've not made a mistake since tonight began.' When morning came the guide told them to look in the cave. He went ahead of the rest until they were some 50 yards away from the Prophet (ṢAAS), and then there were the two doves. The guide came back and they asked him, 'What prevented you from looking in the cave?' 'I saw two wild doves at its entrance', he said, 'so I knew there was no one inside.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard him and knew that God had used the doves to save him and Abū Bakr. He then invoked a blessing upon them, and God brought them down to the holy shrine where, as you know, they proliferated."

This is a strange *ḥadīth* to come from this source. The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym related it from an account from Muslim b. Ibrāhīm and others, from ʿAwn b. ʿAmr, he known as ʿUwayn, with chains of authority similar to these. That account states that all the doves of Mecca are descended from these two.

Also in this *ḥadīth* is the information that the tracker who guided the warriors was Surāqa b. Mālik al-Mudlajī.

Al-Wāqidī related from Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, that the one who tracked for them was Kurz b. ʿAlqama.

My own comment is that it is likely that they both followed the trail. But God knows best.

God Almighty said, "Even if you do not aid him, God did so when those who disbelieved expelled him, he being the second of two, in the cave. (Therein) he said to his companion, 'Do not be sad; God is with us.' And so God sent down tranquillity upon him and aided him with troops you do not see, putting down very low the words of those who disbelieved; the words of God are the highest, for God is powerful, wise" (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barāʾa*; IX, v.40).

Reprimanding those who refrained from engaging in battle on the side of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the Almighty stated, "Even if you do not aid him." God will assist him, be his helper and ally. As He did help him, "when those who disbelieved expelled him" from his people in Mecca, in flight and accompanied by no one but his friend and Companion Abū Bakr.

Therefore He said, "being the second of two, when they were in the cave" where they stayed for three days until the search for them died down.

This was because when the polytheists lost track of the two men, as recounted above, they went off in all directions searching for them. They offered 100 camels to anyone who might turn in both or even one of them. They followed their tracks until they became confused. The tracker working for Quraysh was Surāqa b. Mālik b. Juʿshum, as mentioned above. They climbed the mountain where the two men were and went past the mouth of the cave. Their feet would move straight across the mouth of the cave without seeing the two men, God protecting them this way.

As Imām Aḥmad stated, quoting ʿAffān, quoting Hammām, quoting Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, that Abū Bakr told him, "I said to the Prophet (ṢAAS), while we were inside the cave, 'If any one of them were to glance down at his feet he would see us below them!'

"He replied, 'Abū Bakr, how would you regard the safety of two people who had God as their third companion?'"

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave this *ḥadīth* in both their *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Hammām.

Some biographers state that when Abū Bakr said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, "If they were to come to us from here, we would leave that way."

Abū Bakr then saw that the cave had opened up on its other side and it was now connected to the sea, and there was a boat tied up beside it.

This tradition is not objectionable in the sense of this being beyond the divine power. However, it does not have a chain of authorities that is strong; nor is it weak. We cannot assert anything purely by ourselves. We do, however, stand by tradition considered authentic and with chains of authority that are good. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, "Al-Faḍl b. Sahl related to us, quoting Khalaf b. Tamīm, quoting Mūsā b. Muṭayr al-Qurashī, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, that Abū Bakr said to his son, 'If some disturbance should break out among the people, go to the cave where you saw me hide with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Stay there and you will receive sustenance morning and evening.'"

Al-Bazzār then said, "We know of no one else but Khalaf b. Tamīm who related this *hadīth*."

My own comment is that Mūsā b. Muṭayr quoted here is a weak source of low regard; Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn gave the lie to him, and traditions from him are not accepted.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, that Abū Bakr, having entered the cave and behaved as related, and after the matter concerning Surāqa, which is still to be told, spoke some poetry, a part of which follows:

> "The Prophet said to reassure me, though I was not
> concerned, when we were in the dark of the shadows of the
> cave,
> 'Fear nothing, for God is our third, and he has
> guaranteed to me victory from Him.'"

Abū Nu'aym related this ode through Ziyād, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. He quoted it at great length along with another poem. But God knows best about these.

Ibn Lahī'a related, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Mecca after the pilgrimage in which the *anṣār*, 'the Helpers', pledged themselves to him, for the remainder of Dhū al-Ḥijja, al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar.

"Then the polytheists of Quraysh joined together and plotted to kill the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) or to imprison or exile him. And so God gave him foresight of this and revealed the words, 'And when those who disbelieved were scheming to imprison you' (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.30). He then gave orders to 'Alī to sleep on his bed while he and Abū Bakr left. Next morning Quraysh went off searching for them everywhere."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related it thus in his work on the military campaigns and stated that they went to the cave by night.

We also gave above a statement regarding this from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, quoting Ibn Hishām.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth quoting ʿUqayl, quoting Ibn Shihāb, who said that ʿĀ'isha stated, 'I have no awareness of my parents not practising the religion (Islam); and not a day passed for us without the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) visiting us at both ends of the day, in the morning and the evening. When the Muslims suffered harassment Abū Bakr left as an emigrant towards Abyssinia. He went as far as Bark al-Ghimād, where he met Ibn al-Daghina, the chieftain of the area.'"

She then recounted how he brought Abū Bakr back to Mecca and gave him protection. Her words are similar to our previous account of the migration to Abyssinia up to and including Abū Bakr's statement, "I therefore give back to you your protection and resign myself to the protection of God."

She (ʿĀ'isha) stated, "At that time the Prophet (ṢAAS) was at Mecca. He told the Muslims, 'I have been shown the place of your emigration; it has palm-groves between two rocky tracts.' These are the Ḥarratān.

"And so some people did leave for Medina, and some who had left for Abyssinia came back and went to Medina. Abū Bakr himself made preparations to leave for Medina. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Take it slowly; I am hoping I will be permitted to leave.' Abū Bakr asked, 'You really do have hopes of that?' 'Yes,' he replied.

"Thereafter Abū Bakr restrained himself for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so that he could accompany him. He stabled two camels at his home, feeding them on mimosa leaves, crushed and mixed leaves, that is, for four months. Some, however, say he gave them fodder for six months."

Ibn Shihāb stated, "ʿUrwa reported that ʿĀ'isha said, 'One day, in the heat of noon, we were sitting in Abū Bakr's house when someone told him, "Here comes the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), heavily veiled, at a time he doesn't usually come!" Abū Bakr commented, "I swear, he can only have come at this time for one thing!"'

"'Ā'isha went on, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived and asked to come in and was invited to do so. When he entered he said, "Ask everyone to leave." Abū Bakr responded, "But they are all like your own family, O Messenger of God."

"'He explained, "I have been given permission to leave." "As companions, then!" said Abū Bakr. "Yes," he replied.

"'Abū Bakr then said, "Do take one of these two mounts of mine." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "I'll pay you for it."'

"'Ā'isha went on, 'So we quickly prepared some equipment for them and put some provisions in a leather bag. Asmā', Abū Bakr's daughter, cut off a piece of her girdle to tie up the mouth of the bag; she was thereafter known as "she of the two girdles".

"'Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went with Abū Bakr to a cave on Mt. Thawr, where they stayed for three nights. Also with them during the night was

'Abd Allāh, Abū Bakr's son. He was a bright and intelligent lad and would leave them at dawn and be down among Quraysh by morning, as if he had spent the night there. He went back to them as soon as night fell with all the information he had gleaned of plans against them. 'Āmir b. Fuhayra, Abū Bakr's freed-man, cared for a flock of sheep, which he would bring them after night fell; they would eat foods made with the milk they provided. Before dawn 'Āmir b. Fuhayra would call the flock together and leave; he did this each one of those three nights.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr hired a man of the Banū al-Dīl, from the Banū 'Abd b. 'Adī, a skilled guide, a *khirrīt*. This man, though a follower of the faith of the Quraysh polytheists, had sworn an oath to the family of al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il al-Sahmī. They had thus placed their trust in him and handed over to him their two riding camels and made an arrangement with him to meet at the cave on Mt. Thawr three nights thereafter; he was to bring their mounts on the following morning. This guide and 'Āmir b. Fuhayra did set off with the two men, conducting them along the coastal route.'"

Ibn Shihāb stated, "'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mālik al-Mudlijī, he being the son of Surāqa's nephew, related that his father told him that he heard Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju'sham say, 'Messengers from the Quraysh polytheists came to us putting a price on the head of either the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) or Abū Bakr for anyone who killed or captured either.

"'While I was sitting at a meeting being held by my people, the Banū Mudlij, one of their men arrived and stood there, while we sat, and said, "Surāqa, I've just seen some human forms in the distance towards the coast, and I think them to be Muḥammad and his companions."

"'Surāqa said, "I knew they would be them, but I told him, 'They are not them. You saw so-and-so and so-and-so whom we saw leave with our own eyes.'"

"'I remained for a while there in that meeting, then got up and went inside. I told my servant girl to bring over my mare which was behind a hillock and to keep it there for me. Then I took my spear and went out the rear of the house. I made marks with its head on the ground and kept its shaft down low until I reached my horse. I rode off on it and it took me ahead until I drew close to them. Suddenly my horse stumbled and I came off it. I got up and stretched my hand out to my quiver and took out my divining arrows. I sought guidance from them whether or not I should harm them. It came out as I did not want. But I got back on my horse, disobeying the arrows.

"'My horse drew me ever nearer to them until I could hear the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reciting, without looking around, while Abū Bakr looked around constantly. Then two of my horse's legs sank deep into the ground, right up to the knees, and I was again thrown. I scolded her and she stood up, though scarcely able to pull her legs out. When standing upright there was dust coming up like smoke into the sky from the impression left by her legs. Again I sought advice from the divining arrows and it again came out against my wish.

"'I called out to them, reassuring them, and they stopped. I rode my horse up

to them, it having dawned on me that my being kept from them was a sign that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was going to prevail. I told him, "Your people have put a price on your head!" and I related to them what people wanted to do with them. Then I offered them provisions, but they would not accept anything from me and told me to leave them alone. I asked him if he would write down a safe conduct for me, and he told ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra who did so on a piece of leather. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left.'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related this same story, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mālik b. Juʿsham, from his father, from his uncle Surāqa. However, his account has him seeking advice from the divining arrows when he first left the house, with the arrow telling him what he did not like, that is, that he should not harm the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It went on to mention his horse stumbling with him on four different occasions. All that related to his seeking advice from the divining arrows and being told what he did not like.– that he should not harm him. It has him reassuring them and asking for a document that would be a token from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The account states, "He wrote a document for me on a bone, or a scrap of leather, or a scrap of cloth." He also tells how he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when the latter was at al-Jiʿrāna on his way back from Ṭāʾif and that he said, "Today is one of keeping trust and of goodness; let him come near." The account ends, "So I approached him and accepted Islam."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The man relating this was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Juʿsham.

"And what he said was correct.

"After Surāqa returned, whenever he met one of the pursuers, he would turn them back, saying, 'You've finished in this direction.'

"When it was known that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had arrived in Medina, Surāqa began telling people what he knew and had witnessed relating to him, and about what had happened to his horse. He gained some notoriety for this, and the leaders of Quraysh were afraid he would bring them discredit, and that that would be the cause of many people accepting Islam. Surāqa was the leader of the Banū Mudlij. Abū Jahl, God damn him, composed the following verses to them,

> "O Banū Mudlij, I fear your fool Surāqa misleading
> about Muḥammad's victory.
> Take care that he not divide you so you become split,
> after former glory and leadership."

Surāqa spoke the following in answer to Abū Jahl's poetry:

> "O Abū al-Ḥakam, had you but been witness to what
> happened to my horse when its legs sank,
> You would have been amazed, and not doubted that

Muḥammad is a prophet and a proof; so who can oppose him?
Take action, have your people leave him alone, for I
think that some day his qualities will be clear to us.
In a matter you would wish to win, for all the people,
altogether will make peace with him."

Al-Umawī gave this poetry in his work on the military campaigns with a chain of authorities from Abū Isḥāq. Abū Nu'aym related it with a chain through Ziyād, from Ibn Isḥāq. His account gives more poetry from Abū Jahl with verses that include overt disbelief.

Al-Bukhārī stated, with a chain of authorities back to Ibn Shihāb, who is quoted as saying, "'Urwa b. al-Zubayr informed me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met al-Zubayr in a caravan of Muslims who were merchants coming in from Syria, and that al-Zubayr clothed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr in white garments.

"The Muslims in Medina heard of the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Mecca and would go each morning out to the rocky lava plain to wait for him, until the heat of noon would force them back.

"One day after they had returned to their homes, having waited a long time, one of the Jews went up on top of one of their forts for some reason, and he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions dressed in white emerging through the haze. The Jew felt compelled to shout out, 'O Arabs, here's your great man you've been awaiting!'

"The Muslims leapt for their weapons and met up with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) beside the rocky lava plain. He turned off, along with them, to the right to where the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf were; this was Monday in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal.

"Abū Bakr stood up before the group, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat silently. The *anṣār* who had come and who had not before seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began greeting Abū Bakr. But then the sun began striking the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and Abū Bakr went over and shielded him from it with his cloak. And so everyone then knew which one was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there with the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf for some ten nights and founded the mosque 'whose foundations were based on piety'[35] and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed there.

"He then rode upon his camel, the people walking beside him, until it knelt down at the mosque[36] in Medina of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) where that

35. A reference to the Qur'ān, *Sūrat al-Tawba*, IX, v.108, where the piety of its founders is mentioned.

36. A reference to the site of the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina which had not yet been constructed.

day some Muslim men were praying. It was a drying shed for dates and belonged to Suhayl and Sahl, two orphan youths in the care of Asʿad b. Zurāra. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, when his camel knelt, 'This, if God wills it, will be the house.'

"He then asked to see the two youths and negotiated with them over the drying shed so that it could become a mosque. They replied, 'No, we will give it to you, Messenger of God!' But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) refused to accept it from them as a gift and did buy it. He then built a mosque.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then set about bringing up the bricks for building it, along with the rest of the Muslims, saying as he did so the verse,

> 'This is not a load from Khaybar; this, O Lord, is
> more righteous more pure.'

"And also:

> 'No matter; the wages for this are those of the other
> world; be merciful, O God, on the Helpers and the
> Emigrants.'

"He quoted the verse of one of the Muslim men whose name is unknown to me. Ibn Shihāb said, 'We are not informed in the *ḥadīth* literature that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) quoted any full line of poetry other than these.'"

This is the text as given by al-Bukhārī; only he, and not Muslim, gives it and he does so with testimony from other sources; his text, however, does not give the story of Umm Maʿbad, the Khuzāʿī woman.

We will report here from the beginning, as is appropriate.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Amr b. Muḥammad Abū Saʿīd al-ʿAnqazī related to us that Isrāʾīl related to him, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, who said, 'Abū Bakr bought from ʿĀzib a horse's saddle, for 13 dirhams, telling him, "Tell al-Barāʾ to take it to my house." He replied, "No; not until you tell us what you did when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) emigrated in your company."'"

Abū Bakr stated, "We set off and travelled fast, by day and night until midday approached and was upon us. I strained my eyes to see some shade where we could shelter. I saw a rock and hurried down to it, and some shadow remained. I smoothed out a place for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and laid down a piece of leather for him, saying, 'Do lie down, O Messenger of God.' And he did so.

"I then left to see if I could locate any of the pursuers. I came upon a herdsman and asked him, 'Who employs you, lad?' He mentioned the name of a Quraysh man that I recognized. I asked him, 'Do you have any milk in your flock?' 'O yes,' he replied. 'Will you give me some?' I requested. He agreed and I told him to get some. He tethered a ewe and at my request he wiped the dirt off its udders and his hands. I had with me a container with a cloth over its mouth. He poured a little milk for me and I poured it out into a cup until it was all cool. I then went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and gave it to him;

he was awake. I asked him to drink, and he did so until I was content. I then asked, 'Should we continue with the travel?' And we left again, our pursuers still after us.

"But the only one of them to catch up with us was Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju'sham, riding a horse. I asked, 'O Messenger of God, are our pursuers catching up?' 'Do not be worried, God is with us,' he replied.

"He caught up with us until there was only a spear's throw or two – or the words may have been two or three spear-throws – and I said, 'O Messenger of God, this pursuer is gaining on us!' And I wept. He asked, 'Why are you crying?' I replied, 'It's not for me I'm crying, but for you!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said a prayer about him, saying, 'O Lord, protect us from him, as You wish.' The legs of his horse then sank down to its belly in firm ground and he fell off, saying, 'O Muḥammad, I know this is your work; say a prayer to God for me to save me from my plight! I swear I will mislead the pursuers behind me. This is my quiver; take an arrow from it, for you will pass by my camels and sheep at so-and-so, and you can take of them whatever you want.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I don't need them.' But he did say a prayer for him and he was released and returned to his people.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and I went further on and eventually reached Medina where people came out to meet him. They appeared on the roads and roofs and servants and young people thronged the streets, saying, 'God is Great! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has come! Muḥammad is here!'

"The people vied for the honour of having him stay with them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore said, 'Tonight I will stay with the Banū al-Najjār who are related by blood to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, to honour them.' Next morning he was where he had been ordered to be.'

Al-Barā' said, "The first of the Emigrants to come to us was Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr, a brother of the 'Abd al-Dār. Then came Ibn Umm Maktūm, the blind, one of the Banū Fihr, followed by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, along with 20 riders. We asked them what had happened to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and they replied that he was coming later. And eventually he and Abū Bakr did arrive."

Al-Barā' went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not arrive until after I had recited chapters from *al-mufaṣṣal*."

The compilers of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections include this account, from Isrā'īl, without the comment of al-Barā', that is, "The first of the Emigrants". Muslim is alone in giving this, and he related it through Isrā'īl.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed for three nights in the cave along with Abū Bakr. Having lost knowledge of his whereabouts Quraysh offered a price of 100 camels to anyone who would return him. After the three nights, when the hue and cry had diminished, the man they had hired brought them their camels along with one for himself. Abū Bakr's daughter Asmā' also

arrived with provisions in a leather table-cloth for them. But she forgot to tie it up and when they were about to depart she came out to tie it up but had no cord. So she untied her girdle to make a cord of it which she used to attach it. She used then to be called, 'she of the two girdles'."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Bakr brought up the two mounts and offered the best of them to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him to mount the camel. But the latter responded, 'I couldn't ride a camel that I don't own.' Abū Bakr told him, 'But please consider it yours'. 'No,' he replied, 'but what price did you pay for it?' He told him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Well, I'll take it for that.' 'It's yours,' Abū Bakr told him."

Al-Wāqidī related, with full chains of authorities, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took the camel called *al-Qaṣwā'*. He also said, "Abū Bakr had bought both camels for 800 dirhams."

Ibn ʿAsākir related through Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father from ʿĀ'isha, who said, "(The camel he chose was) *al-Jadʿā'*." Al-Suhaylī related this similarly from Ibn Isḥāq, that it was *al-Jadʿā'*. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "And so they rode off; Abū Bakr mounted ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra, his freed-man, behind himself to serve them both on the way.

"I was told that Asmā' said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed with Abū Bakr, a number of Quraysh men came to us, including Abū Jahl'". Ibn Isḥāq then related how Abū Jahl struck her so hard on the cheek that he knocked off an earring, as told above.

"She went on, 'We remained for three nights without knowledge of the whereabouts of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until a man of the *jinn*, a spirit-man, arrived from the lower parts of Mecca, singing verses of Arabic songs. People followed him, listening to his voice without seeing him. Eventually he came out to the upper parts of Mecca, reciting,

> 'God, Lord of all men, awarded His very best reward to
> two Companions who stayed at the tents of Umm Maʿbad.
> They stayed there in good will, and then left; and
> lucky is he who becomes the Companion of Muḥammad
> Their girl's position brings credit to the Banū Kaʿb,
> and her sitting there watching for the believers.'

"Asmā' said, 'When we heard what he said we knew where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was headed, towards Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq said, "They were four in number; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr, ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra, freed-man of Abū Bakr, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Arqaṭ." That is what Ibn Isḥāq states, but it is well known that the name of the fourth was ʿAbd Allāh b. Urayqiṭ al-Dīlī who at that time was still a polytheist.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When their guide, ʿAbd Allāh b. Arqaṭ, led them off, he took them down to the lower part of Mecca and from there along the coast, crossing

over the route below ʿUsfān. He then took them along the lower parts of Amaj, then crossed the route after passing Qudayd, then from there across al-Kharrār and Thaniyyāt al-Marra to Liqf. He guided them past the Liqf well, then down to the Mijāj well and so to Marjaḥ Mijāj, then down again to Marjaḥ Dhū al-ʿAḍwayn and to the Dhū Kashr valley and so to al-Jadājid and al-Ajrad. Then he took them along Dhū Salam of the Aʿdāʾ valley, to the well at Tiʿhin, then past al-ʿAbābid, across al-Qāḥa, down to al-ʿArj. One of their mounts was falling behind, so a man of Aslam called Aws b. Ḥajr mounted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on a camel called *Ibn al-Radāʾ* and led him into Medina; he sent with him a youth named Masʿūd b. Hunayda. Then their guide from al-ʿArj took them to Thaniyya al-ʿĀʾir on the right side of Rakūba; according to Ibn Hishām this place is known as Thaniyya al-Ghāʾir. Then he took them down the Riʾm valley and so to Qubāʾ, to the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. It was now Monday, the 12th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal and the heat was extreme, the sun almost having reached its zenith."

Abū Nuʿaym mentioned, through al-Wāqidī, approximately these same locations, though there is a discrepancy in some. God knows best.

Abū Nuʿaym stated that Abū Ḥāmid b. Jabala related to him that Muḥammad b. Isḥāq quoted from al-Sarrāj, who quoted from Muḥammad b. ʿUbāda b. Mūsā al-Ijlī from his brother Mūsā b. ʿUbāda, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Sayyār, from Iyās b. Mālik b. al-Aws al-Aslamī, who quoted his father as saying, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) emigrated along with Abū Bakr, they passed by a camel of ours at al-Juḥfa. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Who owns this camel?' 'A man from Aslam,' he was told. The Prophet (ṢAAS) turned to Abū Bakr, who commented, 'May you be safe, God willing!' The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked the man, 'What's your name?' 'Masʿūd,' he replied. The Prophet (ṢAAS) again turned to Abū Bakr, who commented, 'May you be happy. God willing!'"[37]

The account goes on, "My father then went to him and carried him on his way on a camel called *Ibn al-Radāʾ*."

I would comment that previously we learned from Ibn ʿAbbās that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Mecca on a Monday and entered Medina on a Monday.

It is clear that there was a period of 15 days between his departure from Mecca and his arrival in Medina. This is because he spent three nights in the cave on Mt. Thawr, and then took the coastal road which is further than the main route.

On his way he passed by Umm Maʿbad, daughter of Kaʿb of the Banū Kaʿb b. Khuzāʿa.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Yūnus quoted Ibn Isḥāq as saying that her name was ʿĀtika, daughter of Khalaf b. Maʿbad b. Rabīʿa b. Aṣram.

"Al-Umawī, however, said that she was ʿĀtika, daughter of Tabīʿ, an ally of Banū Munqidh b. Rabīʿa b. Aṣram b. Ṣanbīs b. Ḥarām b. Khaysa b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr.

"This woman had sons named Maʿbad, Naḍra and Ḥunayda, all children of Abū Maʿbad. His name was Aktham b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Maʿbad b. Rabīʿa b. Aṣram b. Ṣanbīs.

37. The passage has a pun on Aslam and 'safe', and on Masʿūd and 'happy'.

Her story is very well known and related from various paths all confirming one another.

The Story of Umm Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿiyya.

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Isḥāq, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed at the tent of Umm Maʿbad, whose name was ʿĀtika, daughter of Khalaf b. Maʿbad b. Rabīʿa b. Aṣram. The travellers wanted a meal served but she said, 'We have no food, no milch-camel and the only ewes we have are in heat.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked to be brought one of her sheep. He wiped its teat with his hand, said a prayer and it gave milk into a tumbler, foaming. He said, 'Drink this, Umm Maʿbad!' She replied, 'No, you drink it; you have more right to it than me.' But he gave it back to her and she did drink it. He then called for another ewe in heat and did the same as before and this time he drank it. He then called for another ewe, did the same and gave it to his guide to drink. Again he did the same, giving it now to ʿĀmir. And then they left.

"The Quraysh men, searching for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), eventually came to Umm Maʿbad and asked her about him, saying, 'Have you seen Muḥammad who looks so-and-so?' And they described him to her.

"She replied, 'I don't know what you are saying, though a young man did come and get milk from ewes in heat.'

"'That's the one we want,' the Quraysh man told her."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Muḥammad b. Maʿmar related to him from Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUqba b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who quoted his father as having related that Jābir stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr left as Emigrants and entered the cave, there was a crevice that Abū Bakr blocked off with his heel until morning, for fear that something might come out at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"They stayed in the cave for three nights, then left and stayed at the tents of Umm Maʿbad. She sent him the message, 'I see handsome faces; the tribal quarter is better equipped to honour you than I am.'

"That evening, while staying there in her camp, she sent over to them with a young son of hers, a ewe and a broad knife. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Take back the knife and bring us a *fariq*,' that is a *qadaḥ*, a bowl. She sent back a message that the ewe had no milk and had no lamb. He said, 'Do send us a bowl.' She brought one and he tapped the ewe on the back and it ruminated, and milk streamed forth. He filled the bowl and drank, gave it to Abū Bakr to drink, took more milk and sent it to Umm Maʿbad."

Then al-Bazzār stated, "We know of this anecdote being related only through this one chain. And regarding ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUqba, the only person we know who quoted from him was Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad, even though his ancestry was well known."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī recounted from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā' b. Abū Zā'ida from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā who related it to him, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aṣbahānī, who said, "I heard 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā quote Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', as saying, 'I left Mecca with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and we reached a bedouin encampment. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) noticed one tent off to one side and went towards it. When we dismounted we found that the only person there was a woman. She said, "O fellow slave of God, I'm just one woman, alone; you should go to our chief if you want hospitality." He made no response to her, it being evening by then, and a son of hers arrived herding some goats. She told him, "Take these goats over to those two men with this knife and tell them, 'My mother says that you should slaughter these and eat and feed us too.'"

"'When he arrived, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "Take the knife away and bring a bowl." He replied, "But this ewe has not been with a male and has no milk." "Go and do it," he told him. When he had brought back a bowl the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wiped the ewe's teat and it gave milk, filling the bowl. He then said, "Take this to your mother." She drank till she was satisfied and the lad returned. Now he told the boy, "Take this ewe away and bring me another." He did so and then brought a third ewe, did as before, and then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself drank.

"'We stayed there that night, then left. She used to refer to him as *al-Mubārak*, "the blessed one". Her flock multiplied and eventually she brought them all in to Medina. Abū Bakr happened to pass by and he recognized her son and the son said to his mother, "Mother, that's the man who was with *al-Mubārak*, 'the blessed one'." She came over to him and asked, "O fellow slave of God, who was that man with you?" He asked, "You don't know who he is?" "No, I don't," she replied. "He is the Prophet of God," he told her. "Please, take me in to him," she asked.

"'He did so and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave her food and gifts.'"

Ibn 'Abdān added in his account of this, "She said, 'Lead me to him.' And so she came with me and gave to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) some sour cheese and some bedouin goods. And he gave her clothing and gifts in return.'"

The account stated, "And I am certain he said, 'And she accepted Islam.'"

The chain of authorities for this is good.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This story is similar to that of Umm Ma'bad and it is evident that she is the one referred to here. But God knows best."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh informed us, as did Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī, both of whom said, 'Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm related to us, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Mukrim, Abū Aḥmad Bishr b. Muḥammad al-Sukkarī, quoting 'Abd al-Malik b. Wahb al-Mudhḥijī, quoting Abjar b. al-Ṣabāh, from Abū Ma'bad al-Khuzā'ī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he left by night, emigrating in the company of Abū Bakr, 'Āmir b.

Fuhayra, freed-man of Abū Bakr, and their guide ʿAbd Allāh b. Urayqiṭ al-Laythī, passed by the two tents of Umm Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿiyya.

"Umm Maʿbad was a good, fearless, strong woman who would sit with her legs drawn up, wrapped in her garment, at the entrance to the tent and give out food and drink. They asked her whether she had any meat or milk they could buy from her. But they obtained none from her and she told them, 'If we had anything, you would not lack for hospitality, but our people are all out of provisions and we've been suffering drought.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) noticed a goat at the side of her tent and said, 'What about that goat, Umm Maʿbad?' She replied, 'She's a goat left over from the goats after the drought.' 'Does she give milk?' he asked. 'No, she's too dried up for that,' she replied. 'Would you permit me to milk her?' he asked. 'If she has any milk you can,' she replied.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called to the goat and stroked it, speaking God's name, wiped her teat and again invoked God's name. Then he called for a vessel large enough to satisfy them, and the goat opened its legs and milk poured out in a copious flow until it was full. He gave (the vessel to) her to drink, and then his Companions and thereafter they all had a second drink. When they were all quenched, he drank too, saying, 'The one who pours drinks last!' He put milk in it again, left it with her, and then they departed.

"He went on, 'Soon her husband, Abū Maʿbad, came home, leading emaciated goats, staggering they were so weak, and their brains scarcely functioning. When he saw the milk, he was amazed and said, 'Where did this milk come from, Umm Maʿbad? We don't have a milch-camel and the goat has not been with a male.' 'Well, a man who was blessed came past us and seemed from his speech to be such-and-such,' she replied. 'Describe him to me; I think he is that man the Quraysh are looking for,' he told her.

"She replied, 'I saw him to be a man of evident cleanliness, fine in character, his face handsome, slim in form, his head not too small, elegant and good looking, his eyes large and black, his eyebrows long, his voice deep, very intelligent, his eyelids brown, his brows high and arched, his hair in plaits, his neck long and his beard thick. He gave an impression of dignity when silent and of high intelligence when he talked. His logic was impressive, he was decisive, not trivial, not trite, his ideas like pearls moving on their string. He seemed the most splendid and fine-looking man from a distance and the very best of all from close-by, medium in height, the eye not finding him too tall nor too short. A tree-branch, as it were, between two others, but he was the finest-looking of the three, the best proportioned. He was the centre of his companions' attention. When he spoke, they listened well, and if he ordered, they hurried to obey, a man well helped, well served, never sullen, never refuted.'

"He – her husband – commented, 'That, I swear, has to be that man Quraysh are seeking. If I had chanced on him, I would have done my very best to follow him.'

"A voice was heard in Mecca, high up, somewhere between heaven and earth, that people could hear though no one see, reciting the verses,

'God, Lord of all men, awarded His very best reward to
two Companions who stayed at the two tents of Umm Maʿbad.
They stayed there in good will, and then left; and
lucky is he who becomes the Companion of Muḥammad.
O Quṣayy, God did not withhold from you actions that
will not be rewarded, nor leadership?
Ask your sister about her goat and bowl; if you were
to ask the goat, she would testify.
He asked her for a goat without young, and it gave milk
for him in plenty, its teat giving foam,
So he pledged (with the goat) (milk) for the milker,
such that it remained abundant at its commencement and at
its completion.'

"Next morning the people, those of Mecca that is, having missed their prophet went to the tents of Umm Maʿbad, trying to catch up with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ḥassān b. Thābit responded with the verses,

"A people disappointed, having lost their prophet,
while those to whom he hurried were pleased,
He left a people and their spirits left them, and he
took up residence with a people with a light renewed.
Are those who mislead people out of blind stupidity
equal to those rightly guided by a guide?
A prophet, seeing about him what others do not see,
reciting the Book of God at every scene.
If one day he should speak the words of the unseen, it
is corroborated the same day or, at most, the morning of the
next.
Abū Bakr must be pleased by the pleasure his
grandfather enjoys at his accompanying him; whoever pleases
God will be happy.
Let the place of their woman please the Banū Kaʿb, and
her sitting watching for the Muslims."

He stated – ʿAbd al-Malik b. Wahb, that is – "I received information that Abū Maʿbad accepted Islam and emigrated to the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym related this through ʿAbd al-Malik b. Wahb al-Madhḥijī, in the same terms. At the end of his account he added, "'ʿAbd al-Malik said, 'I received information that Umm Maʿbad emigrated, accepted Islam, and joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

Abū Nuʿaym, moreover, related this through various routes, from Bakr b. Muḥriz al-Kalbī al-Khuzāʿī, from his father Muḥriz b. Mahdī, from Ḥarām b.

Hishām b. Ḥubaysh b. Khālid, from his father, from his grandfather Ḥubaysh b. Khālid, the Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when forced out of Mecca left there as an Emigrant, along with Abū Bakr, ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra and their guide ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUrayqiṭ al-Laythī. They passed by the tent of Umm Maʿbad, a fearless, strong woman who would sit, legs drawn up and wrapped in her garment, at the entrance to the "leather tent." And he went on to relate the same (introductory material as in the prior account).

He went on, "And I think it was Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Makhlad who related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Yūnus b. Mūsā, that is al-Kudaymī, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the freed-man of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, quoting Muḥammad b. Sulayman b. Salīṭ al-Anṣārī, quoting his father, from his father Salīṭ al-Badrī, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on the emigration accompanied by Abū Bakr, ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra with Ibn ʿUrayqiṭ guiding them on their path, they passed by Umm Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿiyya, she not knowing who he was. He asked her, "Umm Maʿbad, do you have any milk?" She replied, "No, I swear, our goats have not been with males." "What about that one?" he asked. "She is the last of the goats left after the drought."'" His account then relates the rest of the story much as given above.

Al-Bayhaqī then said, "It is likely that all these stories relate to one occasion."

He then related an anecdote similar to that about the goat of Umm Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿiyya, stating, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to us, by dictation, that Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Isḥāq b. Ayyūb related to them, quoting Muḥammad b. Ghālib, quoting Abū al-Walīd, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Iyyād b. Laqīṭ, quoting Iyyād b. Laqīṭ, from Qays b. al-Nuʿmān, who said, 'When the Prophet and Abū Bakr left in secret they passed by a slave watching some goats. They asked him for milk. He replied, "I don't have one giving milk. I just have this one young female goat here who gave birth at the beginning of the winter, but her foetus was malformed and she has no milk left." "Call her over to me," he asked. He did so and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) tethered her and stroked her teat and prayed until it began to flow. Abū Bakr then brought a vessel and he milked the goat, gave to Abū Bakr to drink, milked again, and gave to the shepherd, then milked again and drank.'

"The shepherd then asked, 'For heaven's sake, who are you? I never saw the like of you!'

"'Do you think you could keep it secret if I told you?' he asked. 'Oh yes,' he replied.

"'I am Muḥammad, the Messenger of God,' he told him.

"'You mean you're the one Quraysh say claims to be a Ṣabian?' he asked. 'Yes, they do say that,' he told him.

"'Well,' the shepherd said, 'I bear witness that you bring the truth, and that only a prophet could do as you have. I am your follower now.'

"'You can't be that right now,' he told him. 'Come and join us when you hear *I have declared myself openly.*'"

Abū Yaḥyā al-Mawṣulī related this, from Ja'far b. Ḥumayd al-Kufī, from 'Abd Allāh b. Iyyād b. Laqīṭ.

Abū Nu'aym at this point related the story of 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd stating, "'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far related to us, quoting Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, Abū Dā'ūd and Ḥammād b. Salama, from 'Āṣim, from Zirr, from 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd who said, 'I was a teenage boy working as a shepherd for goats belonging to 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'ayṭ at Mecca when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr came by, having fled from the polytheists. They asked me whether I had any milk to give them to drink. I replied, "I'm held responsible; I'm not here to provide drink for you." They asked, "Do you have a young sheep that hasn't yet been with a ram?" "Yes, I do," I replied.

"'So I brought it to them and Abū Bakr tethered it, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took hold of her teat and said a prayer. The teat flowed copiously and Abū Bakr brought a hollowed-out rock and milked into it. He and Abū Bakr drank and they served me. Then he told the teat to close, and it did so.

"'Later I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him, "Teach me some of these fine words," meaning the Qur'ān. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "*Consider yourself a well-taught lad!*" I took from his mouth 70 *sūras* and no one can dispute me about them.'"

His words in this account, "Having fled from the polytheists" is not with reference to the time of the emigration but with regard to some circumstances prior thereto.

Ibn Mas'ūd was one who accepted Islam early and emigrated to Abyssinia and later returned to Mecca, as previously mentioned. This anecdote of his is firm and authentic, related in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections and elsewhere. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, he being al-Zubayr, related to him, that his father had quoted Fā'id, the freed-man of 'Abādil, as having said, "I left town in the company of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'd; when we reached al-'Arj Ibn Sa'd came. Now Sa'd (his father) had been the man who had guided the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the road to Rakūba. Ibrāhīm asked him, 'What anecdotes did your father relate to you?' Ibn Sa'd replied, 'My father told me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to them in the company of Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr had a daughter with us who was suckling at that time and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wanted to find a *short route to Medina.* Sa'd told him, "This is the waste-land of Rakūba; out there are two thieves of Aslam who are known as the 'two disgraced men'. If you like we could get directions from them." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "Yes, let's do that."

"'Sa'd went on, "So we went off and came into view of them, whereupon one of them said to the other, 'That is the man from Yemen.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called over to them and explained Islam to them, and they accepted it. He then asked them their names and they replied, 'We're the "two disgraced men".' He commented, 'No, you're the "two honoured men"!' He then told them to lead him into Medina. So we left and reached the outskirts of Qubā', and there he was met by the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Where is Abū Umāma As'ad b. Zurāra?' Sa'd b. Khaythama replied, 'So he scored (with you) before me, O Messenger of God; shouldn't I tell him that?'

"'"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then passed on until he could see the date-palms and the well there was full. He turned to Abū Bakr and said, 'O Abū Bakr, this is where I shall stay; I saw myself staying at a stream like that of the Banū Mudlij.'"'"

Aḥmad alone gives this account.

Section: On the entry of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) into Medina, and where he established therein his dwelling, comprising matters related thereto.

It has been stated above by al-Bukhārī, on the authority of al-Zuhrī, from 'Urwa, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) entered Medina at noon.

My own comment is that that could have been in the afternoon, because of what is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from the *ḥadīth* of Isrā'īl, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barā' b. 'Āzib, from Abū Bakr in his *ḥadīth* concerning the emigration. He stated, "We arrived at night and the people vied for the honour of having him stay with them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore said, 'I will stay with the Banū al-Najjār who are related by blood to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, to honour them.'"

This could have been, though God knows best, on the day of his arrival at Qubā'. He may have arrived at the outskirts of Medina in the heat of the afternoon and spent some time (resting) under the palm tree. He then proceeded on with the Muslims and stopped at Qubā', that being at night. Furthermore, in stating that these events transpired after noon, he could have meant at night, for evening is indeed after noon.

Alternatively, that could refer to when he left Qubā', travelling on and only reaching the Banū al-Najjār in the evening. This will be discussed later. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī recounted, from al-Zuhrī, from 'Urwa, that he stayed with Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf at Qubā', for a score or more nights and established the mosque at Qubā' during that period.

He then mounted up, the people accompanying him, and went on until his camel knelt with him at the site of his mosque. That place was a drying shed for dates owned by two orphaned youths named Sahl and Suhayl. He bought it from them and used it as a mosque. And that was among the Banū al-Najjār, may God be pleased with them.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to me, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUwaym b. Sāʿida, who said, 'Some of my tribesmen who were Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "When we learned of the emigration of the Prophet (ṢAAS) from Mecca, we anticipated his arrival. We would go out, after saying the morning prayer, to the edge of the rock lava plain and await him. We would stay there until the sun would force us to seek shade, failing which, we would go indoors. It was the hot season at that time.

"'"Eventually the day arrived when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did come. We had sat as usual until there was no shade left and then we had entered our homes. But when we had done so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived. The first to see him was a Jew, and he shouted at the top of his voice, 'Banū Qayla, your great man has come!'

"'"So we all went outside to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and found him in the shade of a date-palm, accompanied by Abū Bakr, a man of similar age. Most of us had not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before that, and people crowded around him, not knowing how to distinguish him from Abū Bakr. But when the shade moved away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) Abū Bakr stood up and shaded him with his cloak. And at that point we recognized him."'"

The account given above from al-Bukhārī is similar to this one, as is that from Mūsā b. ʿUqba in his work on the *maghāzī*, the military campaigns.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Hāshim related to us, quoting Sulaymān, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'I moved along through young men shouting, "Muḥammad has come!" And I'd move ahead but still see nothing.

"'But then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did come, accompanied by Abū Bakr. They hid in a ruin in Medina, then sent out a bedouin asking for the *anṣār*, the Helpers, to let them enter town. Thereupon some 500 of the *anṣār* went out to greet them, saying, "Do come on; you are safe and will be obeyed."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companion then came on in among them and the townspeople, even the old people as well came out to greet them, climbing on top of the houses and shouting, "Which one is he?" We never saw such a sight before.'"

"Anas said, 'I witnessed the day he entered among us and the day he died, and I never saw two such days as those.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Sanʿānī, from Abū al-Naḍr Hāshim b. al-Qāsim, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, from Thābit, from Anas, whose account was very similar.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, through Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, we find that Abū Bakr says, in his account of the emigration, "When we arrived in Medina, the people came out filling the streets and the roof tops, with the young and the servants all shouting and repeating, 'God is most Great! The Messenger of God has arrived. God is most Great! Muḥammad has come! God is most Great! Muḥammad has come! God is most Great! The Messenger of God has come!' The next morning he moved on to where he had been ordered to go."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū ʿAmr al-Adīb told us, quoting Abū Bakr al-Ismāʿīlī, as follows, 'I heard Abū Khalīfa say, "I heard ʿĀ'ishā's son say, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina the women and boys began chanting,

"The full moon has risen over us, from the passes of
al-Wadāʿ;
We must give thanks, for what a supplicant has prayed
to God."'"'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so they say, stayed at Qubā' with Kulthūm b. al-Hadam, a brother of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, who was of the Banū ʿUbayd; it is also said, however, that he stayed with Saʿd b. Khaythama.

"Those who say he stayed with Kulthūm b. al-Hadam assert the following: that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went outside the house of Kulthūm he would go and sit with people in the house of Saʿd b. Khaythama because this man was a bachelor, without family, and his house was therefore known as 'the bachelors' house. But God knows best.

"Abū Bakr, God bless him, stayed with Khubayb b. Isāf, of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Khazraj at al-Sunḥ. It is also said he stayed with Khārija b. Zayd b. Abū Zuhayr, a brother of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj."

Ibn Isḥāq also stated that ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib remained in Mecca for three days and nights until he had handed back the deposits made with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"He then joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and stayed with Kulthūm b. al-Hadm; apparently ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib stayed in Qubā' only a night or two.

"He would say, 'In Qubā' there was a Muslim woman who had no husband. I saw a man go to her in the depths of the night; he would knock on her door and she came out. He then gave her something he had with him which she took. I found her conduct very suspicious, so I asked her, "Who is it that knocks at your door every night; you go out to him and he gives you something I can't see properly. How can you do this, you being a Muslim woman without a husband?"

"'She replied, "The man is Sahl b. Ḥanīf. He knows I am a woman with no one and after dark he damages and destroys his people's idols then brings their remains to me. He tells me to use them as firewood."'

"ʿAlī, God be pleased with him, used to eulogize Sahl b. Ḥanīf in this way when he was killed in his company in Irāq."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained with Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf in Qubā' from the Monday through Thursday and founded a mosque there.

"Then God took him forth from among them on the Friday, though the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf claim that he stayed there longer among them."

ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, as saying, "The Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf claim that he stayed there among them for 18 nights."

My own comment is, as was stated before from al-Bukhārī's account, through al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, that he stayed there for some 10 nights.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba quoted Mujmaʿ b. Yazīd b. Ḥāritha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed among us" – amongst the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf at Qubā', that is – "for 22 nights."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "It is said he stayed among them for 14 nights."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When Friday came the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there among the Banū Sālim b.ʿAwf; he prayed that day in the mosque in the Rānūnā' valley, this being the first Friday he prayed in Medina.

"ʿItbān b. Mālik and ʿAbbās b.ʿUbāda b. Naḍla came to him there along with some men of the Banū Sālim and told him, 'O Messenger of God, stay here among us enjoying our protection and our wealth.' He replied, referring to his camel, 'Give her free passage; for she is being guided.' And they cleared a path for her.

"She proceeded and got as far as the homes of the Banū Bayāḍa, where he was met by Ziyād b. Labīd and Farwa b. ʿAmr, along with other men of the Banū Bayāḍa. They asked him, 'O Messenger of God, come and join us and share our protection and our wealth.'

"He replied, 'Make way before her, she has received a command.' And they cleared a path for her.

"She went on again and passed by the homes of the Banū Sāʿida where she was blocked by Saʿd b. ʿUbāda and al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr along with some men of the Banū Sāʿida. They said, 'O Messenger of God, come to us and have our protection.' 'Make way before her,' he replied, 'she has received a command.' And they did so.

"On she went until she was opposite the home of Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. There her way was blocked by Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ, Khārija b. Zayd and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, along with men of Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. They called out, 'Messenger of God, come to us; we have many to protect you.' But he replied as before.

"She proceeded further, as far as the homes of the Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār, to whom he was related. The closest of these was the mother of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Salmā, daughter of ʿAmr, being one of their women. There were Salīṭ b. Qays and Abū Salīṭ, Usayra b. Abū Khārija and some men of the Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār. They told him, 'O Messenger of God, join your own relatives and enjoy our wealth and protection.' 'Make way before her,' he replied, 'she has received a command.' And they did so.

"She went further, up to the homes of the Banū Mālik b. al-Najjār, where she knelt down before what is today his mosque. At that time it was a drying shed for dates owned by two orphan youths of the Banū Mālik b. al-Najjār, Sahl and Suhayl by name, sons of ʿAmr. They were under the protection of Muʿādh b. ʿAfrā'."

My own comment, however, is that it has been related earlier, from the account of al-Bukhārī through al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, that these youths were under the protection of Asʿad b. Zurāra. But God knows best.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl while he was there in his house. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to a stop, expecting to be invited into the house since he was at that time the chief of the Khazraj. But ʿAbd Allāh told him, "Look to those who invited you. Stay with them!"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) related this to a number of the *anṣār* and Saʿd b. ʿUbāda commented, apologizing for him, "Now God has granted you to us, O Messenger of God; whereas we had wanted to place a crown on his head and make him king over us."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "The *anṣār* had held a meeting before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. They had gathered around his camel arguing over which of them should hold its reins, vying to honour and show their respect for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Whenever he passed by the home of one of the *anṣār* they would invite him inside, but he would say, 'Leave her alone; she has received a command. I will only stay where God decides.'

"When she arrived at the house of Abū Ayyūb she knelt before the door and he dismounted. He entered that house and stayed there until his mosque and its apartments were built."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) first knelt he did not dismount and she got up and went a little further, while the Messenger of God left its rein free without his control. She then turned around and came back to where she had knelt and did so there again. She then shook herself, and sank to the ground stretching out fully. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then dismounted.

"Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd then picked up his bags and took them into the house. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed there with him.

"He asked who owned the drying shed and Muʿādh b. ʿAfrāʾ told him, 'It is owned by Sahl and Suhayl, two sons of ʿAmr. They are orphans under my care.' 'Then I will buy it from them and have it as a mosque,' said the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and later he had it built."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in the home of Abū Ayyūb until he built his mosque and its living quarters; he and the Muslims, both Emigrants and Helpers, participated in its construction. An account of the building of the mosque will be given soon hereafter, if God wills it.

Al-Bayhaqī stated in *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), quoting from Abū ʿAbd Allāh, who stated that the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAmr informed him, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Makhlid al-Dūrī, quoting Muḥammad b. Sulaymān

b. Ismāʿīl b. Abū al-Ward, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Ṣirma, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Isḥāq b.ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ṭalḥa, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina, and when we entered the *anṣār* came along with other men and women and said, 'Come to us, O Messenger of God.' He replied, 'Leave my camel unimpeded; she has received a command.'

"She knelt at the door of Abū Ayyūb and servant girls of the Banū al-Najjār came out striking drums and chanting, 'We are girls of the Banū al-Najjār; how wonderful if Muḥammad were our neighbour.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then came out to them and asked, 'Do you love me?' They replied, 'Oh yes, O Messenger of God!' 'And I,' he said, 'by God, love you all! By God, I love you all!'"

This is a strange tradition from this source. None of the authorities on tradition relate it, though al-Ḥākim gave it in his *Mustadrak* as will be related.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī related, quoting Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Naḥḥās, the Qurʾān-reciter in Baghdad, that ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī related to him, quoting Abū Khaythama al-Maṣīṣī, and ʿIsā b. Yūnus related, from ʿAwf al-Aʿrābī, from Thumāma, from Anas, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) passed by a quarter where the Banū al-Najjār lived. And there were servant girls striking drums and chanting,

> "We are girls of the Banū al-Najjār; how wonderful if
> Muḥammad were our neighbour."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "God knows that my heart loves you all!"'"

This was related by Ibn Māja, from Hishām b. ʿAmmār, from ʿIsā b. Yūnus.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī it is stated from Maʿmar, from ʿAbd al-Wārith, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from Anas, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) saw the women and boys coming – I believe he said that it was a wedding procession. So he stood up in full view and said, 'O God, these are the people I love most of all.' He repeated this three times."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "'ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith related to us, quoting his father, who quoted ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb, who quoted Anas b. Mālik, as follows: 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out for Medina with Abū Bakr riding behind him on the same mount. Abū Bakr was an elderly man who was well known, whereas the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was youthful and not known.

"'If a person met Abū Bakr and said, "Abū Bakr, who is that man in front of you?" He would reply, "This man is showing me the path."

"'He would think he was referring to him showing him the road, but what he really meant was "the path of good".

"'Abū Bakr looked back and saw a horseman had caught up with them. So he said, "O Prophet of God, a rider has caught up with us!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turned around and said, "O God, bring him down!" The man's horse

then fell, tossed him and stood neighing. The man then said, "O Prophet of God, give me your orders!" He replied, "Stay where you are and don't let anyone catch up with me!"

"'So the man had started off the morning trying to catch the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and by the end of it he was acting as his armed guard!

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) alighted at the edge of the rock lava plain and sent a message off to the *anṣār*. When they came they greeted the two men and told them, "Mount up; you will be safe and you will be obeyed."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr then rode on, the *anṣār* all around them fully armed.

"'In Medina people were saying, "The Prophet of God, has come!" And they raised their glances to him, repeating that the Prophet had come.

"'He proceeded on and dismounted beside the house of Abū Ayyūb.

"'While he was talking to members of its household ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām heard of him while working in a palm-grove belonging to his family. He quickly stopped what he was doing, she[38] accompanying him, heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went back to his own people.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Which of our people's houses is closest?" Abū Ayyūb replied, "Mine, O Messenger of God; this is my house, this my door." He asked, "Then go and prepare a place for us to rest." He went and did so, then returned and said, "O Messenger of God, I have prepared a place for your siesta. Do come, with God's blessings." They did so.

"'Now that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had arrived, ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām came to him and said, "I bear witness that you are really the Prophet of God, that you have brought the truth. The Jews know me to be their leader and the son of their former leader, their most learned man and son of their former most learned man. Call them and ask them."

"'When they came the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressed them, "O Jews, woe upon you! Fear God! By the God other than whom there is none, you well know that I am truly the Messenger of God, and that I bring you the truth. Accept Islam!"

"'But three times they replied, "We do not know this."'"

Al-Bukhārī alone relates this thus, on the authority of a Muḥammad not further identified and also from ʿAbd al-Ṣamad.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Marthad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yazanī, from Abū Ruhm al-Samāʿī, that Abū Ayyūb stated, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took up residence in my house, he lived on the lower floor while I and Umm Ayyūb lived upstairs. I told him, "O Messenger of God, I really hate being above you, with you beneath me. Come along and live above, while we come down to the lower floor."

38. Ibn Isḥāq's account as elsewhere published refers to his aunt as working with him in the palm-grove; no doubt the reference is to her in this apparently abbreviated account. See p. 196.

"'He replied, "Abū Ayyūb, it's better for us and for our guests for me to live downstairs."

"'And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained down while we stayed above in the house. It happened that a large jug of water of ours broke and my wife and I had to mop it up as best we could with a velvet garment, since we had no other cloth. We used it to dry up the water, fearing to have any drop on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and so harm him.

"'We used to prepare his evening meal for him and send it in to him. If when he returned it there were any morsels left we would try to see where his fingers had touched it and eat that part, hoping to be blessed by that. One night we sent him his supper, having included onions or garlic and he returned it without us detecting any marks of his hands on it. So I was shocked and went to him and asked, "O Messenger of God, you have sent back the food without me seeing any sign you have touched it." He explained, "I sensed the smell of that plant in the food; I'm someone who whispers to others (and such an odour may be offensive to them), so why don't you eat it."

"'We did so and never served him those vegetables again.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this similarly, through al-Layth b. Sa'd, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Abū al-Ḥasan, or Abū al-Khayr, Marthad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Yazanī, from Abū Ruhm, from Abū Ayyūb, who told it.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related it from Yūnus b. Muḥammad al-Mu'addib, from al-Layth.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū 'Amr al-Ḥayrī, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting Aḥmad b. Sa'īd al-Dāramī, quoting Abū al-Nu'mān, quoting Thābit b. Yazīd quoting 'Āṣim al-Aḥwal, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, from Aflaḥ, the freed-man of Abū Ayyūb, from Abū Ayyūb, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) resided with him, staying on the ground floor while he, Abū Ayyūb, lived upstairs. It occurred to Abū Ayyūb that he was walking on top of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and so he was careful to keep to the sides, where they also slept. He then spoke to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about that, commenting, 'The lower floor is more appropriate for us; I can't be above a ceiling when you are beneath it.' And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved to the upper floor, while Abū Ayyūb moved to the lower.

"He used to prepare food for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and if it was returned he would ask about where he had placed his fingers and keep track of this. Once he made food for him that contained garlic and when the food came back he asked where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had placed his fingers. He was told, 'He didn't eat any.' Abū Ayyūb was shocked and went up to him and asked, 'Is it a forbidden food?' The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, 'No, but I do dislike it.' Abū Ayyūb commented, 'I dislike whatever you dislike'; or he may have used the words, 'whatever you have disliked.' He also said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) would be visited by angels.'"[39]

39. It is stated in another tradition that angels dislike the smell of garlic.

Muslim related this from Aḥmad b. Saʿīd.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, that Anas b. Mālik said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was brought a large platter" – in one account it was a bowl – "containing green vegetables. He asked and was told what these were and when he looked at them, he did not want to eat them. He commented, 'You eat them; I have private conversations with people with whom you do not!'"

Al-Wāqidī recounted that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed at the home of Abū Ayyūb, Asʿad b. Zurāra took hold of the nose-rein of the camel of the Messenger of God and it thus remained with him.

It is related from Zayd b. Thābit that he said, "The first gift made to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), after he took up residence in the home of Abū Ayyāsh, was brought to him by myself. It was a big wooden bowl filled with bread, crumbled up with yoghurt and butter. I told him that my mother had sent the bowl. He commented, 'God bless her!' Then he called over his Companions and they ate. Then a wooden bowl came from Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, a mixture of bread and meat gravy.

"Not an evening went by without there being at the door of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) three or four people who would come one after the other carrying food. He remained there in the home of Abū Ayyūb for seven months.

"While resident in the home of Abū Ayyūb, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent his freed-man Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Abū Rāfiʿ, along with two camels and carrying 500 dirhams, to bring back Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm, daughters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), his wife Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa and Usāma b. Zayd. Ruqayya had already emigrated with her husband ʿUthmān, while Zaynab remained with her husband, Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ in Mecca. Umm Ayman, the wife of Zayd b. Ḥāritha, came with these, and so did ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr with the other children of Abū Bakr who included ʿĀʾisha, 'mother of the believers'. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not yet consummated his marriage with her."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting Khalaf b. ʿAmr al-ʿAkbarī, quoting Saʿīd b. Manṣūr, quoting ʿItāf b. Khālid, quoting Ṣādiq b. Mūsā, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina his mount knelt down between the homes of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī and al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. People came to him then saying, 'O Messenger of God, my house!' But his camel got up with him again and he said, 'Let her proceed; she is being divinely guided.'

"She then moved away with him and came to the place for the *minbar*, the pulpit, where it knelt down and shook itself. A shed was there where they were storing and drying dates. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), alighted from his mount and went to the shade. Abū Ayyūb then approached him and said, 'O Messenger of God, my house is the one closest to you; shall I carry your baggage to my place?' 'Yes,' he said. So he took his baggage into the house. Another man then

came to him and said, 'O Messenger of God, where are you staying?' He replied, 'A man stays wherever his baggage is.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed there in the shed for 12 nights, until the mosque was built."

This was a great honour for Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd, God bless him, to have the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stay with him.

It was related to us through Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, may God be pleased with him, that Abū Ayyūb came to Basra over which Ibn ʿAbbās had been appointed governor by ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him. Ibn ʿAbbās came out of his house and invited Abū Ayyūb to stay there, just as the latter had provided accommodation for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in his house. He also presented him with everything within the house; and when he came to leave, Ibn ʿAbbās gave him 20,000 dirhams and 40 slaves.

Abū Ayyūb's house later passed into the hands of his freed-man Aflaḥ; al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām bought it from him for 1,000 dinars, repaired it and donated it for the use of the poor of Medina who belonged to the household of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Similarly his staying in the home of the Banū al-Najjār and God's choosing that for him, was also a great honour. In Medina there were many such complexes, nine in number. Each of these was separate and self-sufficient, with its own date-palms, gardens and families. Each one of their tribes were gathered in their own quarters, making them like adjoining villages. God chose for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the home of the Banū Mālik b. al-Najjār.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is established from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba as follows, "I heard Qatāda quote Anas b. Mālik as stating, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "The best of the *anṣār* homes is that of the Banū al-Najjār, then comes that of the Banū al-Ashhal, then the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, then the Banū Sāʿida; and in all the homes of the *anṣār* there is good."'

"Saʿd b. ʿUbāda stated, 'I never saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), fail to express preference for others over us.' But he was told instead, 'He gave preference to you over many.'"

This quotation comes from al-Bukhārī.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim also related this from a *ḥadīth* of Anas and Abū Salama, from Abū Usayd Mālik b. Rabīʿa, and from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUbāda b. Sahl, from Abū Ḥumayd, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), in the same terms. In the *ḥadīth* of Abū Ḥumayd there is an addition: "Abū Usayd said to Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, 'Don't you think that the Prophet (ṢAAS) expressed favour for the *anṣār* and placed us last?' And so Saʿd went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and asked, 'O Messenger of God, have you given preference to the homes of the *anṣār* and placed us last?' 'Well', he replied, 'does it not suffice you that you are among the very best?'"

Great honour and credit were firmly established for the people of Medina, the *anṣār*, both in this world and the next. God Almighty stated, "As for those who

are first and foremost, of the *muhājirīn*, the Emigrants and the *anṣār*, 'the Helpers', and those who followed them in goodness, God is pleased with them, and they are with Him. He has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow; they will live in them forever. That is the mighty success" (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barāʾa*; IX, v.100). And God also stated, "And (give also) to those who lived in this area and had faith before them, loving those who emigrated to them, and they do not find in themselves any grudge because of what others were given, rather, preferring others over themselves, though they may themselves be in need. Those spared from the meanness of their selves shall be those who succeed" (*sūrat al-Ḥashra*; LIX, v.9).

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "Had I not been compelled to perform the emigration personally, I would have been an *anṣārī*, a Helper; and if people had gone to any valley or defile, I would have gone to the valley or defile of the Helpers. The Helpers are as an undergarment, the people at large as an overgarment."

He also said, "The Helpers are my household and my own family."

And he said, "I am peace to those who make peace with them and war to those who make war upon them."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ḥajjāj b. Minhāl related to him, quoting Shuʿba, quoting ʿAdī b. Thābit, as follows, "I heard al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib say, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say' – or he said – 'the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), said, "The *anṣār* are loved only by those who believe and hated only by those who are hypocritical. Whoever loves them is loved by God, and whoever hates them is hated by God."'"

The other *ḥadīth* authorities also give this, except for Abū Dāʾūd, from an account of Shuʿba.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "Muslim b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr, from Anas b. Mālik, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) who said, 'A sign of faith is love for the Helpers; a sign of hypocrisy is hatred for the Helpers.'"

Al-Bukhārī also related it from Abū al-Walīd, al-Ṭayālisī and Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Khālid b. al-Ḥārith and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, all four of them quoting Shuʿba's account.

There are numerous verses of the Qurʾān and Prophetic Traditions that make reference to the virtues of the *anṣār*.

How fine are the verses spoken by Abū Qays Ṣirma b. Abū Anas, mentioned above, a poet from the Helpers, concerning the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) among them, and of the help and comfort they gave to him and to his Companions, God bless them all.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Qays Ṣirma b. Abū Anas also spoke the following, making reference to how God had honoured them by bringing them Islam and His Messenger (ṢAAS),

> 'A decade or so he stayed among Quraysh, preaching in
> hopes of finding agreeable friends,

Offering himself to those attending the fairs, but he found no one to protect or invite him.
When he came to us his mind was put at ease and he became pleased and contented,
He found friends and his mind became at ease, and he received evident help from God.
He would tell us what Noah informed his people, and what Moses said when he answered the call,
And so he came to fear no one, whether near or far away.
We gave of our best wealth and of ourselves amidst the uproar and the shared sorrows,
Opposing all those people that he opposed, even those who had been dear and close.
We know that there is nothing besides God, and that the book of God has become our guide.
I would say, when praying at any temple, "Have pity, do not show enmity towards us!"
I would say, when crossing any dangerous land, "Blessed are You, the One relied upon."
Even if you step to one side the ways of death are many, and it is not you who can preserve yourself.
And, by God, a man does not know how his course will be, if he does not have God watch over him.
The thirsty date-palm will do its owner no good if it becomes well-watered yet he becomes buried!'"

Ibn Isḥāq and others quoted this, as did ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī and others, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from an old woman of the Helpers who said, "I saw ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās visiting Ṣirma b. Qays as he spoke these lines."

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Division

Medina was also honoured by the emigration there of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and it became a shelter to the good agents and worshippers of God, an impregnable stronghold and fortress for the Muslims and a place where there was guidance for all people.

There are innumerable traditions relating to its virtues, and these we will give elsewhere, if God wills it.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections through Ḥabīb b. Yasāf, from Jaʿfar b. ʿĀṣim, from Abū Hurayra who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Faith fits into Medina like a snake into its hole.'"

Muslim also related this, from Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ, from Shabāba, from ʿĀṣim b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), in much the same words.

Also in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections is the *ḥadīth* of Mālik, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd as saying that he heard Abū al-Ḥubāb Saʿīd b. Yasār report, "I heard Abū Hurayra say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "I was commanded to go to a town that eats up other towns; they call it 'Yathrib', but it is 'al-Madina'. It purifies men just as a bellows purifies the dross from iron."'"

Imām Mālik is unique among the four Imāms in giving Medina preference over Mecca.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh quoted Abū al-Walīd and Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh, both of whom said, 'Al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān related to us, quoting Abū Mūsā al-Anṣārī, quoting Saʿīd b. Saʿīd, quoting his brother, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "O God, you have brought me out of the town that is dearest to me; let me now dwell in the town dearest to You." And God sent him to dwell in Medina.'"

This *ḥadīth* is extremely strange.

It is very widely known and accepted that Mecca is better than Medina, except for that place that holds the body of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Most authorities give many proofs of that, these being too many to refer to here; we have referenced their location in *al-Manāsik min al-Aḥkām* (*The Rites of the Ḥajj in the Sharīʿa*).

The most famous proof for them of this is in what Imām Aḥmad stated, namely, "Abū al-Yamān related to us, quoting Shuʿayb, quoting al-Zuhrī and Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān that ʿAbd Allāh b.ʿAdī b. al-Ḥamrāʾ told him that he heard the Prophet (ṢAAS), while standing at al-Ḥazwara in the market of Mecca, say, 'By God, I swear that of all God's earth you are the best, and the dearest to me; and had I not been forced out of you I would never have left.'"

Aḥmad related the same, from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from al-Zuhrī.

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus, as did al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from ʿUqayl, from al-Zuhrī. Al-Tirmidhī stated it to be "*ḥasan, ṣaḥīḥ*", "good and authentic".

Yūnus related this from al-Zuhrī. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr related it from Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū Hurayra. In my view the *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī is more reliable.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "'ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood at al-Ḥazwara and said, "I know you to be of all God's earth the best, and the dearest to me; and if your people had not expelled me I would not have forsaken you."'"

Al-Nasāʾī related this thus from an account of Maʿmar.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "This is a mistake on Maʿmar's part."

Some authorities relate this from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra; it too is a misconception, the authentic version being that of the community of scholars.

Aḥmad also stated, "Ibrāhīm b. Khālid related to us, quoting Rabāḥ, from Ma'mar, from Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī, from Abū Salama, from some other scholars, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, while he was in the market place of al-Ḥazwara, 'By God, I swear that of all God's earth you are the best, and the dearest to me; and had I not been forced out of you, I would never have left.'"

Al-Ṭabrānī related it from Aḥmad b. Khulayd al-Ḥalabī, from al-Ḥumaydī, from Ibn Akh al-Zuhrī, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Adī b. al-Ḥamrā'.

These are the various lines of transmission of this *ḥadīth* but the most reliable is the one given above. But God knows best.

The events of the first year of the hegira: An Account of the major events and happenings in the first year following the emigration of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

The *ṣaḥāba*, the "Companions", God be pleased with them, agreed in the year 16 AH – or some say 17 or 18 AH – during the Caliphate of 'Umar, on having the Islamic era begin with the year of the emigration.

This came about because a contractual document or agreement was referred to 'Umar by one man complaining against another. In it was stated that it came into effect in the month of Sha'bān. 'Umar asked, "Which Sha'bān? That of this, last or next year?"

He then assembled the Companions and discussed the need for a calendar whereby contracts concerning debts and other matters should come into effect. One speaker suggested, "Date as the Persians do." But this met no favour. For the Persians used to date by the reigns of their kings, one following the other.

Another man suggested, "Use the same dating system as the Byzantines." They used to date by the reign of Alexander, son of Phillip, the Macedonian. But this met no favour.

Another man suggested, "Date from the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Another suggested, "No, date from his receiving the Mission."

Another suggested, "No, from his emigration."

Others suggested by the date of his death.

'Umar, God be pleased with him, preferred the date of his emigration, because it was so definite and well known, and the others agreed with him.

In his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection al-Bukhārī stated, under the heading: *The dating system and when it was established.* "'Abd Allāh b. Muslim related to us, quoting 'Abd al-'Azīz, from his father, from Sahl b. Sa'd, who said, 'They did not have the dating system start after the beginning of the mission of the Prophet (ṢAAS), nor after his death, but after his arrival in Medina.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Ibn Abū al-Zinād related to us, from his father, who said, 'ʿUmar sought advice on a dating system and they agreed upon the emigration.'"

Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālisī stated, from Qurra b. Khālid al-Sadūsī, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, who said, "A man went up to ʿUmar and said, 'Set a dating system!' He asked, 'What's that?' The man explained, 'It's something other peoples do; they record things in the form: in such-and-such a month of such-and-such a year.' 'Fine,' agreed ʿUmar, 'just set it up.'

"They then discussed the matter of the date from which it should begin. Some suggested from the beginning of the Mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), others suggested from his death. Finally they agreed it should be from his emigration. Then they discussed at which month it should commence. Ramaḍān was suggested, and then al-Muḥarram, it being the time for the return of people from their pilgrimage and it was also a sacred month. They agreed on al-Muḥarram."

Ibn Jarīr stated, "Qutayba related to us, quoting Nūḥ b. Qays al-Ṭāʾī, from ʿUthmān b. Muḥṣin, that Ibn ʿAbbās used to say in regard to the words of the Almighty, 'By the dawn and ten nights!' (*sūrat al-Fajr*; LXXXIX, v.1), that the reference was to al-Muḥarram, the dawn of the year."

It is related that ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr stated, "Muḥarram is God's month; it is the beginning of the year and in it the *kaʿba* receives its new cover. It is the month from which people establish the date and in which coins are minted."

Aḥmad stated, "Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda related to us, quoting Zakariyyāʾ b. Isḥāq, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, who said, 'The first man to put a date on a document was Yaʿlā b. Umayya in the Yemen. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina in Rabīʿ al-Awwal, and people marked that as the first of the year.'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related from al-Zuhrī and Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related from al-Shaʿbī, both saying, "The Banū Ismāʿīl dated from the fire of Abraham and then from the building by Abraham and Ismāʿīl of the temple, then from the death of Kaʿb b. Luʾayy, then from the [year of the] elephant. After that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb began dating from the emigration. That was in the year 17 or 18 AH."

We made reference to this issue, giving the relevant chains of authority and lines of transmission in the biography of ʿUmar, and all praise be to God.

The conclusion is that they did make the beginning of Islamic history from the year of the emigration. They set its beginning from al-Muḥarram, this being well known. This is the consensus of the Imāms.

Al-Suhaylī and others quoted Imām Mālik as having said, "The Islamic year began in Rabīʿ al-Awwal, because that was the month when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) emigrated."

He also made such an assertion elsewhere by referring to the Almighty's words, "certainly a mosque founded in piety from the first day" (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barāʾa*; IX, v.108). That is, from the first day of the arrival of the Prophet (ṢAAS) in Medina. This was the first day of the era, just as the Companions have agreed to its first year having been that of the emigration.

There is no doubt that this, as stated by Imām Mālik, God bless him, is appropriate. However, the actual practice is contrary to this. The first month of the Arabs is indeed al-Muḥarram. They thus made the first year of the calendar that of the emigration, and had it begin with al-Muḥarram (instead of Rabī' al-Awwal) so that there would be no confusion in the system. But God knows best.

Our comment is – and we rely on God's help – that the year of the blessed emigration begins while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was still resident in Mecca. He had received the pledge of the *anṣār*, "the Helpers", at the second 'Aqaba meeting, as we have explained, in the middle days of the *tashrīq* period, that is on the 12th of Dhū al-Ḥijja, preceding the year of the emigration.

The *anṣār* then went back and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) permitted the Muslims to emigrate to Medina. One by one his Companions left for Medina to the point where no one was left in Mecca who could emigrate except for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Bakr had kept himself back so as to be able to accompany the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the journey, as we have explained earlier. They then emigrated together, as is detailed above. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib was to leave later, at his command, to take care of the deposits entrusted to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he joined the other two men at Qubā'. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Medina on a Monday at approximately noon, when the heat was extreme.

Al-Wāqidī and others stated, "That occurred on the 2nd of the month of Rabī' al-Awwal." Ibn Isḥāq also related this, except that he did not stop there but preferred a date of the 12th of that month.

This is the popular view held by most scholars. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) according to the best accounts, remained in Mecca following his receiving the Mission for 13 years.

This is what we learn in the account of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Abū Ḥamza al-Dabbī, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received the Mission at the age of 40 and remained living in Mecca for 13 years."

Ibn Jarīr related it similarly from Muḥammad b. Mu'ammar, from Rawḥ b. 'Ubāda, from Zakariyyā' b. Isḥāq, from 'Amr b. Dīnār that he (Ibn 'Abbās) used the words, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in Mecca 13."

It has been earlier stated that Ibn 'Abbās wrote down verses of Ṣirma b. Abū Anas b. Qays, including,

> "Some decades he stayed among Quraysh, preaching in
> hopes of finding agreeable friends"

Al-Wāqidī stated, from Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl, from Dā'ūd b. al-Ḥusayn, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, that he cited that same verse as testimony (to the residence having been for 13 years).

Ibn Jarīr related the same, from al-Ḥārith, from Muḥammad b. Sa'd, from al-Wāqidī, but with reference to "15 pilgrimages", a very strange statement indeed.

Even stranger than that is what Ibn Jarīr stated, namely, "It was related to me from Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda, who said, 'Saʿīd related to us, from Qatāda, who said, "The Qurʾān was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) over a period of 8 years in Mecca and 10 in Medina."'"

Al-Ḥasan used to say "over 10 years in Mecca and 10 in Medina."

This last statement to which al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī subscribed, that he remained in Mecca 10 years, was one with which Anas b. Mālik, ʿĀʾisha, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and ʿAmr b. Dinār all agreed, according to what Ibn Jarīr related of them.

And there is the account from Ibn ʿAbbās, related by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Hishām, from ʿIkrima. It has Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) received revelation at the age of 43 and he remained in Mecca for 10 years."

We recounted above that al-Shaʿbī stated, "Isrāfīl was linked with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for 3 years during which he communicated to him the Word and the Message. In one account, he would hear his voice but not see his person; and thereafter it was Gabriel."

Al-Wāqidī related that one of his sheikhs rejected that statement of al-Shaʿbī.

Ibn Jarīr tried to combine the statements of those who maintained that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed for 10 years in Mecca with those who considered it to have been 13 years by reference to what al-Shaʿbī had said. But God knows best.

Division

When the party of the Prophet (ṢAAS) came to Medina he first stayed, as stated above, at Qubāʾ in the home of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. He remained there at the most for 22 nights, though some say it was 18, others 10 or so, and according to Mūsā b. ʿUqba, 3 nights.

What is widely accepted is what Ibn Isḥāq and others stated, namely that he was there at Qubāʾ from a Monday to a Friday.

He did establish during this period of disputed length, as we have indicated, the mosque at Qubāʾ.

Al-Suhaylī claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) founded it on the first day he arrived at Qubāʾ, citing to support this view the Almighty's words, "certainly, a mosque founded in piety from the first day" (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barāʾa*; IX, v.108). And he refuted those who would have the wording read "from the foundation of the first day".

It is a fine, much honoured mosque. God Almighty revealed about it, "certainly a mosque founded in piety from the first day is fully deserving of you standing (for prayer) inside it; therein are men who love that they be purified, and God loves those who purify themselves" (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barāʾa*; IX, v.108). We have discussed this in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). Therein we referred to the *ḥadīth* in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim to the effect of it being the mosque of Medina, and to the refutation of this.

We also made mention of the *ḥadīth* related by the Imām Aḥmad as follows: "Ḥasan b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Abū Idrīs, quoting Shuraḥbil quoting 'Uwaym b. Sā'ida who said that it was related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to them in the mosque in Qubā' and said, 'God has given you much good praise for purifying yourselves, in the reference to your mosque; what is it you do to so purify yourselves?' They replied, 'We swear by God, O Messenger of God, that the only thing we know is that we had some Jewish neighbours who would wash their behinds after defecating, and so we washed like them.'"

Ibn Khuzayma included this *ḥadīth* in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection and there are other testimonies to it.

It is also related from Khuzayma b. Thābit and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Salām and Ibn 'Abbās.

Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja related from a *ḥadīth* of Yūnus b. al-Ḥārith, from Ibrāhīm b. Abū Maymūna from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "The following verse was revealed about the people of Qubā': 'In it there are men who love to be purified, and God loves those who purify themselves.'" He then went on, "They would wash after excretion and this verse was revealed about them."

Al-Tirmidhī commented, "A unique tradition from this source."

My own comment is that this Yūnus b. al-Ḥārith is a weak authority. But God knows best.

One of those who stated that it referred to this mosque as the one "founded in piety" was 'Abd al-Razzāq who related, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhrī, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, and 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalḥa related it, from Ibn 'Abbās. It was related also from al-Sha'bī, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Qatāda, Sa'īd b. Jubayr, 'Aṭiyya al-'Awfī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam, along with others.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to visit it in later times and would pray there. He would go to Qubā' each Saturday, sometimes mounted and sometimes on foot. It is a *ḥadīth* from him that, "Prayer in the mosque at Qubā' is like an *'umra*."[40]

It is also stated in a *ḥadīth* that it was Gabriel, peace be upon him, who pointed out to the Prophet (ṢAAS) the place for the *qibla*, the prayer niche, for the mosque at Qubā'.

This mosque was the first built in Medina; indeed it is the first that was made for people in general in this community (of believers). In stating this about this mosque, we are excluding the mosque that Abū Bakr built at the entrance to his home in which to worship and pray; this is because it was for his personal household, not for the public at large. But God knows best.

The matters relating to the acceptance of Islam by Salmān have been referred to above in the chapter on the *bishārāt*, the early signs. They tell how when Salmān

40. This refers to the "lesser pilgrimage", a series of ceremonies and rituals performed either in conjunction with or independent of those of the complete pilgrimage. See the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* et alia.

the Persian heard of the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Medina, he came and brought him something that he laid before him while he was at Qubāʾ, saying, "This is a donation." But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) refrained from eating it and told his Companions to do so and they did eat it. Salmān then came a second time with something he presented saying, "This is a present." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then ate some of it himself and told his Companions to do the same, which they did. We gave the tradition earlier at length.

Section: On the acceptance of Islam by ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām, may God be pleased with him.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to us, quoting ʿAwf, from Zurāra, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina, the people ran away scared, as I did myself. But as I learned more about him I realized that he was no liar. The first thing I heard him say was, "Spread peace, feed others, pray at night while others sleep, and you will achieve paradise in peace."'"

Al-Tirmidhī related this, as did Ibn Māja, by various routes, from ʿAwf al-Aʿrābī, from Zurāra b. Abū ʿAwfa. Al-Tirmidhī stated that it was authentic.

This tradition requires that ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām had heard of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and saw him directly following his arrival at Qubāʾ, when he dismounted there among the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf.

It is given above in the account of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb, from Anas, that he met him when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dismounted at the home of Abū Ayyūb following his arrival from Qubāʾ to the quarters of the Banū al-Najjār as told above. It is possible that he did see him for the first time at Qubāʾ and then met with him after his arrival with the Banū al-Najjār. But God knows best.

In the account of al-Bukhārī, through ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz from Anas, the last-mentioned stated, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived, ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām came to him and said, 'I bear witness that you are the Messenger of God and that you bring the truth. The Jews recognize me as their leader and the son of their leader, their most learned man and the son of their most learned man. Summon them and ask them about me before they know that I have embraced Islam, because if they know I have done so they will say of me things that are untrue.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent for the Jews and when they came he asked them, 'O Jews, woe upon you! Fear God! For, by God other than whom there is none, you certainly know that I am the Messenger of God, in truth, and that I bring you the truth. Therefore accept Islam!' They replied, 'We do not know it.' Three times this was repeated. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Which of your men is ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām?'

"They replied, 'That is our leader, and the son of our leader, our most learned man and the son of our most learned man.' He then asked, 'What would you think if he accepted Islam?' They replied, 'God forbid! He would never accept Islam!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called out, 'Ibn Salām, come on out to them!'

"When he did so he addressed them as follows, 'O Jews, fear God! By God other than whom there is none, you do certainly know that he is the Messenger of God, and that he brings you the truth.' They replied, 'No, you are lying!' Thereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent them away."

Those are the words used in the above account.

In one version the text states, "when he came out before them and gave testimony to the truth they said, 'You are the worst of us, and the son of the worst of us!' And they spoke ill of him. He then said, 'O Messenger of God, this is what I was fearing.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh told us, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Ṣanʿānī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, quoting Ḥumayd, from Anas, who said, 'ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām heard of the arrival of the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was out in some land he owned. He went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said, "I shall ask you three things for which only a prophet would know the answers. They are: What are the signs of the Day of Judgement? What is the finest food that the people of paradise would eat? And what causes a child to resemble his father or his mother?"

"'He replied, "Gabriel told me of these previously." "What, Gabriel?" he asked. "Yes," he replied. "But," commented ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām, "he is the angel who is the enemy of the Jews." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then recited, "Whoever is the enemy of Gabriel, who surely revealed it to your heart by God's permission" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.97).

"'He then said, "Regarding the signs of the Day of Judgement, the first will be a fire that comes at people from the East and leads them to the West. As for the prime food of paradise eaten by those that are there, that is a plentitude of whale's liver. And if the male's liquid precedes that of the female, he will resemble the child, while if the female's liquid precedes that of the male, she will resemble the child."

"'ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām exclaimed, "I testify that there is no god but God and that you are the Messenger of God; O Messenger of God, the Jews are a people of liars. If they learn of my accepting Islam before you ask them about me, they will lie to you."

"'The Jews arrived and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them, "What kind of man is the (one of you named) ʿAbd Allāh?" They replied, "He is the best of us and the son of the best of us; he is our leader and the son of our leader." "What," he then asked, "would you say if he were to accept Islam?" They replied, "May God spare him from that!"

"'ʿAbd Allāh then came forth and said, "I give testimony that there is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God." They said, "You are the worst of us, and the son of the worst of us!" And they spoke ill of him.

"'He then commented, "This, O Messenger of God, is what I feared."'"

Al-Bukhārī related this from ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr. And he also related it from Ḥāmid b. ʿUmar, from Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal, from Ḥumayd.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh, from a man of the family of ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām, who said, "Included in the statement reported as having been made by ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām, a learned rabbi, at his conversion to Islam, is the following, 'At Qubāʾ I heard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and learned of his name, qualities and appearance, and that his coming was at a time when we were expecting him. I none the less remained secretive about this and silent until he came to Medina.

"'When he arrived in Qubāʾ, he stayed among the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. A man came and told me of his arrival; at that time I was at work at the top of a date-palm and my aunt Khālida, daughter of al-Ḥārith, was sitting below me.

"'When I heard the news of his arrival, I loudly praised God, and my aunt exclaimed, upon hearing that, "Why, you'd not have been more pleased at hearing of the coming of Moses, son of Aaron!"

"'I told her, "Yes indeed, Aunt. He is, I swear, the very brother of Moses, son of Aaron, and recognizing the same faith. He has been given the same mission assigned to Moses."

"'She responded, "O Nephew, is he the one whom we were told would be sent with news of Judgement Day?" "Yes," I told her, and she said, "Then so it is he."'

"'Abd Allāh continued, 'So I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and embraced Islam, returned to my household and ordered them to do the same. I kept my acceptance of Islam from my people, and told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "The Jews are a people of liars; I would like you to let me inside a house of yours, hide me from them, then ask them about me what status I have among them before you tell them of my conversion to Islam. If they knew that they would call me unreliable and would speak ill of me."' The account then continues approximately as above.

"'Abd Allāh continued, 'I then openly declared the acceptance of Islam by myself and by my household; my aunt Khālida, daughter of al-Ḥārith, also accepted the faith.'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as follows, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, quoting someone, from Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyay, who said, 'None of the children of my father or my uncle were more popular with them both than I was. Whatever child of theirs wanted their attention it was always me they put first. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Qubāʾ, the village of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, my father and my uncle, Abū Yāsir b. Akhṭab, went to him early in the morning and only returned at sunset, so tired out that they could scarcely walk, staggering from exhaustion. I raced over to

greet them as was my custom, but, I swear, neither so much as looked at me. I heard my uncle Abū Yāsir ask my father, "Is that he then?" "Yes, I swear by God," he replied. "You recognize him from his character and description then?" "I certainly do, I swear it!" he responded. "So how will you relate to him?" he asked. "With enmity, I swear by God, for as long as I live!"'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba recounted, from al-Zuhrī, that Abū Yāsir b. Akhṭab, following the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina, went to him, heard him speak, spoke with him and then returned to his people. He told them, "People, obey me; God has sent you the one you have been awaiting. Follow him and do not oppose him.

"His brother Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, at that time the leader of the Jews, they both being of the Banū al-Naḍīr, then went and sat and listened to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and returned to his people who were obedient to him. He told them, 'I come to you from being with a man whom, I swear it, I will for ever oppose.' His brother, Abū Yāsir, answered him, 'O cousin, obey me in this matter and disobey however you like thereafter without penalty.'

"Ḥuyayy insisted, 'No, by God, I will never obey you!' And so Satan took possession of him and his people followed him in his opinion."

As for Abū Yāsir, whose name was Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, his fate is unknown to me. Regarding Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, the father of Ṣafiyya, he expressed enmity for the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions, and continued to do so, God damn him, until he was executed, bound, before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day the warriors of Banū Qurayẓa were killed. As we will relate, if God wills it.

Division

When, on a Friday, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Qubāʾ mounted on his camel *al-Qaṣwāʾ*, it was noon by the time he was in the quarter of the Banū Sālim b. ʿAwf. He performed the Friday prayers there with the Muslims in a valley called Rānūwānāʾ.

This was the first Friday prayer which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed with the Muslims in Medina, or perhaps the very first time of all. This is because – though God knows best – it had not been possible for him and his Companions in Mecca to have any Friday prayers with a sermon and joint open prayer. The strong opposition to him from the polytheists and the harm they were doing to him had precluded any such possibility.

An Account of the sermon of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that day.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā related to me, quoting Ibn Wahb, that Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jumaḥī reported that he was informed that the

following was the content of the sermon of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the first Friday he prayed in Medina, among the Banū Sālim b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, God bless them: 'Praise be to God; I give Him praise, and I ask His help. I ask for His forgiveness and for His guidance. I believe in Him, will not disbelieve in Him, and will do battle with those who do. I bear witness that there is no god but God, that He has no associate, that Muḥammad is His Servant and Messenger whom He has sent with guidance and the religion of truth and light, at a time without messengers, when there is little knowledge, the people are misguided, when the time is out of joint, and the day of retribution and fate is at hand.

"'Whoever obeys God and His Messenger is right-guided; whoever disobeys them is misled, and has erred and gone far astray.

"'I charge you to fear God; this is the best advice a Muslim can give a Muslim, to urge him on to the afterlife, to order him to fear God. Beware of what God has, of Himself, cautioned you. There is no better advice nor charge than this. It is an act of piety for those who accomplish this with apprehension and fear and a true means of assistance towards your aspirations from the afterlife.

"'Whoever cultivates, both openly and in secret, his relationship with God, seeking only God's favour thereby, shall receive recognition in the short term and reward after death, when a man will wish he had done differently than he had before, and would want to put great distance between himself and that behaviour. God bids you beware of Him, though He is merciful towards His worshippers.

"'Whoever believes His words and fulfils His promise will find nothing taken back therefrom, for God Almighty states, "Whatever I say shall not be changed, and I am not unjust towards my worshippers" (*sūrat Qāf*; L, v.29).

"'Fear God both in matters that are at hand and those that follow, in secret and openly, for "whoever fears God, God will remove his evil ways from him and give him great reward" (*sūrat al-Ṭalāq*; LXV, v.5). And "Whoever fears God and His Messenger will have won a mighty success."[41] Fearing God will forestall His disapproval, His punishment, His anger. Fearing God will bring satisfaction, please the Lord and elevate one's status.

"'Take advantage of your good fortune and do not be lax in matters pertaining to God. God has instructed you in His book, laid out for you His path, so that He may know those who speak the truth and those who lie. Do good, just as God does good to you. Oppose His enemies and strive energetically for God. It is He who chose you and named you "Muslims", so that those who perish do so for evident cause, while those who live do so for evident cause. There is no power but with God. Make frequent mention of God. Strive for what comes after death. For he who makes good his relationship with God will find his relationship with people satisfactory. That is because God passes judgement upon

41. Verse 71 of *sūrat al-Aḥzāb* (XXXIII) is somewhat different. It reads, "Whoever is obedient to God and His Messenger."

people, while they do not pass judgement upon Him. It is He who controls people, while they do not control Him. God is truly great! There is no power but with God, the Almighty and Glorious.'"

This is the text given by Ibn Jarīr; its chain of authorities is not complete.

Al-Bayhaqī's text reads, "*Chapter on the first address given by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after his arrival in Medina.* The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Isḥāq, who stated, 'Al-Mughīra b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān related to me, along with al-Akhnas b. Sharīq, from Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, who said, "The first address given by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina began with him standing before them and expressing appropriate praise and adoration for God, and then saying, 'O people, send forward for yourselves! You well know that any one of you may be struck down and so his flock be left with no shepherd. His Lord will then say to him – and there will be no interpreter or attendant to come between yourself and Him – "Did not My Messenger come to you and inform you? Did I not give you wealth and benefit? What is it you have sent forward for yourself?" And He will look to right and left but see nothing. Then the man will look in front of him and see only hell-fire. So, whoever is able to protect his face from the fire, even if only with a slice of dates, let him do so. If he finds nothing, then let him say one good word for thereby one good deed will be rewarded by 10 times its like, or even by 700 times. May peace be upon the Messenger of God, and the mercy and the blessings of God.'"'"

Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded with the second sermon by saying, "Praise be to God! I praise Him and I seek His help. We seek refuge with God from the evil of ourselves and of our deeds. Whoever is guided by God will not be misled while he who is misled shall have no guide. I bear witness that there is no god but God, Who is unique and without associate. The finest words are those of God's Book. Successful are those whose hearts have been embellished thereby by Him; those whom He has brought into Islam following disbelief and who chose these words above all human speech. Love those who love God and love Him with all your hearts. Do not tire of His words and of repeating them, nor harden your hearts towards them. From everything that God creates He makes His selection and choice. He has thus mentioned the best of these deeds and the best of persons who perform these deeds. He has also described healthy speech, along with those things He regards as lawful and those that are forbidden. So worship God and associate no other god or person with Him and fear Him as is His due. Be faithful to Him in those good things you utter with your mouths. Love one another, the spirit of God being between you. God is angry if vows to Him are broken. Peace be upon you, and God's mercy and blessings."

The chain of authorities for this tradition, though incomplete, does add strength to the previous address, even if the phraseology differs.

Section: On the building of the holy mosque during the period of the residence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the home of Abū Ayyūb, may God be pleased with him.

There are differences of opinion as to the length of his stay there. Al-Wāqidī stated seven months, while others refer to less than one month but God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Isḥāq b. Manṣūr related to him, from ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, who quotes a *ḥadīth* from his father, as follows, "Abū al-Tayyāḥ Yazīd b. Ḥumayd al-Ḍabbī related to us, quoting Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina, he stayed in the upper part of the town in the quarter named for the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. He stayed among them for 14 nights, then sent a message to the chiefs of the Banū al-Najjār who came wearing their swords. It's as if I can still see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) riding his camel with Abū Bakr mounted behind him and the chiefs of the Banū al-Najjār all around him until they reached the courtyard of Abū Ayyūb's house.

"'He used to pray wherever he happened to be when time for prayer came; he would even pray in sheep pens.

"'Then he ordered that the mosque be built. He summoned the chiefs of the Banū al-Najjār, and when they came he asked them, "O Banū al-Najjār, what price for this wall of yours?" They replied, "Oh no, by God, we'll seek its price from God, the Almighty and Glorious, alone!"'

"Anas Ibn Mālik then said 'This wall enclosed the following: the graves of polytheists, ruins and date-palms. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that the graves be unearthed, the ruins levelled and the date-palms be cut down; this was done.

"'They (created a wall of) palm trees at the *qiblah* (the front of the mosque), and constructed its two door posts out of stones. They set about gathering stones, chanting in *rajaz* verse as they did so. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) worked along with them, saying, "O God, there is no good but that of the afterlife; please aid the Helpers and the Emigrants!"'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in other places, as did Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Abū ʿAbd al-Ṣamad and ʿAbd al-Wārith b. Saʿīd.

A *ḥadīth* from the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī quoted earlier, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, stated that the mosque had been a *mirbad* – a shed for dates – belonging to two orphan youths, Sahl and Suhayl, who were under the care of Asʿad b. Zurāra. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an offer of money to them but they replied, "No; we will give it to you, Messenger of God." But he refused, and bought it from them instead and then built a mosque on it.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would chant as he moved the earth along with the others,

> "This load is not a load of Khaybar; this, O Lord, is
> cleaner and purer."

And he would say,

"O God, real reward is that of the other world, so have mercy on the Helpers and the Emigrants."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related that As'ad b. Zurāra compensated the orphans for the land with some date-palms he had on land that was otherwise uncultivated but he also mentions the view that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) bought it from them.

My own comment is that Muḥammad b. Isḥāq also related that the date shed was owned by two orphaned youths who were under the care of Mu'ādh b. 'Afrā', and that they were Sahl and Suhayl, both sons of 'Amr. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī related through Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Dunyā, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Ḥammād al-Ḍabbī, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Sulaymān, from Ismā'īl b. Muslim, from al-Ḥasan, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) built the mosque, his Companions helped him; he worked along with them, carrying the bricks so that his chest became brown. He told them, 'Build an *'arīsh*, a trellis roof, like that of Moses.' I asked al-Ḥasan, 'What was the "trellis of Moses"?' He replied, 'When he raised his hands they would reach the *'arīsh*, meaning the roof.'"

This *ḥadīth* is incomplete in its chain.

It is related from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Abū Sinān, from Ya'lā b. Shaddād b. Aws, from 'Ubāda, that the Helpers collected money which they took to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, "O Messenger of God, build and embellish this mosque; how long do we have to pray beneath these palm fronds?" He replied, "I don't want to outdo my brother Moses; just a trellis roof like that of Moses."

This is a unique tradition from this source.

Abū Dā'ūd stated, "Muḥammad b. Ḥātim related to us, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā, from Sinān, from Firās, from 'Aṭiyya al-'Awfī, from Ibn 'Umar, that the mosque of the Prophet (ṢAAS) initially had its walls made of palm trunks above which was a light roof made of palm fronds. It deteriorated in the Caliphate of Abū Bakr and he rebuilt it, again with palm trunks and fronds. It again fell apart in the Caliphate of 'Uthmān and he rebuilt it using bricks; it remains in a good state today."

This (tradition) is unique.

Abū Dā'ūd also stated, "Mujāhid b. Mūsā related to us, quoting Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm from his father, from Abū Ṣālih, from Nāfi' from Ibn 'Umar, to the effect that the mosque had been built at the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from bricks and that it had a roof of palm fronds, with pillars made of palm trunks. Abū Bakr made no improvements to it, but 'Umar enlarged it, rebuilding it in the same manner as in the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS), that is, with bricks and palm fronds; he also restored its wooden pillars. 'Uthmān, God bless him, made changes and major additions. He had its walls built with cut stone and plaster, its pillars of stone and its roof of teak."

Al-Bukhārī related this similarly from ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī, from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm.

My own comment is that in adding to it, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, God bless him, was putting into effect the words of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "Whoever builds a mosque for God, even if only like the hollowed out nest of a sand-grouse, will have a house built for him by God in paradise."

The Companions living at that time agreed with him in this, and they made no changes after ʿUthmān. This gives support to the preponderant view of the scholars that the rules applicable to the original structure will also apply to the extensions made to that structure and thus, those who perform their prayer in that new section will also share in the virtues allotted to those who pray in the original section. Included in this is the waiver of the prohibition of undertaking a journey to any sacred place except the *kaʿba* and the Prophet's mosque.[42]

It was expanded in the time of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, the builder of the Damascus mosque. Its expansion was undertaken at his orders by ʿUmār b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz when he was governor of Medina. He added to it the *ḥujrat al-nabawiyya*, the burial chamber of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Substantial later additions were made to it. On the side of the prayer niche it was expanded, so much so that the original niche and the *rawḍa*, the promenade, became positioned after the front rows, as it is to be seen today.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed with Abū Ayyūb until his mosque and apartments were built. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself worked in it to inspire the Muslims with a desire to work there. Both Emigrants and Helpers co-operated busily in this. One Muslim worker spoke the verse,

> "For us to sit while the Prophet worked would indeed be
> misdirected action."

As they worked the Muslims chanted,

> "There's no life but that of the hereafter; O God,
> have mercy on both Helpers and Emigrants."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself spoke the words,

> "There's no life but that of the hereafter; O God,
> have mercy on both Emigrants and Helpers."[43]

42. This statement alludes to the teachings of the Prophet regarding the sanctity of the mosque. In one tradition he said that those who perform a single prayer in his mosque will have it increased a thousand fold.

43. The point of this quotation, in which the positions of the Arabic words for Emigrants and Helpers are transposed thus spoiling the meter, seems to be to provide evidence that the Prophet (ṢAAS) had no ear for verse, therefore further establishing the divine origin of the Qurʾān. See also Sir William Muir: *The Life of Muhammad* London, 1877, p. 184.

'Ammār b. Yāsir came in, overloaded with bricks, and said, "O Messenger of God, they're killing me by loading me with what they wouldn't carry!"

Umm Salama said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wipe his hand through his long, thick hair – which was curly – and say, 'Alas, Ibn Sumayya, it's not them killing you but the evil gang who will!'"

This tradition is devoid of a link from this line; indeed it is problematic between Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and Umm Salama. Muslim, in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, joined it back to a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba, from Khālid al-Hadhdhā', from Sa'īd and al-Ḥasan, that is from the two sons of Abū al-Ḥasan of Baṣra, from their mother Khayra, the freed-woman of Umm Salama, from Umm Salama, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'The evil gang will kill 'Ammār.'" He also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Aliyya, from Ibn 'Awn, from al-Ḥasan, from his mother, from Umm Salama, which reports that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to 'Ammār as he was transporting rocks, "Alas for you, O Ibn Sumayya! The evil gang will kill you!"

'Abd al-Razzāq stated, "Ma'mar related to us, from al-Ḥasan, from his mother, from Umm Salama, who said, 'While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions were building the mosque, his men would carry the bricks one at a time, while 'Ammār would carry two, one for himself and one for the Prophet (ṢAAS). So the latter patted him on the back and said, 'Ibn Sumayya, the others will get a reward, but you will receive two. And the last food for you will be a drink of milk and the evil gang will kill you!'"

This chain of authorities is in accordance with the criteria established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Al-Bayhaqī and others tell us, through a group, from Khālid al-Hadhdhā, from 'Ikrima, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī, who said, "While building the mosque we would be carrying bricks one by one, while 'Ammār would bear them two at a time. The Prophet (ṢAAS) saw him and, while wiping the dust off him said, 'Alas, poor 'Ammār! The evil gang will kill him. He will invite them to paradise, while they will invite him to the fire!' 'Ammār commented, 'I seek refuge with God from strife!'"

Imām al-Bukhārī, however, related this *ḥadīth* from Musaddad, from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Mukhtār, from Khālid al-Hadhdhā'; and from Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā, from 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī, from Khālid al-Hadhdhā'. However, that account does not mention his use of the words, "The evil gang will kill you!"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "It is as if he left this out only due to what Muslim related from one route, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Sa'īd, who said, 'Someone better than myself told me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while setting about digging the *khandaq*, "the trench", wiped his head and said to 'Ammār, "Alas for Ibn Sumayya! An evil gang will kill him!"'"

Muslim also related this, from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba, from Abū Muslim, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Sa'īd who said, "One of my betters, Abū Qatāda, related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to 'Ammār b. Yāsir, 'Alas for you, Ibn Sumayya! The evil gang will kill you!'"

Abū Dāʾūd Al-Ṭayālisī said, "Wuhayb informed us from Dāʾūd Ibn Abū Hind from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Saʿīd who said: "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) undertook the excavation of the trench, people generally carried one brick each. ʿAmmar however, who was recuperating from an ailment, carried two bricks at a time. Abū Saʿīd said: 'A Companion informed me that the Prophet (ṢAAS) would wipe the dust off his head and say: 'Alas for you, Ibn Sumayya! The evil gang will kill you!'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "He distinguished between what he had himself heard and what he heard from his Companions."

He said, "It seems that his reference to 'the trench' is imagined, or that he said this to him both while building the mosque and while digging the trench. But God knows best."

My own comment is that carrying bricks while digging a trench makes no sense. It seems obvious that there is confusion here. But God knows best.

This *ḥadīth* comes from the *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwah* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) wherein the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) tells ʿAmmār that the evil gang will kill him.

In fact he was killed by the Syrians at the battle of Ṣiffīn, ʿAmmār having fought with ʿAlī and the Iraqis.

ʿAlī had greater right to rule than did Muʾāwiya. But their being called *bughāt*, unjust, does not imply that the supporters of Muʾāwiya have become unbelievers, as some ignorant persons do who belong to the Shīʿa, along with others as well. For even if they were essentially rebellious, they had in fact erred in their interpretation of the circumstances surrounding the conflict. And not everyone who undertakes interpretation is right; those who are right receive double reward, while those in error receive only one.

There are some who add after the words, "the evil gang will kill you" further words, "may my intercession not include them on Judgement Day". In making such an addition they are falsely attributing statements to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he did not say this, since it is not transmitted by any reputable source. But God knows best.

Regarding the words, "He invites them to paradise, while they invite him to the fire", they refer to ʿAmmār and his friends inviting the Syrians to friendship and to unity, while the Syrians wanted to give preference to some over those whose right was greater, which would result in the people being divided, each one having its own leader. This would have led to dissention and division within the nation and resulted inevitably from their philosophy and policies, even though this was not what they intended. But God knows best.

But the subject at hand here relates mainly to the building of the mosque of the Prophet, may the best of blessings and peace be upon its constructor.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated in *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*) as follows, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to us by dictation, Abū Bakr b. Isḥāq related to us, ʿUbayd b.

Shurayk informed us, Nu'aym b. Ḥammād related to us, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, Ḥashraj b. Nubāta informed us, from Sa'īd b. Jumhān, from Safīna, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, 'Abū Bakr brought a stone and placed it down, then 'Umar did the same, then 'Uthmān did the same. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'These will succeed to power after myself.'"

He (al-Bayhaqī) then related this from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥimmānī, from Ḥashraj, from Sa'īd, from Safīna, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) built a mosque he put down a stone, saying, 'Let Abū Bakr place a stone next to mine; let 'Umar place his next to that of Abū Bakr, and let 'Uthmān place his next to that of 'Umar.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "These shall be the Caliphs after me."

This *ḥadīth* through this line of transmission is *gharīb*, "unique".

What is well known is what Imām Aḥmad related, from Abū al-Naḍr, from Ḥashraj b. Nabāta al-'Absī, and from Bahz and Zayd b. al-Ḥabbāb, and 'Abd al-Ṣamad, and Ḥammād b. Salama, both authorities quoting Sa'īd b. Jamhān from Safīna, who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'The Caliphate period will last for 30 years. Then thereafter will come the kingdom period.' Safīna then commented, 'Count! The Caliphate of Abū Bakr lasted 2 years, that of 'Umar 10 years, that of 'Uthmān 12 years, and that of 'Alī 6 years.'"

This wording is that of Aḥmad.

Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī related it through various lines from Sa'īd b. Jamhān. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan*, 'good'. We know of it only in this form and with the alternate wording, 'The Caliphate after me will be for 30 years, and then will come a mordacious kingdom era.'" He then related the remainder of the tradition.

I would comment that when first built the mosque of the Prophet (ṢAAS) had no *minbar* from which to address the congregation. He would speak while leaning against a palm tree trunk in the wall next to the *qibla* near where he prayed. Eventually he began to use a *minbar*, as we will explain in its proper place. As he moved over towards it to make his address from it and passed by that tree trunk, it moaned like a love-lorne camel because it had always heard his speeches delivered near itself. And so the Prophet (ṢAAS) returned to it and hugged it until it settled down, just like a baby, and became quiet. Details of this will be given hereafter through various lines, from Sahl b. Sa'd al-Sa'īdī, Jābir, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, Anas b. Mālik and Umm Salama, God be pleased with them.

What more appropriate than the comment made by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī after relating this story, from Anas b. Mālik, "O Muslims! A piece of wood so pining for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)! Do not men hoping to meet him have even more right to yearn for him?"

INDICATIONS OF THE EXCELLENCE OF THIS NOBLE MOSQUE AND THIS EXALTED PLACE.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yaḥyā b. Anīs b. Abū Yaḥyā related to us, quoting his father, as follows, 'I heard Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī say, "Two men, one from the Banū Khudra, the other from the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, disagreed over which mosque was referred to by the words in the Qurʾān, 'the mosque founded in piety' (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barāʾa*; IX, v.108). The Khudarī said, 'It is the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' The ʿAmrī insisted, 'No, it's the mosque at Qubāʾ.' So they went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him about it. He replied, 'It is this mosque,' referring to that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 'In that one,' he went on, meaning the mosque at Qubāʾ, 'there is much good.'"'"

Al-Tirmidhī related this from Qutayba, from Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl, from Anīs b. Abū Yaḥyā al-Aslamī. He characterized it as *ḥasan, ṣaḥīḥ*, "good", "authentic".

Imām Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related, from Isḥāq b. ʿIsā, from al-Layth b. Saʿd, from Qutayba, from al-Layth from ʿImrān b. Abū Anas, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Saʿīd, from his father, who said: "Two men argued over which was the mosque 'founded in piety'. Thereafter this account proceeded as above.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, there is the *ḥadīth* of Ḥumayd al-Kharrāṭ, from Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who is quoted as saying that he asked ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Saʿīd, "What was it you heard your father say about the ʿmosque founded in piety'?" He replied, "My father said, 'I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him about the "mosque founded in piety". He picked up a handful of pebbles and dashed them to the ground, saying, "It is this, here, your mosque."'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Wakīʿ related to us, as did Rabīʿa b. ʿUthmān al-Tamīmī, from ʿImrān b. Abū Anas, from Sahl b. Saʿd, who said, 'Two men alive at the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) differed over which mosque was "founded in piety". One of them said, "It is the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." The other said, "No, it's the mosque at Qubāʾ." So they went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him. He replied, "It is this mosque of mine."'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abū Nuʿaym related to us, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir al-Aslamī, from ʿImrān b. Abū Anas, from Sahl b. Saʿd, from Ubayy b. Kaʿb, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'The mosque "founded in piety" was this mosque of mine.'"

These numerous sources come close to giving conclusive evidence that the mosque in question is that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

ʿUmar, his son ʿAbd Allāh, Zayd b. Thābit, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and Ibn Jarīr all agreed with this.

Others say that there is simply no contradiction between the revelation of this verse being applied to the mosque at Qubā' and these traditions. This is so, they say, because this mosque (i.e. the Medina mosque) is simply more worthy of such than is the other since it is one of the three mosques referred to as those worth striving to attend. This is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Only three mosques should be the object of travel: this mosque of mine, the *ḥarām* mosque (in Mecca) and the *Bayt al-Maqdis* mosque (in Jerusalem).'"

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim there is a tradition from Abū Sa'īd, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "Only three mosques should be the object of travel" and he named these. It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "A prayer in this mosque of mine is better than a thousand prayers in any other, with the exception of the *ḥarām* mosque."

In the *ḥadīth* collection of Aḥmad, with a good chain of authorities, there is mention of an additional, bounty namely the words, "And that one is better."

In both collections, there is a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, from Ḥabīb, from Ḥafṣ b. 'Āsim, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Between my house and my pulpit there is one of the gardens of paradise, and my pulpit stands by my pool.'"

There are numerous traditions referring to the virtues of this holy mosque. We will report these in the large work *al-Manāsik min Kitāb al-Aḥkām*, if God wills it. And in Him is all trust and reliance, and there is no power or strength except in God, the Powerful and Wise.

Imām Mālik and his associates support the view that the Medina mosque is superior to the *ḥarām* mosque because the latter was built by Abraham, and the former by Muḥammad (ṢAAS); it being obvious that Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was superior to Abraham, God bless him.

However, the majority opinion opposes this view and maintains that the *ḥaram* mosque is superior. This is because it is in a land made sacred by God at the time when He created the heavens and the earth. And it was made sacred by Abraham *al-Khalīl*, "the True Friend", peace be upon him, and Muḥammad, "the Seal of the Prophets". The (mosque in Mecca) is thus endowed with qualities not present in any other. Discussion of this issue however, belongs elsewhere; and one turns to God for help.

Division

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) built apartments around his mosque which would be dwellings for himself and his family. These were small dwellings with narrow courtyards.

Al-Ḥasan b. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī stated, he having been a youth in the company of his mother Khayra, the freed-woman of Umm Salama, "I used to be able to reach up with my hand to the highest ceiling in the apartment of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

I would observe, however, that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was large in size and tall. God bless him.

Al-Suhaylī stated in *al-Rawḍ* (*The Gardens*), "The apartments of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were built of the stalks of palm leaves covered with mud and partly of stones stacked upon one another. The ceilings of all were made of palm fronds."

This account was related from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

His rooms were made of hair-cloth held together with juniper-tree wood.

In al-Bukhārī's work of history we learn that finger nails could knock on the door of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); this shows that there were no cloth coverings over his doors.

He stated, "And after the deaths of the wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) all these apartments were added to the mosque."

Al-Wāqidī, Ibn Jarīr and others said, "When ʿAbd Allāh b. Urayqiṭ al-Dīlī returned to Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr dispatched Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Abū Rāfiʿ, both freed-men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to bring back their families from Mecca. They sent with them two loads of goods and 500 dirhams with which to purchase a camel of Qudayd. They left and soon returned with the two daughters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm, his two wives, Sawda and ʿĀʾisha, and the latter's mother, Umm Rūmān, along with other members of his and Abū Bakr's family, including the latter's son, ʿAbd Allāh. On the road back, the mounts of ʿĀʾisha and her mother Umm Rūmān strayed apart and Umm Rūmān began calling out, 'Bride! My daughter!' ʿĀʾisha later said, 'I heard a voice say, "Let loose its bridle!' So I did this and it stopped, at God's will; we give praise to God the Almighty and Glorious.' They stayed at al-Sunḥ on the way. Eight months later, in Shawwāl, as we will relate, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated his marriage with ʿĀʾisha.

"Asmāʾ, daughter of Abū Bakr and wife of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwāmm arrived also; she was pregnant and near term with ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, as we will relate in its proper place in material relating to the end of that year.

Division

How the Emigrants suffered from the Medina fever, God be pleased with them all, though the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was spared it through the strength and power of God; he prayed to his Lord who then drew it away from his city.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "'ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb b. Yūsuf related to us, quoting Mālik b. Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, 'Abū Bakr and Bilāl fell sick around the time that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina. I went in to see them and asked, "How are you, father? Bilāl, how are you?"'

She said: "Whenever Abū Bakr developed a fever he would recite,

'Every man might arise among his family, yet his
death be closer than his sandal thongs.'

"When the fever was raised from Bilāl he would raise his voice and say,

'O how happy I would be to spend a night in a valley
covered with fresh grass and verdure,
Will I ever again descend to Majinna's waters, or see
Shāma and Ṭufayl?'"

'Ā'isha went on, "So I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him and he said, 'O God, make Medina beloved by us as Mecca is, and more so; make it healthy and bless us in its foods. Turn aside its fever and send it off to al-Juḥfa!'"[44]

Muslim related this from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba from Hishām in abbreviated form.

In al-Bukhārī's account of it from Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, there is an addition after the verses of Bilāl. In this he says, "O God, curse 'Utba b. Rabī'a, Shayba b. Rabī'a and Umayya b. Khalaf alike for them having forced us out into the land of pestilence!"

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'O God, make Medina beloved by us, as Mecca is, and more so; make it healthy and bless us in its prosperity. Turn aside its fever and send it off to al-Juḥfa!'

"She said, 'When we arrived in Medina, we found it the most pestilential place on God's earth. It was just two basin-shaped valleys wet with *najl*, that is brackish water.'"

Ziyād quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as follows, "Hishām b. 'Urwa and 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr related to me that 'Ā'isha stated, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina, it was the most pestilential place on God's earth. His Companions fell sick from fever and illness, but God kept that away from His Prophet. Abū Bakr, 'Āmir b. Fuhayra and Bilāl, the two freed-men of Abū Bakr, were in one house, struck down by fever. I went in to them to visit them, that being before the *ḥijāb*, the veil, was prescribed for us. Only God knows how very sick they were. I approached Abū Bakr and said, "How are you, father?" He replied, in verse:

"Every man might arise among his family, yet his
death be closer than his sandal thongs!"

"'I exclaimed, "I swear, my father doesn't know what he is saying!" Then I went over to 'Āmir b. Fuhayra and asked, "How are you, 'Āmir?" He replied, in verse,

"I have found death before tasting it; a coward has
his demise right above him.
Every man fights hard with all his power, as a bull
protects its skin with its horns."

44. According to a footnote in the printed edition of Ibn Kathīr's text, the reference is to a town where largely Jews resided at the time, some 82 miles from Mecca.

"'I exclaimed, "By God, he doesn't know what he is saying!" Bilāl was in the habit of resting in the courtyard of the house whenever the fever struck him, then he would raise his voice and say,

> "O how happy I would be to spend a night in Fakh, while
> all around me was fresh grass and verdure.
> Will I ever again descend to Majinna's waters, or see
> Shāma and Ṭufayl?"'

"'Ā'isha went on, 'I told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what I had heard from them, saying, "They are raving, irrational from the intensity of the fever." He replied, "O God, make Medina beloved by us as Mecca is, and more so; make it healthy and bless us in its prosperity. Turn aside its fever to Mahya'a!" Mahya'a is a reference to al-Juḥfa.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yūnus related to us, quoting Layth, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Abū Bakr b. Isḥāq b. Yasār, from 'Abd Allāh b.'Urwa, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina, Abū Bakr and 'Āmir b. Fuhayra, Abū Bakr's freed-man, and Bilāl, fell sick.' 'Ā'isha asked permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to visit them, and he agreed. She then asked Abū Bakr, 'How are you?'

"He replied,

> 'Any man might arise among his family, yet his death be closer than his sandal thongs!'

"She then asked 'Āmir and he replied,

> 'I have found death before tasting it; a coward has his demise right above him.'

"Then she asked Bilāl and he said,

> 'O how happy I would be to spend a night in Fakh, while all around me was fresh grass and verdure.'

"So she went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him. He then looked up to heaven and said, 'O God, make Medina beloved by us as Mecca is, and more so; make it healthy and bless us in its foods. Turn aside its fever to Mahya'a.' This is a reference to al-Juḥfa, so they claim."

Al-Nasā'ī related this similarly from Qutayba, from al-Layth. The Imām Aḥmad related it through 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith from her as above.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "*The ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh related to us, quoting Abū Sa'īd b. Abū 'Amr, both saying, 'Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm related to us, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār and Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina and it was the most pestilential place on God's earth. It was just two basin-shaped valleys wet with *najl*, brackish water."'"

Hishām stated, "Its pestilential nature was well known before Islam. When the valley was disease-ridden and a man were to arrive there, he would be told to neigh like a donkey; if he did this the valley's pestilence would not harm him. A

poet once said, coming to Medina, "By my life, if I, fearing death, were to emit a donkey's neighing, I would be expressing my anxiety."

Al-Bukhārī related from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b.'Uqba, from Sālim, from his father, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "I saw what seemed like a black woman, her head in disarray, emerge from Medina and travel to Mahya'a, which is al-Juḥfa. I interpreted from this that Medina's pestilence had been transformed to Mahya'a, that is, to al-Juḥfa."

This wording is from al-Bukhārī. Muslim did not give this tradition. Al-Tirmidhī did relate it and pronounced it authentic, while al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. 'Uqba.

Ḥammād b. Zayd related, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived at Medina the pestilence was active." She related the tradition in full as above but gave the final words of the Messenger of God as "remove its fever to al-Juḥfa!"

Hishām stated, "A child born in al-Juḥfa never reached adolescence without being struck down by the fever."

Al-Bayhaqī related this in the *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah* (*Signs of the Prophethood*).

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Isḥāq, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina, the pestilence was active. All his Companions became seriously stricken with that. But God kept it away from his Prophet (ṢAAS)."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions arrived in Mecca flushed and feverish in the year they made the *'umrat al-qaḍā'*,[45] the 'fulfilment pilgrimage', and the polytheists said, 'There's a group of them arriving who are weakened by the Medina fever.' And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his Companions to jog around the *ka'ba* except between the two corners where they were permitted to walk. And it was only his concern for them that deterred him from making them jog throughout the performance of the ritual."

I observe that the *'umrat al-qaḍā'* took place in the year 7 AH, in the month of Dhū al-Qa'da. Either his prayer to God to remove the pestilence elsewhere had been delayed to some time close to this, or that it had been removed but some few traces of it had remained. Or they were still suffering from some remaining effects of a previous affliction. But God knows best.

Ziyād stated, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, "Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī related from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions arrived in Medina they became seriously ill from the Medina fever, to the extent that they had to say their prayers seated. However, God kept this affliction from affecting His Prophet (ṢAAS)."

The account states, "And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out before them while they were praying in this way and told them, 'You should know that

45. The name given to the *'umra* pilgrimage rites the Muslims performed then at Mecca which had been vacated by its inhabitants by prior agreement for this occasion. The circumstances of this will be detailed by Ibn Kathīr later in this text.

the prayer of someone seated is only half as valuable as that of someone standing.' At this the Muslims, despite their weakness and sickness, exerted themselves to stand, in order to gain grace."

Section: On the establishment of friendship between the Emigrants and the Helpers through the document he had drawn up between them. On the nature of that brotherly relationship he made between them, and on the friendly relations he established with the Jews who were in Medina.

In the city's Jewish quarters at that time there were the Qaynuqāʿ, Naḍīr and Qurayẓa tribes.

According to al-Ṭabarī they had settled in the Ḥijāz before the *anṣār*, the Helpers, in the days of Nebuchadnezar, when he had conquered Jerusalem.

When the Iram flood occurred and people had scattered in all directions, the Aws and the Khazraj tribes had settled in Medina with the Jews. They had established pacts of alliance with these Jews and imitated their ways because of the virtue they saw in them that they had acquired through the prophets.

However, God had bestowed guidance and Islam upon those who had been polytheists, while they, in their envy, pride and wrongheadedness, had failed to follow the truth.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAffān related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama and ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal, from Anas b. Mālik, as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a pact between the Emigrants and the Helpers in the house of Anas b. Mālik.'"

This was also related by Imām Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī, Muslim and Abū Dāʾūd, through various lines of transmission from ʿĀṣim b. Sulaymān al-Aḥwal, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a pact between Quraysh and the Helpers in my house."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Naṣr b. Bāb related to us, from Ḥajjāj, he being Ibn Arṭat, who said, 'It was related to us by Surayj from ʿAbbād, from Ḥajjāj, from ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, from his father and grandfather, to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) wrote up a contract between the Emigrants saying that they would respect one another's strongholds, that they would treat with kindness those in distress and bring peace between the Muslims.'"

Aḥmad stated, "Surayj related to us, quoting ʿAbbād, from Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Qāsim, from Ibn ʿAbbās, much the same account."

Imām Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

The *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim quotes Jābir as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote an '*ʿaqūla*', a blood-wit pact, for each sub-tribe."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote a contract between the Emigrants and the Helpers in which he expressed conciliation towards the Jews and made a pact with them, confirming them in their religion and their properties. He stipulated their rights and obligations as follows, 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Beneficent, this is a document from Muḥammad, the *ummī* (unlettered) Prophet, between the believers and Muslims of Quraysh

and Yathrib and their followers, allies and supporters, establishing that they are one nation apart from all others. The Emigrants from Quraysh will maintain their current practice and will honour blood-money contracts between themselves and will treat their weaker members with kindness and justice. The Banū ʿAwf shall maintain their current practice, and honour their former blood-money contracts, each party treating their weaker members with kindness and justice, among all believers.'

"He then made reference to each clan of the Helpers and to the families of each home, mentioning the Banū Sāʿida, the Banū Jusham, the Banū al-Najjār, the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf and the Banū al-Nabīt.

"He went on to say, 'The believers shall not leave anyone among them burdened by debts without giving to him in kindness and in paying for him any ransom money or blood-money he owes. A believer will not ally with any freed-man of a second believer against that man. Pious believers act against any of their own who practise evil or seek to bring harm, sin, aggression or corruption among believers. Believers will unite against anyone doing this, even if he be one of their own sons. No believer shall kill any believer for any non-believer. Nor shall he help any non-believer against a believer. God's protection is all one; the least of them (believers) can offer protection to others. Believers are allies to one another, excluding others.

"'Whatever Jews follow us shall receive help and equality. They shall not be maltreated nor will help be afforded others against them. Peace for all believers is one; no peace shall be accepted for any one believer to the exclusion of others when the battle is for God's cause; among them equality and justice must prevail. In every expedition we engage in riders shall take turns on their mounts.

"'Believers shall avenge one another for blood shed in God's cause. Believers who are pious are well-guided on the straightest of paths. No polytheist shall be allowed to offer protection for the property or persons of Quraysh nor try to interfere with any believer. Anyone who has clearly aggressed against and caused the death of any believer shall be subject to retaliation for him unless the dead man's executor can be satisfied. Believers as a whole shall take action against him and no excuse for their not doing so will be acceptable.

"'It shall not be permissible for any believer who has accepted what is in this document and who believes in God and Judgement Day to give help or shelter to any wrong-doer. Any believer who does this shall be the object of God's curses and anger on Judgement Day and neither compensation nor excuse will be acceptable from him. Any matter in which you disagree must be referred to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, and to Muḥammad (ṢAAS).

"'The Jews shall pay expenses along with the Muslims so long as they are allied in warfare. The Jews of the Banū ʿAwf are one nation with the believers; the Jews shall have their religion, the Muslims their own. This applies to their freed-men and to themselves, except for those who commit sins and are unjust. Such persons only harm themselves and their families.

"'What applies to Banū ʿAwf shall also apply to the Jews of Banū al-Najjār, Banū al-Ḥārith, Banū Sāʿida, Banū Jusham, Banū al-Aws, Banū Thaʿlaba and

Jufna, and Banū al-Shuṭayba. The close associates of the Jews shall be viewed as themselves. None of them shall go to war without Muḥammad's permission. However, he is not (thereby) constrained from taking revenge for injury. Whoever attacks another may do so (to protect) himself and his family, but (act) not unjustly, for God condemns such acts. The Jews shall bear their own expenses, the Muslims theirs. Each must help one another against any who fight those who adopt this document. They must give one another advice and consultation; and do good and avoid evil. A man is not held blameworthy on behalf of his ally. Help must be given to those wronged. The centre of Yathrib shall be a sanctuary for those who agree to this document. One's neighbour shall be treated as oneself, without being harmed or sinned against. No property shall be encroached upon without the permission of its owner.

"'In the case of any dispute or incident occurring between those agreeing to this document, and involving consequences likely to be harmful, the matter must be referred to God and to Muḥammad, the Messenger of God. God acknowledges what is very good and very pious in this document. Quraysh and those who help them shall receive no protection. (Those accepting this document) must help one another against anyone attacking Yathrib. If they are called upon to make peace and do so and keep to it, they will be making peace; if they make a similar demand, then it is up to the Muslims to agree except if the warfare is over the Faith. Each participant shall receive whatever portion is due to him from his own side's winnings.

"'This document will not provide protection for anyone sinful or unjust. Whoever goes to war will be safe; whoever stays in the town will be safe – except for those who have sinned or been unjust. God provides protection for those who are good and pious.'"

Ibn Isḥāq gives it in approximately this form. Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Salām, God bless him, criticized this *ḥadīth* at length in his *Kitab al-Gharīb* (*Book of the Strange*) and elsewhere.

Section: On the establishment by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of a pact of brotherhood between the Emigrants and the Helpers so that they would be friends.

As the Almighty stated, "And those who made their abode in the town and in the faith before them do love those who emigrated to them. They do not find in their hearts a need for what they are given, and prefer (them) even before themselves, despite their own poverty. Those who are saved from the meanness of themselves shall be successful" (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.9). And He also said, "as for those with whom you made agreements, give them their due; God is witness to all things" (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*; IV, v.33).

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Al-Ṣalt b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, from Idrīs, from Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, that Ibn ʿAbbās, commenting on the following verse, 'And to everyone we have appointed heirs' (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*; IV, v.33), said 'The heirs of "those with whom you made agreements"

were the Emigrants who settled in Medina. They inherited from the Helpers (and vice versa) instead of from their own family, based on the brotherhood pact established between them by the Prophet (ṢAAS). However, when the verse "and to everyone we have appointed agents" was revealed, this practice was abrogated. Then He stated that the following verse, "as for those with whom you have made agreements, give them their due", henceforth referred to help, hospitality and advice. Inheritance was thus stopped and instead, testamentary endowment was made for such persons.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "The following was quoted from Sufyān, 'I heard ʿĀṣim say, on the authority of Anas, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) made a pact between the Emigrants and the Helpers in our home."' Sufyān commented, "He seems to be saying that he established brotherhood between them."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established brotherhood between his fellow Emigrants and the Helpers, and said, from what I have heard – and God forbid our attributing to him what he did not say – he said, 'Become brothers in God's cause, each taking a brother for himself.'

"He then took the hand of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and said, 'This is my brother.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), lord of the prophets, the leader of the pious, the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds, and the most important and peerless of men, and ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib became brothers.

"Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, lion of God and lion of His Messenger as well as his uncle, and Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), became brothers. It was Zayd that Ḥamza appointed his heir at the battle of Uḥud. Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib Dhū al-Janāḥayn and Muʿādh b. Jabal became brothers."

Ibn Hishām pointed out that at that time Jaʿfar was absent in Abyssinia.

Ibn Isḥāq went on: "Abū Bakr and Khārija b. Zayd al-Khazrajī, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿItbān b. Mālik, Abū ʿUbayda and Saʿd b. Muʿādh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf and Ṣaʿd b. al-Rabīʿ, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and Salāma b. Salāma b. Waqsh, all became brothers. It is also said that al-Zubayr and ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and Aws b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir al-Najjārī, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Kaʿb b. Mālik, Saʿid b. Zayd and Ubayy b. Kaʿb, Muṣʿāb b. ʿUmayr and Abū Ayyūb, Abū Ḥudhayfa b.ʿUtba and ʿAbbād b. Bishr, ʿAmmār and Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān al-ʿAbsī, the ally of ʿAbd al-Ashhal, all became brothers. It is also said, however, that ʿAmmār and Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās became brothers."

I observe that this chain of authorities comes through two lines.

He went on, "Abū Dharr Barīr b. Junāda and al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr, known as 'he who hurried on to death', Ḥāṭib b. Abū Baltaʿa and ʿUwaym b. Sāʿida, Salmān and Abū al-Dardā', Bilāl and Abū Ruwayḥa ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khathʿamī, one of the Fazaʿ – all these became brothers."

He continued, "These are the men who were named to us from among his Companions between whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established pacts of brotherhood. May God be pleased with them all."

I observe that there is controversy in some of what Ibn Isḥāq stated.

Regarding the brotherhood established between the Prophet and ʿAlī, some scholars deny this and maintain it to be untrue. Their argument is that this brotherhood was only established to bring about closer feelings and ties between these individuals. There was no sense, therefore, in declaring a brotherly state between the Prophet (ṢAAS) and one of (his) own, nor between two men both of whom were Emigrants, as was the case, according to him, between Ḥamza and Zayd b. Ḥāritha.

Unless the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not wish to place the interests of ʿAlī in the hands of anyone but himself. For he was someone for whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made contributions from his youth on, during the lifetime of Abū Ṭālib, as has been told above from Mujāhid and others.

That might also be the case with Ḥamza, who had looked after the interests of their freed-man Zayd b. Ḥāritha, and so established a brotherhood pact with him. But God knows best.

The same applies to Ibn Isḥāq's reference to the brotherhood between Jaʿfar and Muʿādh b. Jabal, which is subject to dispute, as ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām observed. For Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib only arrived at the beginning of 7 AH at the time of the battle of Khaybar, as will be told hereafter. How, therefore, could there have been a tie of brotherhood made between him and Muʿādh b. Jabal immediately following the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina? Unless, of course, the arrangement was that this would go into effect whenever he did arrive.

Ibn Isḥāq's statement, "Abū ʿUbayda and Saʿd b. Muʿādh became brothers," contradicts what Imām Aḥmad stated, namely, "It was related to us by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a brotherhood pact between Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ and Abū Ṭalḥa."

Muslim related this also, being the only one to relate this from Ḥajjāj b. al-Shāʿir, from ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith.

This seems more reliable than what Ibn Isḥāq recounted, of such a pact between Abū ʿUbayda and Saʿd b. Muʿādh. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī's text reads as follows, "*Chapter on how the Prophet (ṢAAS), established brotherhood between his Companions.* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf stated, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS), established a bond of brotherhood between myself and Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ when we came to Medina.'" Abū Juḥayfa stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) established brotherhood between Salmān the Persian and Abū al-Dardāʾ. God be pleased with him."

Muḥammad b. Yūsuf related to us, quoting Sufyān, from Ḥumayd, from Anas, who said, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf arrived and the Prophet (ṢAAS) established brotherhood between him and Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ, the Helper. The latter suggested that he share his family and his property with him. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān replied, 'God bless you in both your family and your wealth. Show me the way to the market.'

There he made some profit from cottage cheese and fat. The Prophet (ṢAAS) saw him a few days later and he looked stained with yellow upon him. The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked him, 'What's the matter with you, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān?' He replied, 'I married a woman from among the Helpers.' 'What did you give her as dowry?' he asked. 'The weight of 5 dirhams worth of gold,' he replied. The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'Well, have a feast, if only with a sheep!'"

This is the sole account of this from this line. Al-Bukhārī related this also in other places as did Muslim from various lines, from Ḥumayd.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAffān related to us, quoting Ḥammād, Thābit and Ḥamīd, from Anas, that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf came to Medina and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a pact of brotherhood between him and Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ, the Helper. Saʿd said to him, 'Now brother, I'm the wealthiest man in Medina. Take a share that appeals to you. I have two wives. Look and see which of them you prefer and I'll divorce her!'

"'Abd al-Raḥmān replied, 'May God bless you in your family and in your wealth. Show me the way to the market.' They did so and he engaged in buying and selling and made a profit. He ended up by bringing back some cottage cheese and cooking fat. Some time thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (saw him) with traces of saffron upon him and asked him, 'What's the matter with you?' He replied, 'O Messenger of God, I married a woman.' 'What did you give her in dowry?' he asked. 'The weight of 5 dirhams worth of gold,' he replied. 'Well,' he commented, 'have a feast, if only with a sheep!'

"'Abd al-Raḥmān observed, 'I was in such a state that if I had lifted a single rock I would have hoped to find gold and silver.'"

The additional comment given here by al-Bukhārī from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān seems strange, for the only source given for it was Anas. Unless, of course, Anas was told this by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yazīd related to us, that Ḥumayd informed him, from Anas, as follows, 'The Emigrants said, "O Messenger of God, we've never been to people who are better prepared to give help in hopes of so little or more willing to give from so much. They have spared us such difficulty and shared such comfort with us we're afraid they're the only ones getting rewards." He replied, "No, there's all the great praise you've given them, and you have also prayed to God for them."'"

The line of transmission of this *ḥadīth* is two-thirds in accord with the criteria for both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. None of the authors of the six canonical books of traditions give this particular line. It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections along a different path.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Al-Ḥakam b. Nāfiʿ informed us, quoting Shuʿayb, quoting Abū al-Zinād, from al-Aʿraj, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'The Helpers said, "Divide up the palm trees between us and our brothers." "No," he replied. They said, "You recompense us with your hard work, and we will have you share in the fruits." "We hear and obey," they responded.'"

He is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told the Helpers, 'Your brothers have left behind their wealth and their children and have come forth to you.' They commented, 'Our property is to be divided up between us then.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Well, is there some alternative?' 'What could there be, O Messenger of God?' they asked. He replied, 'These are people who don't mind hard work; provide some for them and share the fruits.' 'We will,' they agreed."

We have previously mentioned the reports and references made concerning the virtues of the Helpers and their fine qualities confirmed by God's words, "And those who made their abode in the town and in the faith before them" (*sūrat al-Hashr*; LIX, v.9).

Chapter: On the death of Abū Umāma Asʿad b. Zurāra.

He was Ibn ʿAdas b. ʿUbayd b. Thaʿlaba b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, one of the 12 leaders on the night of the pledge made by his people the Banū al-Najjār at al-ʿAqaba. He was present at all 3 meetings there, and was the first to make a verbal pledge of his allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the second. He was a young man and was the first to bring the men together in Medina, at Naqīʿ al-Khaḍamāt in the plain of the Nabīt. This has been discussed above.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Umāma Asʿad b. Zurāra died in these months, while the mosque was being built. He died from diptheria or from coughing."

Ibn Jarīr stated in his history, "Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā informed us, Yazīd b. Zurayʿ related to us, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cauterized Asʿad b. Zurāra in the tongue."

The men in this chain of authorities are considered reliable.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm related to me, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Asʿad b. Zurāra, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "The death of Abū Umāma is a great pity with respect to the Jews and the Arab hypocrites. They will say, 'If he were a prophet, his companion would not have died.' But I have no power from God over this for myself or for my friends."'"

This means that he has to have been the first man to die after the arrival in Medina of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr has claimed in *al-Ghāba* (*The Jungle*) that he died in the month of Shawwāl, seven months following the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina. But God knows best.

Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq related, from ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, that the Banū al-Najjār asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to appoint a leader for them to succeed Abū Umāma Asʿad b. Zurāra. He replied, "You are my uncles and I am here among you; I will be your leader." He disliked the idea of singling out any

one of them above the others. It was a credit to the Banū al-Najjār that they took pride among their peers in having the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as their leader.

Ibn al-Athīr observed, "This fact refutes the statements of Abū Nu'aym and Ibn Mundah to the effect that As'ad b. Zurāra was leader of the Banū Sā'ida; in fact he led the Banū al-Najjār."

Ibn al-Athīr was correct in saying this.

Abū Ja'far b. Jarīr stated in his history work, "The first Muslim who died after the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina was, so they say, the owner of his house, Kulthūm b. al-Hadm. He died soon after his arrival. The next to die was As'ad b. Zurāra, whose death was that same year of his arrival and before the construction of the mosque was completed. He died of either diptheria or from coughing."

I observe here that the full name of this man was Kulthūm b. al-Hadm b. Imru' al-Qays b. al-Ḥārith b. Zayd b. 'Ubayd b. Zayd b. Mālik b. 'Awf b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Mālik b. al-Aws, the Helper and member of the Aws tribe. Of the family of 'Amr b. 'Awf, he was a very elderly sheikh who had accepted Islam before the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came there he stayed at night in Qubā' in Kulthūm's house, and then during the day would talk with his Companions in the home of Sa'd b. al-Rabī', God be pleased with them both, until he moved to the home of the Banū al-Najjār, as related above.

Ibn al-Athīr stated, "It has been said that he was the first Muslim to die following the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that the death of As'ad b. Zurāra followed his. Al-Ṭabarī stated this."

Chapter: On the birth of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in the month of Shawwāl in the year when the emigration occurred.

The first birth to the Emigrants in the Islamic era was 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. Similarly, al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr was the first child born to the Helpers after the emigration. God be pleased with them both.

Some claim that Ibn al-Zubayr was born 20 months after the emigration. Abū al-Aswad said this. Al-Wāqidī related this from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Sahl b. Abū Ḥathma, from his father, from his grandfather.

They claim that al-Nu'mān was born 6 months before al-Zubayr, some 14 months after the emigration.

The truth is as we have said above. Al-Bukhārī stated, "Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from Asmā', who said, regarding her pregnancy with 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, "When I emigrated, I was at term. When I came to Medina I stayed in Qubā' and gave birth to him there. Then I took him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and placed him in his lap. He then called for a date, which he masticated then spat into his mouth. And so the first thing that entered the baby's stomach was the

saliva of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then gave him a date to chew on, prayed for him and blessed him. He was the first baby born in Islam." This account was followed by one of Khālid b. Makhlad, from ʿAlī b. Mushir, from Hishām, from his father, from Asmāʾ, to the effect that she was pregnant when she emigrated to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Qutayba related to us, from Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "The first child born in Islam was ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. They brought him to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he took a date which he chewed, then placed in the baby's mouth. And so the first food that entered his stomach was the saliva of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

This refutes al-Wāqidī and others, because he reported that the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Abū Rāfiʿ back to Mecca with ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUrayqiṭ to bring his and Abū Bakr's children. They brought them back right after the emigration of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Asmāʾ was pregnant and near term, that is almost ready to deliver her child. When she did so the Muslims let out great shouts of "God is Most Great" in their joy at the birth because it had come to their attention that the Jews had used magic against them so that they would not have children following their emigration. And so God had refuted what the Jews were claiming.

Division

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated his marriage with ʿĀʾisha in the month of Shawwāl that year.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Wakīʿ related to me, quoting Sufyān, from Ismāʿīl b. Umayya, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a marriage contract with me in (the month of) Shawwāl and consummated the marriage in Shawwāl; and which of his wives did he favour more than myself?'"

ʿĀʾisha used to prefer to have her women marry in Shawwāl.

Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasāʾī, and Ibn Māja related this on various paths from al-Thawrī. Al-Tirmidhī considered it *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*,[46] "good and authentic"; we know of it only from Sufyān al-Thawrī.

According to this the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to ʿĀʾisha took place in the seventh or eighth month after the emigration. Both statements were related by Ibn Jarīr, who commented earlier, in his treatment of his marriage with Sawda, on how he had married ʿĀʾisha after they had arrived in Medina, and that his marriage was at al-Sunḥ and during the daytime. This is in contrast to the normal practice of people today. In his marrying her in Shawwāl there is a refutation of those who express disfavour for marriage occurring between the two

46. The term designates a *ḥadīth* that is deemed more clearly authentic than one designated as *ḥasan*, but less so than one considered *ṣaḥīḥ*.

feasts, out of fear of the couple's later separation. There is nothing to this, as is shown by what ʿĀ'isha said in reply to those people who imagined this for that time, that is, she said, "He made the marriage contract with me in Shawwāl and consummated the marriage in Shawwāl; and which of his wives did he favour more than myself?"

This shows that she understood from him that she was the wife he favoured most. And this belief of hers is shown to have been correct by various clear proofs, if only by that definite statement given in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī from ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ which states, "I said, O Messenger of God, which person do you most favour?" He replied, "ʿĀ'isha." I then asked, "And which man?" "Her father," he replied.

Division

Ibn Jarīr stated, "That same year, the first year of the hegira, the length of the *ṣalāt al-ḥaḍar*, the prayer while at home, was increased by two *rakʿāt*,[47] prayer cycles, or so it is said. Previously both the prayer at home and while travelling had been two *rakʿāt*. This came about after the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the 12th of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir."

He said, "Al-Wāqidī maintained that there was no dispute among the people of Ḥijāz on this subject."

I observe that previously I have given the *ḥadīth* related by al-Bukhārī through Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, "When first made obligatory, prayer was prescribed as needing two *rakʿāt*. This was affirmed for prayer while travelling, but it was increased for prayer while at home."

This was also related through al-Shaʿbī back to Masrūq.

Al-Bayhaqī related, from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, that when the prayer at home was first made obligatory, it was established as four *rakʿāt*. But God knows best.

We discussed this in the exegesis of *sūrat al-Nisā'*, with regards to the words of the Almighty, "And when you travel over the earth, there is no blame on you if you shorten the prayer" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.101).

Chapter: On the call to prayer and its legitimacy upon the arrival of the Prophet (ṢAAS) in Medina.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was secure in Medina, his emigrant brothers gathered around him and the Helpers were united, Islam became firmly established. Prayer was instituted and the *zakāt*, the alms tax, and fasting were made obligatory. Punishments were prescribed, and those matters that were made permissible or forbidden were determined. Islam took firm hold there among them.

47. A *rakʿa* is an entire cycle of prayer, consisting of standing, bowing once and prostrating twice.

It was this community of Helpers to whom God made reference in the words, "And those who made their abode in the town and in the faith" (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.9).

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) first came to Medina, the people would gather with him for prayer at the appointed times without any summons to them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then wanted to have a horn blown like that the Jews use to call their people to prayer. But he grew to dislike this and ordered a hand bell be used. One was made to be struck to bring the Muslims to the prayer.

While this was the practice ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿAbd Rabbihī, the brother of Ibn al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, saw a vision and came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "O Messenger of God, last night I had a vision. I saw a man pass me by who was wearing two green garments and he carried a bell in his hand. I asked him, 'Will you sell me that bell?' He responded, 'What will you do with it?' I replied, 'We'll use it to summon people to prayer.' He asked, 'Shall I tell you a better way?' 'What would that be?' I asked. He told me, 'You should call out, "Allāhu Akbar! Allāhu Akbar! Allāhu Akbar! (God is Most Great) I bear witness that there is no god but God. I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God! I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God! Come to prayer! Come to prayer! Come to salvation! Come to salvation! Allāhu Akbar! Allāhu Akbar! There is no god but God!"'

"Having been told this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'These are – if God wills it – visions of truth. Stand with Bilāl and deliver them to him so that he can use them to announce the call to prayer; he has a stronger voice than you.'

"When Bilāl made the call to prayer using these words ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb heard him while in his house and came out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dragging his cloak behind him and saying, 'O Prophet of God, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth that I saw the same vision!'

"'All praise be to God!' exclaimed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith related this *ḥadīth* to me, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Zayd b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿAbd Rabbihī, from his father."

Abū Dāʾūd, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Māja and Ibn Khuzayma all related this *ḥadīth* through Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. Al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Khuzayma and others all deemed it authentic.

According to Abū Dāʾūd he (the vision) also taught him (ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd) the *iqāma*,[48] saying, "Then, to begin the prayer, you say, 'God is Great! God is Great! I bear witness that there is no god but God! I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God! Come to prayer! Come to salvation! The prayer has begun! The prayer has begun! God is Great! God is Great! There is no god but God!'"

Ibn Māja related this *ḥadīth* from Abū ʿUbayd Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd b. Maymūn from Muḥammad b. Salama al-Ḥarrānī from Ibn Isḥāq, as stated above.

48. The second call to prayer, indicating its commencement.

He then stated, "Abū 'Ubayd said, 'Abū Bakr al-Ḥakamī informed me that 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd, the Helper, spoke the following verse on this:

'Praise be to God, the Sublime, the Revered, great
praise for the call to prayer,
For there having come to me the herald from God; honour
him as a herald to me!
For three nights he dedicated thus, and each time he
came to me he brought me greater honour!'"

I observe that this poetry is strange for it implies that 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd saw the vision for three nights before he informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

The Imām Aḥmad related this from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. And he stated, "Al-Zuhrī related from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, from 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd, approximately the same account as given by Ibn Isḥāq from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, but that account did not include the verses."

Ibn Māja stated, "Muḥammad b. Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Wāsiṭī related to us, quoting his father, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from Sālim, from his father, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked the advice of the community on what to use to commence the prayer. They mentioned the horn, but he disliked this because of its use by the Jews. They then referred to the bell, but he disliked this because of its use by the Christians. That night a vision of the call to prayer came to a helper named 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd and to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The Helper made his way at night to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who gave orders to Bilāl, who made the call to prayer using it."

Al-Zuhrī stated, "Bilāl made an addition in the morning call to prayer, namely twice saying the words 'prayer is better than sleep'. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) agreed to this. 'Umar told him, 'O Messenger of God, I saw the same vision as he did but he preceded me.'"

Material relating to this section will be given in the chapter on the call to prayer in the large work *al-Aḥkām* (*The Statutes*). If God Almighty wills it, and in Him is our trust.

In a *ḥadīth* given by al-Suhaylī with the following line of authority through al-Bazzār, Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Makhlid related, quoting his father, from Ziyād b. al-Mundhir, from Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, from his father, from his grandfather, from 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, who made reference to the *ḥadīth* respecting the *isrā'*, the ascent to heaven, as follows, "And an angel emerged from behind the screen and he made the call to prayer using this call. Each time he said a word, God Almighty verified it. Then the angel took the hand of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) and brought him forward. He then led the family of heaven, who included Adam and Noah, in the prayer." Al-Suhaylī then said, "You may view this *ḥadīth* as authentic for the support it gives and resemblance it has to the *ḥadīth* relating to the ascent to heaven."

But this *ḥadīth* is not, as al-Suhaylī maintained, authentic. In fact it is unacceptable. Ziyād b. al-Mundhir Abū al-Jārūd is he to whom is attributed the

"*Jārūdiyya* sect",[49] he being among those accused. Moreover, if this had been what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had heard on the night of his ascent to heaven, he would have ordered it to be used in the call to prayer immediately following the emigration. But God knows best.

Ibn Hishām stated that Ibn Jurayj quoted ʿAṭāʾ as having said, "I heard ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr say, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) had discussed with his Companions the use of a bell to summon people to prayer. While ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was planning to buy two pieces of wood for the bell, he had a vision while he slept and was told, "Do not make a bell; instead call people to prayer."

"'ʿUmar went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) to tell him what he had seen. The Prophet had himself received revelation of that. ʿUmar was consequently very surprised to hear Bilāl make the call to prayer. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to him, when he (ʿUmar) told him of his experience, "Revelation of this preceded you!"'"

This shows that the revelation had come in confirmation of what ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Rabbihī had seen in the vision or so some authorities state. But God Almighty knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to me, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, that a woman of the Banū al-Najjār told him, 'My house was one of the tallest around the mosque. Bilāl would make the call to prayer on top of it early each morning. He would come just before dawn and sit above the house waiting for daybreak. When he saw it he would stretch out and say, "O God, I praise You and seek Your help for Quraysh to adopt Your religion."' She concluded, 'And then he would make the call to prayer. I never knew him to miss one night.'"

That is, to miss saying those words.

Abū Dāʾūd was the only other to relate this.

Chapter: On the expedition of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, may God be pleased with him.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "Al-Wāqidī claimed that in the month of Ramaḍān of that year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib over 30 of the Emigrants, having presented him with a white standard, to interfere with Quraysh caravans. Al-Wāqidī states that Ḥamza confronted Abū Jahl at the head of 300 Quraysh men, but that Majdī b. ʿAmr intervened between them, and so they did not engage in battle.

"He also said that it was Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī who carried the flag for Ḥamza."

Chapter: On the expedition of ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "Al-Wāqidī also claimed that the Prophet (ṢAAS) in Shawwāl, at the beginning of the eighth month of that year, entrusted a white banner to ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith and ordered him to proceed into the Rābigh valley.

49. A denomination of the Zaydiyya Shīʿa founded by him and known by his name.

"His flag was carried by Misṭah b. Uthātha. He reached Thaniyyāt al-Murra, not far from al-Juḥfa, in the company of 60 Emigrants, there being no Helpers present. They met up with the polytheists at a well called Aḥyā'. They shot arrows at one another, but did not engage in sword play."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The polytheists were 200 in number and were led by Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb. This is what we believed to be well established, though it is also said that they were led by Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ.

Division

Al-Wāqidī stated, "In that same first year, in Dhū al-Qa'da, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented a white banner to Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and sent him to al-Kharrār; the flag was carried by al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad.

"Abū Bakr b. Ismā'īl related to me, from his father, from 'Āmir b. Sa'd, from his father, who said, 'I left with 20 men, by foot' – or he said 'with 21 men'. 'We would hide by day and travel by night. We got to al-Kharrār on the morning of the fifth. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had instructed me to go no further than al-Kharrār. The caravan had preceded me there by a day.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The caravan consisted of 60; all those with Sa'd were Emigrants."

Abū Ja'far b. Jarīr stated, "It was the view of Ibn Isḥāq that these three expeditions mentioned by al-Wāqidī all occurred in the second year of the hegira."

I observe that the statements attributed to Ibn Isḥāq by Abū Ja'far are not seen as authentic by any who contemplates them, as we will show early in our work on the military expeditions in materials relating to the second year of the hegira. That work will follow the present one, if God wills it.

It is likely that what he means is that these expeditions occurred in the first year. We will give more details and comments on them when we get to them, if God Almighty wills it.

Al-Wāqidī gives full information and a well-organized historical account. He is one of the great Imams of this field of study. He is trustworthy and writes at length. We commented on what is both reliable and unreliable from him in our projected work *al-Takmīl fī Ma'rifat al-Thiqāt wa al-Du'afā' wa al-Majāhīl* (*Full Information on those Authorities who are Trustworthy, Unreliable or Ignorant*). All praise and credit are due to God.

Division

Those born in that blessed year, the first of the hegira, included 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. He was the first to be born in Islam following the emigration, as al-Bukhārī related from his mother Asmā' and his aunt 'Ā'isha, mother of the believers, both daughters of Abū Bakr, "the Trusting"; may God be pleased with both women.

There are those who say that al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr was born six months prior to him. According to that, Ibn al-Zubayr would have been the first child born to Emigrants following the emigration.

Some people suggest that they were both born in the second year of the hegira.

The former is obviously correct, as we have shown above. And all credit be to God. We will make reference to this second statement, if God Almighty wills it, in dealing with the end of that second year.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "It has been said that al-Mukhtār b. Abū ʿUbayd and Ziyād b. Sumayya were born in that first year. But God knows best."

Among the Companions who died that first year were Kulthūm b. al-Hadm al-Awsī, in whose home the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in Qubāʾ prior to his departure to the home of the Banū al-Najjār, as told above. Later that same year Abū Umāma Asʿad b. Zurāra, the leader of the Banū al-Najjār, died, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was still building the mosque. This has been related above. May God be pleased with both these deceased men.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "That year, the first of the hegira, Abū ʿUḥayḥa died on his property in Ṭāʾif. Also al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra died, as did al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil al-Sahmī in Mecca."

I observe that these men died while still polytheists. They did not accept God, the Almighty and Glorious.

An Account of what happened in the second year of the hegira.

In this year many military exeditions took place, the most important and glorious of these being the great battle of Badr, which occurred in Ramaḍān. It was the battle that God used to make a clear distinction between truth and falsehood, right guidance and error.

Now is the occasion to make mention of the military expeditions and the delegations sent. We therefore state (as follows), and we seek help from God in doing so.

THE BOOK OF MILITARY EXPEDITIONS.

Imām Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār stated the following in his work of biography, after giving information about the Jewish rabbis and their declaration of enmity against Islam and the verses making mention of them. Of these men was Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab and his two brothers, Abū Yāsir and Judayy. Also there were Sallām b. Mishkam, Kināna b. al-Rabīʿ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, otherwise known as Abū Rāfiʿ al-Aʿwar. The latter was a trader of the Ḥijāz and one who was killed by the Companions at Khaybar, as will be shown later. Also, there were ʿAmr b. Jaḥḥāsh, Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf, he being of Ṭāʾī and

of the Banū Nabhān; his mother was of the Banū al-Naḍīr. He was killed by the Companions before Abū Rāfiʿ, as will be shown, along with his two allies al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿUmar and Kardam b. Qays. God curse them all!

These men were from the Banū al-Naḍīr.

From the Banū Thaʿlaba b. al-Fityawn there was ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣūriyā. There was no man in the Ḥijāz more learned in the Torah than he was.

I would observe here that he is said to have accepted Islam.

And there were Ibn Ṣalūbā and Mukhayrīq, the latter accepting Islam, as will be mentioned later, at the battle of Uḥud; he had been his people's rabbi.

From the Banū Qaynuqāʿ there was Zayd b. al-Laṣīt, Saʿd b. Ḥanīf, Maḥmūd b. Sayḥān, ʿUzayz b. Abū ʿUzayz, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḍayf, Suwayd b. al-Ḥārith, Rifāʿa b. Qays, Finḥāṣ, Ashyaʿ, Nuʿmān b. Aḍā, Baḥrī b. ʿAmr, Shaʾs b. ʿAdī, Shaʾs b. Qays, Zayd b. al-Ḥārith, Nuʿmān b. ʿAmr, Sukayn b. Abū Sukayn, ʿAdī b. Zayd, Nuʿmān b. Abū Awfā, Abū Anas, Maḥmūd b. Daḥya, Mālik b. Ṣayf, Kaʿb b. Rāshid, ʿĀzir, Rāfiʿ b. Abū Rāfiʿ, Khālid, and Azār b. Abū Azār. The last-mentioned should be named Āzar b. Abū Āzar according to Ibn Hishām. Also there were Rāfiʿ b. Ḥāritha, Rāfiʿ b. Ḥuraymala, Rāfiʿ b. Khārija, Mālik b. ʿAwf, Rifāʿa b. Zayd b. al-Tābūt and ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām.

I observe that the last-mentioned had earlier accepted Islam, God be pleased with him. Ibn Isḥāq stated, "He was their rabbi and most learned man. His name had been al-Ḥuṣayn, and when he accepted Islam the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) named him ʿAbd Allāh."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "From the Banū Qurayẓa there were al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā b. Wahb, ʿAzzāl b. Shamwīl, and Kaʿb b. Asad. The last-mentioned was the one who had signed for his tribe the agreement they broke in the year of the *aḥzāb*, the schisms. Also there were Shamwīl b. Zayd, Jabal b. ʿAmr b. Sukayna, al-Naḥḥām b. Zayd, Kardam b. Kaʿb, Wahb b. Zayd, Nāfiʿ b. Abū Nāfiʿ, ʿAdī b. Zayd, al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf, Kardam b. Zayd, Usāma b. Ḥabīb, Rāfiʿ b. Rumayla, Jabal b. Abū Qushayr and Wahb b. Yahūdhā.

From the Banū Zurayq there was Labīd b. Aʿṣam, who had put a spell on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

From the Jews of the Banū Ḥāritha there was Kināna b. Ṣūriyā.

From the Jews of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf there was Qardam b. ʿAmr.

From the Jews of the Banū al-Najjār there was Silsila b. Barhām."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "All these men were rabbis and men of evil intent and full of antagonism towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions, God be pleased with them. They were those who asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) many questions in their desire to confuse and to express their obstinacy and disbelief. They were men who made difficulties for Islam and who tried to extinguish it. Exceptions to this were ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām and Mukhayrīq."

Ibn Isḥāq then related the acceptance of Islam by ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām, along with that of his aunt Khālida, as we mentioned above.

He also told of the conversion to Islam by Mukhayrīq on the day of the battle of Uḥud, details of which will come later. He told his people, it being a Sabbath, "O Jews, you well know that Muḥammad has a right to expect your help." They replied, "But today is the Sabbath." He replied, "You shall have no Sabbath!" He then took his weapons and went off to battle. He made a charge upon his people who were staying behind, as follows, "If I should be killed today, then my properties are to go to Muḥammad to dispose of as God shows him." He was a very wealthy man.

"He then joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and fought until he was killed. God be pleased with him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, as I have been told, 'Mukhayrīq was the best Jew.'"

Division

Ibn Isḥāq then listed the names of those hypocrites from Aws and Khazraj, who joined the Jews antagonistic to Islam.

From Aws there were: Zuwayy b. al-Ḥārith, Julās b. Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit, the Helper. It was about him that the verse was revealed, "They swear by God that they did not speak. But they did speak words of disbelief; they apostatized after accepting Islam" (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barāʾa*; IX, v.74). This was because he said, after having withdrawn from the expedition against Tabūk, "If this man speaks the truth, then we are worse than donkeys!"

"The son of al-Julās's wife, a man named ʿUmayr b. Saʿd reported this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) but al-Julās denied it, swearing that he had never said that. The verse was therefore revealed concerning him."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "It is claimed that he later truly repented and that he was known for his piety.

"Also there was his brother al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd; it was he who killed al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyād al-Balawī and Qays b. Zayd, one of the Banū Ḍubayʿa at the battle of Uḥud. Al-Ḥārith had gone to war on the Muslims' side, but he was a hypocrite and when the battle was joined he fought and killed both these men and joined the Quraysh forces."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Al-Mujadhdhar had killed his father Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit in an engagement before the coming of Islam. Al-Ḥārith was taking revenge upon him at the battle of Uḥud."

This is what Ibn Hishām said, but according to Ibn Isḥāq it was Muʿādh b. ʿAfrāʾ who killed him in a non-military engagement before the battle of Buʿāth, by shooting him with an arrow.

Ibn Hishām denied that it was al-Ḥārith who killed Qays b. Thābit, on the grounds that Ibn Isḥāq did not include the latter among those killed at Uḥud.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to kill him if he could catch him. Al-Ḥārith, however, sent a message

to his brother al-Julās seeking forgiveness so that he could return to his people. And so it was, as I have been informed on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās, that God revealed, "How could God lead a people aright who have apostatized after having believed and given testimony that the Messenger is the truth, and after they had received proofs? God does not guide a people who are unjust" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.86).

"Also there were Bijād b. ʿUthmān b. ʿĀmir and Nabtal b. al-Ḥārith. It was about the latter that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Whoever would like to see Satan, let him look at this man!' He was a very tall, black man with a mass of hair, red eyes and flushed cheeks. He used to listen to what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said then report on it to the hypocrites. It was he who said, 'Muḥammad is just ears; he believes what anyone says to him!' God revealed concerning him, 'And among them are those who harm the Prophet by saying that he is ears' (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barāʾa*; IX, v.61).

"And there was Abū Ḥabība b. al-Azʿar. He was one of those who built the mosque at al-Ḍirār. Also there were Thaʿlaba b. Ḥāṭib and Muʿattib b. Qushayr. It was these two who promised God that if He gave them of His bounty they would believe. They, however, broke their promise upon which the above was revealed . It was Muʿattib who said at the battle of Uḥud, 'If we had any say in it, we'd not be killed here!' A verse was then revealed about him. It was also he who said, at the battle of *al-Aḥzāb*, the 'schisms', 'Muḥammad used to promise us we would enjoy the treasures of Chosroe and Caesar, but we're not safe to go to the toilet!' The verse revealed about him was 'and when the hypocrites, and those in whose breasts is disease, say, "All that God and His Messenger have promised us is mere fancy"'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.12).

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "And there was al-Ḥārith b. Ḥāṭib."

Ibn Hishām commented, "Regarding Muʿattib b. Qushayr, and Thaʿlaba and al-Ḥārith, the two sons of Ḥāṭib, they were of the Banū Umayya b. Zayd and took part in the battle of Badr. These were not hypocrites, or so I have been told by a scholar whom I trust. Ibn Isḥāq in fact mentioned Thaʿlaba and al-Ḥārith as being of the Banū Umayya b. Zayd and gave their names as participants in the battle of Badr."

Ibn Isḥāq's account continues, "Also there were ʿAbbād b. Ḥunayf, brother of Sahl b. Ḥunayf, and Baḥzaj, who participated in building the mosque, al-Ḍirār. And there were ʿAmr b. Khidhām, ʿAbd Allāh b. Nabtal, Jāriya b. ʿĀmir b. al-ʿAṭṭāf and his two sons Yazīd and Mujmiʿ, also involved in the construction of the Ḍirār mosque. Mujmiʿ was a young man who had collected most parts of the Qurʾān and would pray with the others in prayer there. When the Ḍirār mosque was destroyed, after the Tabūk expedition, as will be explained hereafter, during the reign of ʿUmar, the people of Qubāʾ asked the Caliph whether Mujmiʿ could lead them in prayer. He refused, saying, 'By God, was he not the Imām of the hypocrites in the Ḍirār mosque?'

"But Mujmiʿ swore by God that he knew nothing about them; and they say that ʿUmar let him go and that he did lead them in prayer.

"And there was Wadīʿa b. Thābit, also one of those who built the Ḍirār mosque. It was he who said, 'But we're only being sociable and having fun.' And a reference was made in the Qurʾān to that.

"And there was Khidām b. Khālid; it was he from whose house the Ḍirār mosque was made."

Ibn Hishām added to the names given by Ibn Isḥāq of the hypocrites of the Banū al-Nabīt b. al-Aws those of Bishr and Rāfiʿ, two sons of Zayd.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "And there was Mirbaʿ b. Qayẓā; he was blind. It was he who said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was crossing through his garden on the way to the battle of Uḥud, 'I'll not allow you, even if you are a prophet, to pass through my garden!' And he picked up a handful of dirt and said, 'I swear, if I knew I would not strike anyone but yourself, I'd throw this at you!' The Muslims made for him to kill him, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Leave him alone. This blind man is blind in his heart as well as in his sight.' Saʿd b. Zayd al-Ashhal, however, had already injured him with his bow.

"And there was Mirbaʿ's brother Aws b. Qayẓā, who made the comment, 'Our houses are exposed.' And so God said, 'They are not exposed; all they want is to take flight' (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.13).

"And there was Ḥāṭib b. Umayya b. Rāfiʿ. He was a powerful sheikh who was long set in the ways of pre-Islamic ignorance. He had a son who was among the best of Muslims. His name was Yazīd b. Ḥāṭib, and he was so injured at the battle of Uḥud that his wounds disabled him and he was borne to the home of the Banū Ẓafar.

"ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that the Muslims there, both men and women, gathered around him while he was dying and began telling him, 'Rejoice in the gardens of paradise, Ibn Ḥāṭib!' His father's hypocrisy then emerged and he began saying, 'Right! Gardens of rue! You have, by God, deluded this poor wretch about himself!"'

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "And there was Bashīr b. Ubayriq Abū Ṭuʿma, the man who stole the two breast-plates. It was of him that God spoke in the words, 'Do not argue for those who are treacherous to themselves' (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*; IV, v.107).

"And there was Quzmān, the ally of the Banū Ẓufr, who killed seven men at Uḥud and then when in pain from his own wounds, killed himself, saying, 'I swear, I only fought in defence of my people!' He then died, God damn him!"[50]

50. In Ibn Isḥāq's text as translated by Guillaume, *op. cit.* p. 245, Quzmān is reported to kill seven polytheists and to have been well treated by the Muslims when he was wounded. It was, according to that text, when he was congratulated by the Muslims on his valour for the cause that he responded with the words attributed to him here, and that he then killed himself. Presumably he is being damned in this text both for denying that he had been fighting for Islam rather than for his people, and for committing suicide.

Ibn Isḥāq then stated, "There are no men or women of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal known as hypocrites; al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Thābit, however, was charged with hypocrisy and love of the Jews."

All the above persons were from Aws.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "And of Khazraj there were Rāfiʿ b. Wadīʿa, Zayd b. ʿAmr, ʿAmr b. Qays, Qays b. ʿAmr b. Sahl and al-Jadd b. Qays. It was the last-named who said, 'Give me leave; do not try me.'[51]

"And there was ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl who was the chief hypocrite and leader of the Aws and Khazraj as well. They had previously agreed, before the coming of Islam, to appoint him their king, but when God led them to Islam before they did so, the accursed fellow was greatly offended and angered. It is he who said, 'If we get back to Medina the strong will definitely drive out of it the weak!'"

Very many verses were revealed about this man and also about Wadīʿa, a man of the Banū ʿAwf, as about Mālik b. Abū Qawqal, Suwayd and Dāʿis who were all of his gang. About them the Almighty revealed, "If they are driven out, they will not go forth with them" (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.12). This was when they allied secretly with the Banū al-Naḍīr.

Division

Then Ibn Isḥāq made mention of those Jewish rabbis who had accepted Islam as if God-fearing men while in secret they were unbelievers; and they were followed by the worst of the hypocrites among whom were: Saʿd b. Ḥanīf and Zayd b. al-Laṣīṭ. It was the latter who commented, when the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) strayed, 'Muḥammad claims that information reaches him from heaven, yet he doesn't know the whereabouts of his camel!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'I only know what God tells me; and He has guided me towards it. My camel is in this defile, her bridle caught in a tree.' Some of the Muslims then went and found it just so."

Ibn Isḥāq went on: "And there were Nuʿmān b. Awfā, ʿUthmān b. Awfā and Rāfiʿ b. Ḥuraymala. The last-mentioned is the one of whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, so I have been told, when the man died, 'One of the great hypocrites has died today.'

"Also there was Rifāʿa b. Zayd b. al-Tābūt. On the day of his death a great wind arose just as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was returning from Tabūk and he said, 'It is blowing due to the death of a great unbeliever.' And when they reached Medina they found that Rifāʿa had died that day.

"Also there was Silsila b. Burhām, and Kināna b. Ṣūriyā.

"These, then, are the Jewish hypocrites who had accepted Islam."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "These hypocrites would attend the mosque and listen to the Muslims' talk, ridiculing and making fun of their religion.

51. Presumably a reference to *sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barāʾa*; IX, v.49.

"Some of them gathered in the mosque one day and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw them talking among themselves, sitting together and speaking in low voices. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that they be removed from the mosque and they were, forcibly.

"Abū Ayyūb went up to ʿAmr b. Qays, one of the Banū al-Najjār, who had been the guardian of their gods in the pre-Islamic era, took him by the foot and pulled him until he had got him outside, while the other man said, 'God damn! Would you evict me, Abū Ayyūb, from the date shed of the Banū Thaʿlaba?'

"Abū Ayyūb then went up to Rāfiʿ b. Wadiʿa al-Najjārī and grabbed him by the cloak, pulled at him hard, slapped his face and threw him out of the mosque, saying, 'Yekh! You dirty hypocrite!'

"ʿUmāra b. Ḥazm seized Zayd b. ʿAmr, who had a long beard, and pulled him along by it until he had evicted him from the mosque. ʿUmāra then clenched his fists and hit him with them hard in his chest, knocking him down. Zayd complained, 'ʿUmāra, you've grazed me!' At this ʿUmāra replied, 'Clear off with you, hypocrite! What God has in store for you is far worse! Don't ever come near the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) again!'

"Abū Muḥammad Masʿūd b. Aws b. Zayd b. Aṣram b. Zayd b. Thaʿlaba b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, who fought at Badr, went up to Qays b. ʿAmr b. Sahl, who was just a lad, the only youth among the hypocrites. Abū Muḥammad pushed Qays by the back of his neck till he had evicted him.

"One of the Banū Khudra approached a man called al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr who wore his hair thick, seized him by it and pulled him violently across the ground until he had evicted him. At this the hypocrite yelled, 'You're being very rough, Abū al-Ḥārith!' 'You deserve it,' he was told, 'you enemy of God you, for what has been revealed about you. Don't you come near the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) again; you're filth!'

"A man of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf went for the previous man's brother, Zuway b. al-Ḥārith and forcibly evicted him, expressing his disgust for him and saying, 'Satan and his work have charge of you!'"

Ibn Isḥāq then referred to the passages in *sūrat al-Baqara* (Qurʾān, II) and in *sūrat al-Tawba* (Qurʾān, IX) that refer to the hypocrites and offered full and effective explanations of these. God bless him!

An Account of the first military expedition, that of al-Abwāʾ, also called Waddān, and the first of the delegations sent.

This involved the dispatch of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib or ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith, as will be explained regarding the military expeditions.

Al-Bukhārī's text reads as follows: *Book of the Military Expeditions*. Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The first battle fought by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was that of al-Abwāʾ, followed by that of Buwāṭ, followed by that of al-ʿUshayra."

He then related how Zayd b. Arqam was asked how many military expeditions the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent. He replied, "There were 19, in 17 of which he participated; the first of these was to al-'Usayra (or al-'Ushayra)."

An account will follow in the sequel of the expedition to al-'Ushayra, if God wills it, and in Him is all trust, along with the chains of authority and words used in reporting on it as well as comments about it.

Al-Bukhārī stated, in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from Burayda, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set in motion 16 military expeditions."

Muslim quoted Burayda as saying that he accompanied the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on 16 expeditions. He also quotes him as saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized 19 expeditions and himself fought in 8 of them.

Al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid stated, from Ibn Burayda, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized 17 expeditions and fought in 8, those at Badr, Uḥud, al-Aḥzāb, al-Muraysī', Qudayd, Khaybar, Mecca and Ḥunayn, and that he sent out 24 raids.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān stated, "Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Dimashqī al-Tanūkhī related to us, quoting al-Haytham b. Ḥumayd, quoting al-Nu'mān from Makḥūl, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized 18 expeditions and himself fought in 8. The first of these was at Badr, followed by Uḥud, al-Aḥzāb, Qurayẓa, Bi'r Ma'ūna, that against the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzā'a, Khaybar, Mecca, Ḥunayn and al-Ṭā'if."

His placing that of Bi'r Ma'ūna after that of Qurayẓa is open to dispute. The truth is that it followed Uḥud, as will be shown.

Ya'qūb stated that Salama b. Shabīb related to him, from 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhrī, (who stated) "I heard Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized 18 expeditions.' But on another occasion I heard him say 24. I don't know whether this was mere fancy or something he heard later."

Al-Ṭabrānī recounted from al-Dabarī, from 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhrī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized 24 expeditions."

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd stated in his *ḥadīth* collection, "Sa'īd b. Sallām related to us, quoting Zakariyyā' b. Isḥāq and Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized 21 expeditions.'"

Al-Ḥākim recounted, through Hishām, from Qatāda, that the expeditions and night raids organized by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) totalled 43. Al-Ḥākim then commented, "Perhaps he meant raids apart from the military expeditions, for in the work *al-Iklīl* (*Three Bright Stars*) more than 100 raids of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) are arranged in order."

He went on, "A reliable scholar of Bukhārā told me he had read in the work of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Naṣr that the raids and delegations sent out totalled some 70, not counting the actual battles."

This information related by al-Ḥākim is very strange; and the statements he attributes in them to Qatāda are controversial.

Imām Aḥmad recounted, from Azhar b. al-Qāsim al-Rāsibī, from Hishām al-Dastuwā'ī, from Qatāda, that the military expeditions and raids of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) totalled 43, consisting of 24 missions and 19 military expeditions. In 8 of these he himself participated, at Badr, Uḥud, al-Aḥzāb, al-Muraysī', Khaybar, the conquest of Mecca, Ḥunayn, and al-Ṭā'if.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba quoted al-Zuhrī as stating, "These were the military expeditions in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fought: Badr in Ramaḍān of 2 AH; Uḥud in Shawwāl, 3 AH; and *al-khandaq*, which was also known as al-Aḥzāb and the 'Banū Qurayẓa battle', in Shawwāl, 4 AH. He then fought the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq and the Banū Liḥyān in Sha'bān, 5 AH; at Khaybar in 6 AH; at the Yawm al-Fatḥ (Mecca) in Ramaḍān, 8 AH. Thereafter he fought at al-Ḥunayn and besieged the people of al-Ṭā'if in Shawwāl, 8 AH. Then, in 9 AH Abū Bakr performed the pilgrimage, and in 10 AH the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on the so-called *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, the 'farewell pilgrimage'. He organized 12 expeditions that did not result in fighting. The first of his expeditions was that of al-Abwā'."

Ḥanbal b. Hilāl stated, from Isḥāq b. al-'Alā', from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far al-Raqqī, from Muṭrif b. Māzin al-Yamānī, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhrī, who said, "The first verse revealed on making war was, 'Those who do battle are given permission (to do so), for they have been wronged' (*sūrat al-Ḥajj*; XX, v.39). This came after the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina.

"The first battle witnessed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was that at Badr, on Friday, 17th of Ramaḍān."

His account proceeds to his comments as follows, "He then went on the expedition against the Banū al-Naḍīr, then in Shawwāl, the battle of Uḥud took place, that is, in 3 AH. Thereafter he was at the battle of *al-khandaq* in 4 AH, fought the Banū Liḥyān in Sha'bān of 5 AH, and fought at the battle of al-Fatḥ (i.e. the 'victory', at Mecca, tr.) in Sha'bān 8 AH, followed by Ḥunayn in Ramaḍān 8 AH. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized 11 expeditions in which he did not fight. The first on which he fought was al-Abwā', then came al-'Ushayra, Ghaṭafān, Banū Sulaym, al-Abwā' (sic), the first battle of Badr, Ṭā'if, al-Ḥudaybiyya, al-Ṣafrā', and Tabūk, the last expedition." He then went on to refer to the *bu'ūth*, the delegations he sent.

This account that I have copied from the history of the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir is very strange. We will relate later, in its proper order, what truly occurred.

This is an area of expertise requiring care and proper training; as Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī related, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. 'Alī, from his father, who said, "I heard 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn say, 'We used to teach the military expeditions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) just as we would chapters from the Qur'ān.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "I heard Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh say, 'I heard my uncle al-Zuhrī say, "In knowledge of the military expeditions there is knowledge of the hereafter as well as of this world."'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq gave further information concerning the military expeditions after having given that we have quoted above. In this he named the chief unbelievers from among the Jews and the hypocrites, God damn them all and gather them in the depths of hell.

He stated, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prepared to do battle against them, to wage war and fight against his enemies and their allies as God had ordered him.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had arrived in Medina on a Monday when it was very hot, and the sun was near its zenith; it was the 12th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal. At that time he was 53 years old, and God had given him his mission 13 years before. He stayed there for the remainder of Rabīʿ al-Awwal and for Rabīʿ al-Ākhir, for both Jumādas, Rajab, Shaʿbān, Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, Dhū al-Qiʿda, Dhū al-Ḥijja, the polytheists being in charge of the pilgrimage that month, and al-Muḥarram. He then, in Ṣafar, at the start of the 12th month after his arrival there, went forth to do battle."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He left Saʿd b. ʿUbāda in charge of Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He continued as far as Waddān; this was the expedition to al-Abwā'." Ibn Jarīr commented, "It is also known as the Waddān expedition."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "He was heading for Quraysh and the Banū Ḍamra b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna. The Banū Ḍamra made peace with him there; the one who actually did this was Makhshī b. ʿAmr al-Ḍamrī, who was their leader at that time.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to Medina without having engaged in battle, remaining there for the rest of Ṣafar and the early part of Rabīʿ al-Awwal."

Ibn Hishām added, "This was the first expedition made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Wāqidī commented, "His banner was entrusted to his uncle Ḥamza; it was white."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "While resident then at Medina, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy along with 60 – or 80 – men, mounted and of the Emigrants; not one of them was a Helper. The party went as far as a well in Ḥijāz below Thaniyyat al-Murra, where he met a large contingent of Quraysh. There was no engagement with them, however, except that Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ did that day cast one arrow. That was the first arrow shot for God's cause after the coming of Islam.

"The two forces separated thereafter, the Muslims positioning a rear-guard. Miqdād b. ʿAmr al-Bahrānī, an ally of the Banū Zuhra, fled from the polytheists to the Muslims, along with ʿUtba b. Ghazwān b. Jābir al-Māzinī, an ally of the Banū Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf. These were really Muslims, but they had gone forth to have contact with the unbelievers."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl was leader of the polytheists on that occasion."

Ibn Hishām related, from Ibn Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ, that Abū ʿAmr al-Madanī said, "It was Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ who led them."

I observe that al-Wāqidī's account, heretofore, gives two statements, one that the leader was Mikraz, the second that it was Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb; but it seemed to him more likely that it was Abū Sufyān. God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq then gave the ode attributed to Abū Bakr "the Trusting", written about this night raid. It begins,

"Is it for your vision of Salmā in the flat desert
plains you lay awake, and for something happening in the
tribe?
In Luʾayy you see a faction that no preaching, no
messenger's mission could keep from unbelief.
A truth-telling messenger came to them but they denied
him and told him he could not stay among them.
When we called them to the truth, they turned their
backs and fled like panting dogs retreating to their
lair."

He then gave the response of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zibaʿrā:

"Is it because of the traces of a home now desolate
amidst the sand dunes that you weep, your tears soon gone,
And because of time's surprises, and destiny is all
surprises, of things gone by and new.
A great army that came to us, led by ʿUbayda who is
called Ibn Ḥārith, in battle,
So we would leave idols set up in Mecca, passed down by
heir to noble heir."

Ibn Isḥāq goes on to give the complete ode. And nothing prevents us from doing the same except for the fact that Imām ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām, God bless him, who was an Imām in language, reported that many scholars, expert in poetry, deny the authenticity of both these poems.

Ibn Isḥāq further stated, "Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ spoke the following verses concerning his having shot an arrow, or so they say,

"Has the Messenger of God heard that I protected my
companions with my arrow?
Through it I well protected their front ranks over land
both rough and easy.
And no one shooting an arrow at an enemy will be
counted before myself, O Messenger of God!
And that was because your religion is that of truth; it
was with truth and virtue that you brought it.
By it the believers are saved, by it the unbelievers
are punished at a place of boiling pitch.

Take care, for you have erred, and do not decry me; woe
upon you, Ibn Jahl, misleader of your tribe!"

Ibn Hishām commented, "Most authorities on poetry deny that this poem is to be attributed to Saʿd."

Ibn Isḥāq stated further, "The banner given to ʿUbayda, so I have been told, was the first awarded by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to any Muslim."

Al-Zuhrī, Mūsā b. ʿUqba, and al-Wāqidī disputed Ibn Isḥāq in this and maintained that Ḥamza received a flag before ʿUbayd b. al-Ḥārith. But God knows best.

It will be related hereafter, from a *ḥadīth* of Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, that the first leader of these raids was ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh al-Asadī.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Some scholars maintain that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him out when he arrived from the mission to al-Abwāʾ before he reached Medina. Mūsā b. ʿUqba related it so from al-Zuhrī."

Division

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while resident there, sent Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim to the sea coast near al-ʿĪṣ along with 30 mounted men drawn from the Emigrants; there were no Helpers among them. Ḥamza confronted Abū Jahl b. Hishām and 300 mounted Meccans there on the shore. But Majdī b. ʿAmr al-Juhanī interposed himself between the opposing parties, for he was at peace with both. Both sides withdrew from one another and so no fighting occurred."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Some people say that Ḥamza's banner was the first awarded by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to any of the Muslims. This was because he had dispatched Ḥamza and ʿUbayda at the same time; this confused people."

I comment that Mūsā b. ʿUqba quoted al-Zuhrī as saying that he had dispatched Ḥamza before ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith. He maintained that Ḥamza's mission came before the expedition to al-Abwāʾ. And that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from al-Abwāʾ he dispatched ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith along with 60 Emigrants. He then related much as above.

It has been stated above that al-Wāqidī said, "The raid made by Ḥamza in Ramaḍān took place in 1 AH; ʿUbayda's expedition came thereafter, in Shawwāl in the same year." But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq quoted from Ḥamza, God be pleased with him, poetry indicating that his banner was the first awarded in Islam. However Ibn Isḥāq stated, "If Ḥamza did speak this, then so it was. He only ever spoke the truth. But God knows best what happened. What we have heard from scholars was that ʿUbayda was first. The poem is as follows:

'O my people, contemplate wisdom and foolishness and
failure in man's thought and intellect,
About those who have wronged us while we have not
violated their people or property.

As though we had been hostile to them, but we have no hostility for them; all we told them is to be chaste and just.

And we told them of Islam, but they do not accept it and treat it as if it were a joke.

They kept this up till I was appointed to raid them where they reside, seeking security in virtue.

At the order of the Messenger of God, being the first to have his banner fly above me, it not having appeared before.

A flag bringing victory, from a God of honour and power, His deeds the best of all.

They left in the evening, gathered together, the cooking pot of each of us boiling with the rage of his Companions.

When we saw one another they made their mounts kneel and tied up their mounts, and we tied ours an arrow's reach away.

We told them, "Our connection to God is our aid. But the only connection you have is to error."

Abū Jahl arose to fight there, acting in evil, but he was disappointed, for God rejected Abū Jahl's tricks.

We had only thirty mounted men, while they numbered two hundred, with one extra yet.

O Luʾayy, do not obey your evil men; come over to Islam, to the path that is plain.

For I fear that you will have pain wrought upon you and you will cry out in regret and mourning.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "And Abū Jahl b. Hishām, God damn him, spoke the following verses in response,

'I was amazed at the reasons for false worship and ignorance and at those who seek to do harm through division and idiocy,

At those who abandon the practices of our fathers and forebears, those fine and noble leaders.'

He then quoted the rest of the poem.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Most poetry scholars deny that the first poem can be attributed to Ḥamza, God be pleased with him, or the second to Abū Jahl, God damn him!"

THE EXPEDITION TO BUWĀṬ, IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF RAḌWĀ.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent an expedition against Quraysh in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, that is in 2 AH."

Ibn Hishām commented, "He left al-Sā'ib b. 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn in charge over Medina."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "He left Sa'd b. Mu'ādh in charge of it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was accompanied by 200 mounted men. His banner was entrusted to Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ. His purpose was to interfere with a Quraysh caravan which consisted of Umayya b. Khalaf with 100 men and 2,500 camels."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "He proceeded until he reached Buwāṭ, near Raḍwā. He then returned to Medina without engaging in battle. He remained there for the remainder of Rabī' al-Ākhir and part of Jumādā al-Ūlā."

THE EXPEDITION TO AL-'USHAYRA.

He then made an expedition against Quraysh. This refers to the expedition known by the name "*al-'Ushayra*" or "*al-'Usayra*".

Ibn Hishām commented that he left Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Asad in charge of Medina.

Al-Wāqidī stated that his banner was carried by Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to interrupt the Quraysh caravans going to Syria."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "He made his way through the territory of the Banū Dīnār, then past Fayfā' al-Khayyār, and made camp beneath a tree in the Ibn Azhar valley at a place called Dhāt al-Sāq. He said his prayers there, where his mosque is now. Food was prepared for him there which he ate, and the others ate there with him. The remains of the supports used for his cooking pot are still known there. He used the water from a place called al-Mushayrib.

"He then moved on, leaving al-Khalā'iq to his left and traversed the 'Abd Allāh defile. From there he kept left, coming down the Yalyal trail till it meets that of al-Ḍabū'a. He then crossed the Malal plain until he met the road at Ṣukhayrāt al-Yamām and then went on along it till he reached al-'Ushayra, in the Yanbu' valley.

"There he remained for Jumādā al-Ūlā and some nights of Jumādā al-Ākhira; there he made peace with the Banū Mudlij and their allies of the Banū Ḍamra, then returned to Medina, without having engaged in battle."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "'Abd Allāh related to us, quoting Wahb, quoting Shu'ba, from Abū Isḥāq, who said, 'I was standing next to Zayd b. Arqam when he was asked, "In how many military expeditions did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) take part?" He replied, "Nineteen." "And on how many did you accompany him?" "Seventeen," he replied. "Which of them came first?" I enquired. "Al-'Ushayr – or al-'Usayr," he replied. I told this to Qatāda and he said it was "al-'Ushayr".'"

This *ḥadīth* is clear in stating that the first of the military expeditions was at al-'Ushayra, which can also be spelled "al-'Usayra", and that in both of these spellings the final feminine ending, the "a" may be dropped or a lengthened "a"

be substituted. However, what could be meant here is that al-ʿUshayra was the first expedition in which Zayd b. Arqam participated with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and there could have been earlier ones which he did not witness. This could reconcile between this *ḥadīth* and that of Ibn Isḥāq. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "It was on that occasion that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his comment to ʿAlī. Yazīd b. Muḥammad b. Khaytham related to me, from Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī, quoting Abū Yazīd Muḥammad b. Khaytham, from ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, who said, "ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and I were companions on the expedition to al-ʿUshayra in the Yanbuʿ valley. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) encamped there he remained for a month and made peace with the Banū Mudlij and their allies of the Banū Ḍamra. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib said, "Abū al-Yaqẓān, how would you like for us to go and watch these men of the Banū Mudlij who are doing some work on a well of theirs?" So we went to them and watched for a while, then were overcome by sleep. We made our way over to a place where there were young date-palms growing and the ground was soft and there we slept. And, by God, we were eventually woken up by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moving us with his foot. We sat up, soiled with the earth there and it was then that he said to ʿAlī, 'What have you been up to, Abū Turāb?' (i.e. 'father of dirt') because of the soil that was upon him. We told him what had happened to us and he said, 'Shall I tell you who are the two most pitiable men?' We replied, 'Yes, do tell us.' He replied, 'They are Uḥaymir of the tribe of Thamūd who slaughtered the camel and the man who will strike you on this' – and he placed his hand on ʿAlī's head – 'so that this' – and he touched ʿAlī's beard – 'will become wet from it.'"

This *ḥadīth* is unique in this line given. From another line there is also testimony to reference being made to ʿAlī as 'Abū Turāb'. Similarly, in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī it states that ʿAlī left his house angry at Fāṭima and went and slept in the mosque. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to his house to ask after him, Fāṭima told him he had left angry. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the mosque and woke him up and, wiping the dirt from him, told him, "Up you get, Abū Turāb! Up you get!"

THE FIRST EXPEDITION TO BADR.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Upon his return from al-ʿUshayra, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been in Medina only a few days, less than ten, when Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihrī made a raid on the town. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth in search of him and travelled as far as a valley called Safwān, near Badr. This, then was the first expedition to Badr; Kurz evaded him and was not captured."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "His banner was entrusted to ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib."

Both Ibn Hishām and al-Wāqidī related that he had left Zayd b. Ḥāritha in command of Medina.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned, he spent Jumādā, Rajab and Shaʿbān in Medina. He had previously sent out Saʿd with a party of eight Emigrants. He reached as far as al-Kharrār in the Ḥijāz."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Some scholars maintain that this mission of Saʿd's took place after that of Ḥamza. He returned without engaging in battle."

This is how Ibn Isḥāq briefly reported this. Al-Wāqidī's account of these three expeditions is given above; by this I mean those of Ḥamza in Ramaḍān, ʿUbayda in Shawwāl, and Saʿd in Dhū al-Qiʿda, all during 1 AH.

Imām Aḥmad stated that "'Abd al-Mutʿāl b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd; and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawī related to him, quoting his father, from Mujālid, from Ziyād b. ʿAlāqa, who quoted Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ as having said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina, he was visited by some of the Juhayna who told him, 'Now you have come to live among us, make a pact with us so we can join you.' He did so, and they accepted Islam. In Rajab the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out, a force of less than 100, with orders to make a raid on a quarter of the Banū Kināna, who were over next to the Juhayna. We did raid them, but there were many of them and we took refuge with the Juhayna who gave us protection. They asked us, 'Why are you fighting in the holy month?' We asked one another what to do and some of us thought we should go back to the Prophet of God (ṢAAS) and tell him. Others thought they should stay there. I, and some others decided we would do neither and would attack and cut off a Quraysh caravan. The arrangement over booty at that time was that you could keep anything you won.

"So we set off against the caravan, while some of our Companions went back to the Prophet (ṢAAS). When they told him the situation, he became very angry and red-faced and said, 'You left me as one group and you've returned divided! Those before you who became divided were only ever destroyed! I will appoint over you someone who is no higher than you in rank, but who will give you fortitude against hunger and thirst.'

"He then appointed over us ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh al-Asadī, who was the first commander in Islam."

Al-Bayhaqī related this in *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Abū Zāʾida, from Mujālid, in much the same form. That account adds, after their words to their companions "Why are you fighting in the holy month?" that the others replied, "We are fighting in the holy month those who expelled us from the holy city!"

He then recounted it from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Usāma, from Mujālid, from Ziyād b. ʿAlāqa, from Quṭba b. Mālik, from Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ. This account is similar, but it adds Quṭba b. Mālik in the chain of authorities between Saʿd and Ziyād. This is more appropriate. But God knows best.

This *ḥadīth* requires that the first of the raids was that of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh al-Asadī and this is contrary to what Ibn Isḥāq recounted, namely that the first

of these was entrusted to ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib. It also contradicts al-Wāqidī, who maintained that the first of the raids was entrusted to Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. But God knows best.

Chapter: On the expedition of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh that was the cause for the great engagement at Badr.

This was the day of the *Furqān* (the line distinguishing good from evil) when the two forces met in battle. And God has power over all things.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "In Rajab, following his return from the first expedition to Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Riʾāb al-Asadī along with eight Emigrants; their number included none of the Helpers. The names of these men were as follows: Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ʿUtba, ʿUkkāsha b. Miḥṣan b. Ḥurthān, an ally of the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma, ʿUtba b. Ghazwān, an ally of the Banū Nawfal, Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ al-Zuhrī, ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa al-Wāʾilī, an ally of the Banū ʿAdī, Wāqid b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Manāf b. ʿArīn b. Thaʿlaba b. Yarbūʿ al-Tamīmī, also an ally of the Banū ʿAdī, Khālid b. al-Bukayr, one of the Banū Saʿd b. Layth, also an ally of the Banū ʿAdī, and Sahl b. Bayḍā al-Fihrī. These seven men were led by their commander ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, God be pleased with him."

Yūnus quoted Ibn Isḥāq as stating that there were eight men and their commander was their ninth. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "He wrote a letter for ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh which he told him not to open until he had travelled for two days. After opening it he was to do as it ordered him, but not to force any of his companions to do so too.

"Having travelled for two days, he opened the letter. It stated, 'Having read this letter, proceed to Nakhla, between Mecca and Ṭāʾif. Stay there and observe Quraysh and report back to us news of them.' Having read the letter, he said, 'To hear is to obey!' And he told his men what was in the letter. He said, 'It forbids me from forcing any of you to comply with this. Those of you seeking martyrdom should go forward. Those reluctant to do this should return. As for myself, I shall proceed to fulfil the order of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

"He then proceeded forward accompanied by his men, none of whom stayed behind. He travelled through Hijāz until he reached a mine above al-Furʿ known as Baḥrān. There Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and ʿUtba b. Ghazwān lost a camel they had that they had been riding, so they remained behind to look for it. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh continued ahead with the rest of the party and made camp at Nakhla.

"There a Quraysh caravan in which was ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍramī – Ibn Hishām commented that his full name was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbād, one of the Ṣadif – along with ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, and his brother Nawfal, along with al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān, the freed-man of Hishām b. al-Mughīra.

"When the caravan party saw them they were concerned because the Muslims had encamped near themselves. But ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan appeared before them,

having cut his hair.[52] When they saw him, they felt secure. 'Ammār told them, 'You don't need to worry about them.'

"The Companions consulted about how to treat them. They realized that if they were to leave them unharmed, that night they would enter sacred territory and be safe, but if they were to kill them they would be doing so on the last day of the sacred month of Rajab. They were undecided and ill at ease about attacking them.

"But then they encouraged one another to do so, deciding eventually to kill those they could and to seize their goods. And so Wāqid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī shot an arrow at 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī and killed him, 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh and al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān were taken prisoner, and Nawfal b. 'Abd Allāh evaded them and escaped. 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh and his men then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with the caravan and the two prisoners.

"Some of 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh's family maintain that 'Abd Allāh told his men, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is due one-fifth of what we have taken' and that he set this portion aside and divided up the rest between them. This was before the revelation came down concerning that fifth." When this revelation came down it was as 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh had divided it, as Ibn Isḥāq observed.

"When they reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he told them, 'I did not order you to kill anyone in the sacred month!' He suspended disposition of the caravan and the prisoners and refused to take any of it.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said this, the raiders were very worried and thought they were ruined, and their fellow Muslims criticized them harshly for what they had done. Quraysh said, 'Muḥammad and his men have made it lawful to use violence in the sacred month; they have shed blood and taken booty and seized prisoners during it.' Those Muslims in Mecca opposing Quraysh, however, maintained that the action had occurred in Sha'bān. Some Jews said, 'You must consider this an omen against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The killing of 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī by Wāqid b. 'Abd Allāh means as follows, "Amr' stands for '*'amarat al-ḥarb*', (i.e. 'war has spread'). 'Al-Ḥaḍramī' stands for '*ḥaḍarat al-ḥarb*', (i.e. 'war has come') '*Wāqid b. 'Abd Allāh*' stands for '*wuqidat al-ḥarb*', (i.e. 'war has been kindled'). God, however, turned this around against them.

"When people gossiped excessively about this, God Almighty sent down the following words to His Messenger (ṢAAS), "They will ask you about the sacred month, and about fighting in it. Say: 'fighting therein is a grave matter; but blocking off God's path and disbelief in Him and (hindering men from) the sacred mosque, and expelling its people from it, (all this) is extremely grave in God's view; and causing unrest is worse than killing. And they will not stop fighting you until they turn you from your religion, if they can!'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.217).

52. That is, as if he had just fulfilled the rites of the pilgrimage.

This means "Even if you have fought in the sacred month, they have blocked you from God's path by disbelieving in Him, and also by keeping you from the holy mosque and expelling you from it when you were of its people. This is more grave in God's view than your fighting those of them you did. For causing unrest is worse than killing. That is, they used to seduce Muslims from their religion, trying to return them to disbelief from faith. This was worse in God's view than the fighting. Their conduct was far worse and they were completely unrepentant. This is why God Almighty stated, 'They will not stop fighting you until they turn you from your religion, if they can!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When the Qurʾān was revealed about this and God had alleviated the concerns of the Muslims, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took possession of the caravan and the two prisoners. Quraysh then sought to provide ransom for ʿUthmān and al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'We will not release them to you until our two men come forth.' He was referring to Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and ʿUtba b. Ghazwān. 'We are concerned', he told them, 'about your treatment of them. If you kill them, we will kill your men.'

"Saʿd and ʿUtba then came forth, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ransomed them. Al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān accepted Islam and became a Muslim, remaining with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until he was killed, a martyr, at the battle of Biʾr Maʿūna. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh stayed in Mecca where he died an unbeliever."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh and his companions had been relieved of their anxiety when the revelation came in the Qurʾān, they sought reward. They asked, 'O Messenger of God, may we hope that this be considered an expedition for which we will be given reward as warriors for God's cause?' And so God revealed concerning them, 'Those who believe and those who have emigrated and those who have fought for God's cause, those persons may hope for the mercy of God, for God is merciful and forgiving' (*sūrat al-Baqara* II v.218). Through this God gave them very great hope."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The *ḥadīth* concerning this is from al-Zuhrī, and Yazīd b. Rūmān from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related, in his work on the military expeditions, from al-Zuhrī, a similar account, as did Shuʿayb from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa. Their account stated, "Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī was the first man killed in fighting between Muslims and polytheists."

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām stated, "He was the first person killed by the Muslims. And this was the first booty taken by the Muslims; ʿUthmān and al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān were the first prisoners taken by Muslims."

I comment that in his aforementioned report Imām Aḥmad quoted Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ as having said, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh was the first *amīr*, commander, appointed in Islam."

We have given in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) various testimonies, with their chains of authorities, in support of what Ibn Isḥāq recounted.

One such is what was reported by *al-ḥāfiẓ* Abū Muḥammad b. Abū Hatim, namely, "My father related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddimī, quoting al-Muʾtamir b. Sulaymān, quoting his father, quoting al-Ḥaḍramī, quoting from Abū al-Siwār, from Jundab b. ʿAbd Allāh, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth some men, having appointed Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ – or ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith – as their commander. But when he came to leave, he wept in longing for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and sat down. And so he apppointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh over them and wrote a letter to him, telling him not to read it until he reached a certain place. He told him, 'Do not force any of your men to proceed further with you.'

"When he read the letter, he spoke the words, 'We are God's and to Him do we return,' and said, 'To hear is to obey, both God and His Messenger.' He then told them what the letter contained. Two of their number then went back, while the rest stayed. They met up with Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and killed him, not knowing whether that day was in the month of Rajab or Jumādā. The polytheists told the Muslims, 'You have killed a man in the sacred month!' God then revealed, 'They will ask you about the sacred month, and about fighting during it. Say: fighting then is a grave matter'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.217).

Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī al-Kabīr stated in his exegesis, from Abū Mālik, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, and from Murra, from Ibn Masʿūd, from a group of the Companions regarding this verse, "They will ask you" that it referred to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having sent out a raiding party of seven men commanded by ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh. Among them were ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ʿUtba, Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, ʿUtba b. Ghazwān, Sahl b. Bayḍāʾ, ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra and Wāqid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yarbūʿī, an ally of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

(The narration states) "He wrote a letter for Ibn Jaḥsh and ordered him not to read it before he reached the Malal valley. When he arrived there he opened the letter. It told him to proceed on to the valley at Nakhla. He told his companions, 'Whoever desires death, let him proceed and appoint an executor; I have appointed one and am proceeding to carry out the orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

"He proceeded further and Saʿd and ʿUtba lost their mount and stayed behind to find it. Ibn Jaḥsh and his companions went on and encamped in the Nakhla valley. There they found al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān, al-Mughīra b. ʿUthmān and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughīra." His account then related how Wāqid killed ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍramī and how they went back with the booty and the two prisoners. This was the first booty taken by the Muslims. The polytheists said, "Muḥammad claims that he obeys God. Yet it is he who makes killing lawful in the holy month, having killed our man in Rajab.' The Muslims responded that it was in Jumādā that they had killed him."

Al-Suddī stated, "Their killing of him occurred in the first night of Rajab, and the last night of Jumādā al-Ākhira."

I observe, that perhaps Jumādā was yet unfinished, and they believed the month would last through the 30th night. The new moon however, was seen that night. But God knows best.

Al-ʿAwfī related it thus, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that it occurred on the last night of Jumādā, which was also the first of Rajab, but they were not aware of this.

This is also given above in the *ḥadīth* of Jandab that was related by Ibn Abū Ḥātim.

In the account of Ibn Isḥāq previously given it is stated that that was the last night of Rajab, and that they feared that if they did not take the booty and seize the opportunity the polytheists would go on into the holy territory and they would then be unable to proceed; they therefore acted in full knowledge of it.

The account of al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, is similar. Al-Bayhaqī related it too. But God alone knows which version is correct.

Al-Zuhrī quoted ʿUrwa as saying, "We have been informed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) paid the blood-money for Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and recognized the sacred nature of the holy month as he always had until God sent down his exemption." Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Bakr 'the Trusting' spoke verses about the raid led by ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh in response to the polytheists and the charges they had made about making killing permissible in the holy month." Ibn Hishām, however, attributed these verses to ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh.

> "You consider killing in the holy month as a grave
> matter, but there are graver matters to those who view
> aright:
> (like) Your rejection of what Muḥammad says and your
> disbelief in him, and God sees and knows all.
> And your expelling its people from God's temple so that
> no one may be seen there prostrating before Him,
> Even though you blame us for killing him, more damaging
> to Islam is the evil-doer and the envier.
> We slaked our lances on Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī at Nakhla when
> Wāqid set war alight in blood.
> While Ibn ʿAbd Allāh ʿUthmān is among us restrained by
> a strong leather strap."

Section: Concerning the change in the prayer direction in 2 AH before the battle of Badr.

Some authorities maintain that this occurred in Rajab of the second year of the hegira. Qatāda and Zayd b. Aslam stated this, in a tradition related from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Aḥmad related, from Ibn ʿAbbās, evidence supporting this and that is what is clearly implied by the account of al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, as will be shown. But God knows best. It is also said to date from Shaʿbān in that year.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, after his account of the raid conducted by ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, "It is said that the change in the direction of the prayer occurred in Shaʿbān, at the beginning of the 18th month following the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina."

Ibn Jarīr related this through al-Suddī with a chain of authorities from Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn Masʿūd and various Companions.

The great majority of scholars maintain that it was changed in fact in the middle of Shaʿbān, at the start of the 18th month following the hegira.

It was also related from Muḥammad b. Saʿd, on the authority of al-Wāqidī to the effect that it was changed on a Tuesday in mid-Shaʿbān, though there is some dispute about this. God knows best.

We argued against this, with evidence, in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) regarding the words of the Almighty, "We see you turning your face about in the sky and we shall provide you with a *qibla* that will please you. Turn your face towards the Sacred Mosque; wherever you may be, turn your face towards it. Those to whom the Book has been brought know that it is the truth from their Lord. And God is not unaware of what they do" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.144).

(My commentary also examines) the objections made both before and after the change by foolish Jews, hypocrites and low-down ignorant people, and their criticisms were because this was the first abrogation that occurred in Islam.

Regarding this, God had previously stated in the course of the Qurʾān the permissibility of making abrogation. He had stated, "Whatsoever verse we may cancel or cause to be forgotten we replace with one better or similar. Do you not know that God is capable of all things?" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.106).

Al-Bukhārī had stated, "Abū Nuʿaym related to us, (that he had) heard Zuhayr (say) from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed towards Jerusalem for 16 or 17 months, though it would have pleased him to have faced towards the *kaʿba*. He also said that the first time he worshipped towards it was during the *al-ʿaṣr* (late afternoon) prayer. Others were praying along with him at that time. Afterwards a man who had been with him there passed by some people in a mosque prostrated in prayer. He told them, 'I swear by God, I have prayed with the Prophet (ṢAAS) in the direction of Mecca.' They turned right then and there towards the *kaʿba*. We didn't know what to say about people who had died or been killed before the direction for prayer was changed. And so God sent down, 'God is not one to consider your prayer as valueless; God is merciful and kind towards people'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143).

Muslim related this from another path.

Ibn Abū Ḥātim stated, "Abū Zurʿa related to us, quoting al-Ḥasan b. ʿAṭiyya quoting Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said, 'The Messenger of

God (ṢAAS) had been praying towards Jerusalem for 16 or 17 months though he wanted to face towards the *kaʿba*. And so God sent down, "We see you turning your face about in the sky and we shall provide you with a *qibla* that will please you. Turn your face towards the Sacred Mosque" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.144). And so he did face towards the *kaʿba*.

"The foolish people – the Jews – asked 'What could it be that turned them from the prayer direction they had previously?' And so God sent down the verse, 'Say: To God belong both East and West; he guides whomever He wishes to the straight path'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.142).

In short, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to pray in Mecca towards Jerusalem, while the *kaʿba* was directly in front of him, so Imām Aḥmad related from Ibn ʿAbbās, God be pleased with him. And when he emigrated to Medina it was not possible for him to combine both and so he prayed towards Jerusalem immediately after his arrival there, keeping his back directed to the *kaʿba* for 16 or 17 months. This would require it to have been until Rajab of 2 AH. But God knows best.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wanted to change his prayer direction towards the *kaʿba*, the *qibla* of Abraham, and often prayed and entreated God, Almighty and Glorious is He, to allow this. In doing so, he would raise his hands and sight to the sky in supplication. And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed the words, "We see you turning your face about in the sky and we shall provide you with a *qibla* that will please you. Turn your face towards the Sacred Mosque."

When the order came down to change the direction of prayer, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to the Muslims and told them of this, as al-Nasāʾī related, from Abū Saʿīd b. al-Muʿallā, and this was at noon.

Some scholars say that the change was revealed between two prayers. Mujāhid and others stated this.

This is substantiated by what is given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from al-Barāʾ. Namely, that the first prayer he made in Medina towards the *kaʿba* was that of *al-ʿaṣr*.

It is strange that the people of Qubāʾ did not hear of this until the early morning prayer of the next day, as is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Ibn ʿUmar. He stated, "While the people in Qubāʾ were at the morning prayer someone came to them and said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has received tonight a Qurʾān revelation! He has been ordered to face the *kaʿba* in prayer, so you must too.' They had been facing towards Syria, but they now turned towards the *kaʿba*."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, from Anas b. Mālik there is a similar account.

What is shown here is that when the change in the direction of the prayer to the *kaʿba* was decreed, and God Almighty abrogated the direction of prayer towards Jerusalem, various fools and ignorant people made criticisms, asking "What was it that turned them away from the direction of prayer they had before?"

They said this even though the unbelieving "People of the Book"[53] well knew that the order came from God, since they recognized the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from the description of him given in their books, from the information there that Medina would be the place to which he would emigrate, and also that he would be ordered to face towards the *ka'ba* in his prayer. As God stated, "Those to whom the Book was brought know well that it is the truth from their Lord" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.144).

Despite all this, God Almighty responded to their question and mentioned them specificallly when He stated, "The fools will ask, 'What was it that turned them away from the direction of prayer they had before?' 'Say: To God belong both East and West; He guides whomever He wishes to the straight path'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.142). That is, He is the Lord, the Judge and Ruler of the Universe, whose decree no one can revise, He who does as He wishes with His creation, He who decrees whatever He wishes in His law, He who leads whomever He wishes to the straight path, misleading whomever He wishes away from the right road; in all that, His is the wisdom to which all must agree and accept.

Then the Almighty stated, "And thus We have made you an intermediate nation" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143). That is, the best "so that you may be witnesses to the people and have the Messenger be witness for you" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143). That is, just as We have chosen for you the best of directions for your prayer, having led you to the *qibla* of your father Abraham, father of the prophets, to which thereafter Moses and those messengers before him also turned. Likewise We have made you the best of nations, the very essence of the world, the most noble of all groups, the most honourable of the ancient and the high-born, so that you may be witnesses on Judgement Day against those who have combined against you, and so that they may give testimony on that day to your great virtue.

This is so substantiated in a *marfū'*[54] account in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukharī, from Abū Sa'īd, referring to Noah's testimony to this nation on Judgement Day. And if Noah should testify for them despite the fact of his own time having been so much before, then it is even more appropriate and proper a course for those after him.

God then mentioned His wisdom in sending his retribution to those who doubted and denied this reality, and His pleasure to those who believed and accepted this actuality. He said, "And We decreed the *qibla* you used to observe only to know who it is who follows the Messenger" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143).

Ibn 'Abbās commented, "That is, only to see those who follow the Messenger, and those who turn back upon their heels."

53. The term commonly applied to members of religions based upon Holy Books, most specifically to Jews and Christians.

54. A term denoting a tradition traceable in ascending order of traditionaries directly to the Prophet.

And "even though this was a grave matter" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143). That is, even though this matter was difficult and of great impact and importance, except for those guided by God. For they had full faith and belief in it, and were without doubt or uncertainty, but rather were satisfied, had faith and took action, for they were obedient to the Great Ruler, the Mighty and All-Powerful, the Patient and All-Knowing, the Gracious and Omniscient.

And God's words, "God is not one to consider your prayer as valueless" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143). That is, by His decision regarding facing towards Jerusalem and prayer towards it, (for) "God is merciful and kind towards people" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143).

The accounts and proofs of this are very numerous and would take long to ennumerate; this issue is examined in the exegesis and we will include additional comments thereupon in our work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr* (*The Major Statutes*).

Imām Aḥmad recounted quoting ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim, quoting Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿAmr b. Qays, from Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, in regards to the 'People of the Book', that is, 'They envy us for nothing so much as for our Friday to which God led us, but they erred from it, the *qibla* that God guided us to while they strayed, and our saying "Amen" after the Imām.'"

Section: On the institution of the fasting month of Ramaḍān in 2 AH, before the battle of Badr.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "It was in that year that fasting for the month of Ramaḍān was made obligatory. It is also said that it was declared obligatory in Shaʿbān of that year. It is related, moreover, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina, he found that the Jews were fasting for the day of ʿĀshūrā'. He asked them about it and they told him, 'This was the day when God rescued Moses.' He replied, 'But we have a greater claim to Moses than you do!' So he fasted it and told his people to do so too."

This *ḥadīth* is firmly substantiated in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from Ibn ʿAbbās.

God Almighty stated, "O believers, fasting has been prescribed for you as it was for those who preceded you, so that you may be properly pious. (It shall be) for a specific number of days. Those of you who are ill or travelling (shall fast) a different number of days. And those with the means to do so may redeem this by feeding a poor person. And whoever does more good than he is bound to do does good unto himself thereby; for you to fast is better for you, if only you knew it. It was the month of Ramaḍān in which the Qur'ān was revealed, as a guidance to man, and as clear proof of guidance and of the differentiation (between good and evil). Whoever of you are present that month, let them fast it; whoever is sick or travelling should fast a (like) number of other days" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.183–5).

We have written at sufficient length on this in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), giving those *aḥadīth* and related evidences relevant to it, along with the regulations arising therefrom. And all praise be to God.

Imām Aḥmad has stated, "Abū al-Naḍr related to us, quoting al-Mas'ūdī, quoting 'Amr b. Murra from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, from Mu'ādh b. Jabal, who said, 'The prayer underwent three changes and fasting underwent three changes.' He referred to those respecting prayer, then went on, 'Regarding the changes in fasting, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina, he began fasting three days each month, and he also fasted 'Āshūrā'.

"'Then God made fasting incumbent upon him and sent down the words, "O believers, fasting has been prescribed for you as it was for those who preceded you" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.183), and so on to the words, "And those with the means to do so may redeem this by feeding a poor person" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.184). As a result, those who wished to fast did so, while those who preferred to feed a poor person did so, and that was considered sufficient for them. Then God sent down another verse, "the month of Ramaḍān in which the Qur'ān was revealed" up to the words "whoever of you are present that month, let them fast it" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.185). This firmly prescribed fasting for those who were at home and healthy, and exempted those who were sick or travelling. It also established that the elderly unable to fast should be fed. These, then, were two changes.'"

(Mu'ādh b. Jabal) then said "Thereafter people would eat, drink and go to their women before retiring to bed; after retiring for sleep they would refrain from these. One Helper, however, a man named Ṣirma, once fasted while working until evening, went home to his family, performed the evening prayer and then retired without eating or drinking before the next morning, when he again began fasting. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him under great strain and so he asked him, 'How is it I see you under such great stress?' So he informed him.

He went on, "'Umar was in the habit of having sexual relations even after he had slept a while and he came to the Messenger of God and told him this. And so God sent down, 'It is lawful for you to visit your wives on the night of the fast; they are as apparel for you' and so on, to the words, 'and then complete the fast till the night' (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.187)."

Abū Dā'ūd related this in his work, *Al-Sunan al-Mustadrak*, as did al-Ḥākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* quoting a *ḥadīth* of al-Mas'ūdī in similar terms.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī from 'Urwa which quotes 'Ā'isha as saying, "'Āshūrā' was fasted until fasting in Ramaḍān was made obligatory. Thereafter, those who wished to continue with the fast (of 'Āshūrā') did so, while those who wished not to refrained." A similar account is given by al-Bukhārī from Ibn 'Umar and Ibn Mas'ūd."

This subject is examined in another section of the exegesis as well as in my work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr* (*The Major Statutes*). God is the source of all aid.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "In that year people were commanded to give the *zakāt al-fiṭr*.[55] It is said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressed the people ordering this a day or two before the *ʿid al-fiṭr*".[56]

He also stated, "In that same year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said the *ṣalāt al-ʿid* prayers for the first time and conducted the people to the *muṣallā*.[57] They set out in front of him carrying the *ḥarba*, a spearhead, that had belonged to Zubayr to whom it had been presented by the Negus. It would be carried forth before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on feast days."

I comment, and it was this year too, as several later authorities have reported, that the payment of *zakāt* alms was prescribed. Details of all this will be given following the account of the battle of Badr, if God wills it, and in Him is all confidence and reliance. And there is no power nor strength except in God, the All-High and Almighty.

THE GREAT BATTLE OF BADR; THE DAY OF THE FURQĀN, *THE DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN GOOD AND EVIL, THE DAY THE TWO HOSTS MET.*

God Almighty stated, "God gave you assistance at Badr when you were weak; fear God then, and may you give Him thanks" (*sūrat al-ʿImrān*; III, v.123). He also said, "Even as your Lord sent you forth from your house with the truth, a faction of the believers were indeed reluctant. They disputed with you over the truth even after it had become clear, as if being led to death while they watched. And (remember) when God promised you that one of the two parties would be yours, and you wished that, for you, it would be the one that was unarmed, but God wished to fulfil the truth by His words and wipe the unbelievers out to the last. This was to fulfil the truth and to nullify falsehood, even if the evil-doers disliked this" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.5–8).

We have discussed this in our exegesis of this *sūrat*. Here we will give reference appropriate to each passage.

Ibn Isḥāq, God bless him, stated, after giving his account of the expedition led by ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh: "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then heard that Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb was arriving from Syria with a great Quraysh caravan consisting of money and goods, as well as 30 or 40 men, who included Makhrama b. Nawfal and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, from al-Zuhrī, that this was two months after the killing of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī. He also said that the caravan consisting of 1,000 camels carried property belonging to all of Quraysh except for Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, and that this was why he was not present at Badr.

55. An obligatory donation given annually during the month of Ramaḍān.
56. The feast marking the end of the fasting of Ramaḍān.
57. A building or area set aside solely for prayer.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb, ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and others of our scholars, from Ibn ʿAbbās, each of these having related to me a part of this *ḥadīth* which I have joined together in the following account about Badr. They said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard that Abū Sufyān was arriving from Syria, he sent the Muslims out against them, saying, 'This caravan belongs to Quraysh, and will carry much wealth. Attack it; God may present it to you.'

"The men got ready, some pleased, others apprehensive because they had not thought the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would make war. When Abū Sufyān approached Ḥijāz he sought information from each mounted man he encountered since he was concerned what might develop. Eventually he received news from some travellers that Muḥammad had readied a force of men against him and his caravan. This alarmed Abū Sufyān and he commissioned Ḍamḍam b. ʿAmr al-Ghifārī, sending him on to Mecca with orders to go to Quraysh and get them to prepare for battle to save their property, by telling them that Muḥammad and his men were about to attack it. Ḍamḍam b. ʿAmr raced into Mecca to do so."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "An unimpeachable source related to me, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās and Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr as follows: ʿĀtika, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had, three nights prior to the arrival of Ḍamḍam, a dream that had terrified her. She sent for her brother al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and told him, 'Last night, brother, I swear I had a vision that really scared me. I'm concerned that because of it some harm might come to you or your people, so please keep confidential for me what I'm about to tell you.'

"'What was it you saw?' he asked.

"She replied, 'I saw a man arrive mounted on a camel who came to a halt in the valley then shouted out at the top of his voice, "Come forth to your deaths in three days hence, you people of perfidy!" I saw people gather around him. He then entered the mosque, with the people following. While they were there around him, his camel took him to the top of the *kaʿba*. Once there he called out as before: "Come forth to your deaths in three days, you people of perfidy!" His camel next took him up to the top of Mt. Abū Qubays where he shouted the same. Then he picked up a rock, flung it away and it came on down, bursting into fragments when it reached the bottom of the mountain. And no one house or building in Mecca escaped being pierced by one of its fragments.'

"Al-ʿAbbās told her, 'That was some vision! Keep quiet about it. Don't tell anyone!'

"Al-ʿAbbās then went off and met with al-Walīd b. ʿUtba, who was a friend of his, told him of it and asked him to keep it confidential. Thereafter al-Walīd told it to his son ʿUtba, and so soon the story was spread all about and all Quraysh were discussing it.

"Al-ʿAbbās said, 'I arose early to circumambulate the *kaʿba* and there was Abū Jahl b. Hishām sitting with a group of Quraysh leaders discussing ʿĀtika's

dream. When Abū Jahl saw me, he said, "Abū al-Faḍl, why don't you come and join us when you finish your circumambulation?" When I had finished I went over to him and sat down among them. Abū Jahl then asked me, "How long has your family of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had this prophetess?" "How do you mean?" I asked. "I'm talking about the visions ʿĀtika saw," he replied. "What were they?" I enquired. He responded, "Aren't you ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalibs satisfied with having your men become prophets? Has it got to be your women too? ʿĀtika claims that in her vision a man said, 'Come forth in three days!' We're going to watch you closely for these three days and if what you say is true, so be it. But if three days pass with nothing happening, then we'll judge you the biggest liars of all the temple-worshippers among the Arabs!"'

"Al-ʿAbbās commented, 'I swear, I've never had any problem with him before. All I did was repudiate what he said and deny that she had seen anything.'

"He went on, 'We then parted company. That night every woman of the ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib clan came to see me and said, "Have you agreed to let that dirty old reprobate attack first your men and then your womenfolk while you just listened? Didn't anything you heard him say offend you?" I replied, "I would have done something, but I never had a problem with him before. I swear I will confront him and if he repeats it, I'll take care of him for you!"'

"He went on, 'On the morning of the third day after ʿĀtika's vision, I was extremely angry, feeling I had let him get away with something I should have put a stop to. I went into the mosque and saw him. I swear I was making towards him to confront him to get him to retract what he had said – he was a slight man, with a face, voice and gaze that were all sharp – when he hurried off towards the door of the mosque. I asked myself what could be the matter with the fellow, and whether he was doing this because he feared I was about to confront him. But he had heard something I had not – the voice of Ḍamḍam b. ʿAmr al-Ghifārī who was out in the centre of the valley, standing by his camel. He had lopped its ears and turned its saddle back to front, rent his shirt and was yelling, "O Quraysh! The baggage camels! The baggage camels! Your goods being brought by Abū Sufyān have been waylaid by Muḥammad and his men! I don't think you can save them! Help! Help!"'

"Ibn ʿAbbās concluded, 'And so all this diverted us both from our personal conflict.

"'"The Meccans then made quick preparations commenting, "Do Muḥammad and his men think it's going to turn out as it did with the raid on the caravan of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī? No way! By God, they'll find out differently!"'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related the vision of ʿĀtika in much the same terms as did Ibn Isḥāq. He stated, "And when Ḍamḍam b. ʿAmr spoke in this fashion the Meccans were very worried about ʿĀtika's vision and went forth to battle feeling insecure and fearing the worst."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Meccans used to respond in two ways. They either went forth themselves or sent another in their place. Not one of their leaders

stayed behind now, except for Abū Lahab b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; he sent al-ʿĀṣī b. al-Mughīra in his place. He hired him for a debt of 4,000 dirhams al-ʿĀṣī owed him that he could not pay."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ibn Abū Najīḥ related to me that Umayya b. Khalaf had made up his mind to stay behind; he was a dignified old sheikh, tall and portly. ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayṭ came up to him, while he was sitting there in the mosque with some of his family, carrying a censer with lit scented embers which he placed before him, saying, 'Here, Abū ʿAlī, enjoy the perfume! You're just a woman!'

"Umayya responded, 'God damn you, and what you bring!' He then got himself ready and left with the others."

This, then, is the anecdote as given by Ibn Isḥāq. Al-Bukhārī told it quite differently. He stated, "Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān related to me, quoting Shurayḥ b. Maslama, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf, from his father, from Abū Isḥāq quoting ʿAmr b. Maymūn, that he heard ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd relate the following from Saʿd b. Muʿādh. Saʿd recounted that he was a friend of Umayya b. Khalaf and that when Umayya visited Medina he would stay with him, just as Saʿd would stay with Umayya when he came to Mecca.

"After the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had moved to Medina, Saʿd went to stay with Umayya in Mecca while performing the *ʿumra*, the 'lesser pilgrimage'. Saʿd asked Umayya, 'Would you look out for me some time when it's empty there and I can circumambulate the *kaʿba*?' Umayya accompanied him forth at close to midday, but they were met by Abū Jahl, who said, '(Abū) Ṣafwān, who is this with you?' He replied, 'This is Saʿd.' Abū Jahl said (to Saʿd) 'What's this? Do I really see you going in safety around Mecca when you've given shelter to the Sabians and proclaimed your help and protection for them? I swear, if you weren't in the company of Abū Ṣafwān you'd not return home safely!'

"Saʿd replied, raising his voice, 'If you were to block my way here I'd do worse to you by blocking yours to Medina!'

"Umayya asked him, 'Saʿd, don't raise your voice to Abū al-Ḥakam; he is the leader of our valley.'

"Saʿd responded, 'Let's talk no more of it; and, I swear, I've heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say that they are going to kill you!' Umayya asked, 'In Mecca?' Saʿd replied, 'I don't know.'

"Umayya was very much afraid at this.

"When he returned home he asked his wife, 'Umm Ṣafwān, do you know what Saʿd told me?' 'What did he say?' she asked. 'He claims that Muḥammad told them they would kill me! I asked him whether in Mecca, and he said he didn't know. So, I swear, I'm not leaving Mecca,' Umayya told her.

"When the day of the battle of Badr arrived, Abū Jahl assembled the Meccan force by asking them to save their caravan. Umayya did not want to go to battle, but Abū Jahl came to him and said, 'Abū Ṣafwān, when people see that you are staying behind, you, one of the valley leaders, they will remain with you.'

"Abū Jahl kept on at him until Umayya responded, 'You win! I'll purchase the finest camel in Mecca!'

"He then told his wife, 'Umm Ṣafwān, get my equipment ready!' 'But have you forgotten what your Yathrib friend told you?' 'No,' he replied, 'I only want to go a little way with them.'

"After leaving, Umayya tied up his camel at every stop they made, right on up to Badr, where God took his life."

Al-Bukhārī also told this elsewhere, on the authority of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, that account being similar.

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this.

Imām Aḥmad related it from Khalaf b. al-Walīd, from Abū Saʿīd, both of them quoting Isrāʾīl. In Isrāʾīl's account Umayya's wife commented, "I swear, Muḥammad never lies."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When they had gathered their equipment and were assembled to depart, Quraysh remembered the dispute they had with the Banū Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna. They expressed fear that they might attack their rear. This quarrel related to a son of Ḥafṣ b. al-Akhyaf of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy who had been killed by a man of the Banū Bakr, on the orders of ʿĀmir b. Yazīd b. ʿĀmir b. al-Mulawwaḥ. His brother Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ took revenge for him, killing ʿĀmir by plunging his sword into his stomach.

"He then brought the sword by night and hung it up in the curtains of the *kaʿba*. Quraysh therefore feared the Banū Bakr for what had occurred between them."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, 'When Quraysh were ready to leave they remembered their problem with the Banū Bakr and that almost diverted them. But *Iblīs*, Satan, appeared to them in the form of Surāqa b. Mālik b. Juʿsham al-Mudlijī, one of the nobles of the Banu Kināna. He told them, "I will give you protection against Kināna attacking you from your rear." They therefore hurried away to battle.'"

I observe that this illustrates the words of the Almighty, "Do not be like those who left their homes exulting and showing off before men, blocking people from the way of God, for God was aware of what they were doing. And when the devil made their works look good to them, he said, 'No one will overcome you today; I will be your protector.' But when the two factions met he turned on his heels, saying, 'I am quit of you; I see what you do not see. I fear God! God is fierce in punishing.'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.47–8).

He, God curse him, deceived them, so that they left, with him following behind them, stage by stage, bringing his troops and his banners with him, as several of them reported. And so he delivered them to their deaths. When he saw the strife, and the angels coming down to help and sighted Gabriel, he turned on his heels and said, "I am quit of you; I see what you do not see. I fear God!"

This is similar to the words of God Almighty, "like the devil, when he says to man, 'Disbelieve!' and when man disbelieves, he says, 'I am quit of you; I fear God, the Lord of the worlds'" (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.16).

And God Almighty said, "And say: 'The truth has come; and falsehood has vanished; falsehood is ever bound to vanish'" (*sūrat Banū Isrā'īl* or *al-Isrā'*; XVII, v.81).

And so when Satan, God damn him, on that day saw the angels descend to give victory, he fled. He was the first to flee, though he had been the chief encourager and helper of Quraysh, deceiving them and making them false promises. Satan's promises were only to mislead.

Yūnus stated, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, "Quraysh went forth with a sense of anxiety and weakness. They consisted of 950 warriors led by 200 cavalry. They had slave girls with them striking tambourines and chanting invective against the Muslims."

He lists day by day those providing food for the Quraysh force.

Al-Umawī stated, "The first person to slaughter for them following their departure from Mecca was Abū Jahl. He slaughtered ten camels. At ʿAsfān Umayya b. Khalaf slaughtered nine, and Suhayl b. ʿAmr ten more at Qadīd. At Qadīd they turned off to the wells in the direction of the sea coast and remained a day there. Shayba b. Rabīʿa slaughtered nine more for them. Next morning they reached al-Juḥfa, where ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa slaughtered ten and the next morning, at al-Abwā', Nubīh and Munbih, two sons of al-Ḥajjāj slaughtered ten. Next, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib slaughtered ten, and Abū al-Bakhtarī ten more at the well at Badr. They then ate from their provisions."

Al-Umawī stated, "My father related to us, quoting Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, as follows, 'The polytheists had with them 60 horses and 600 coats of mail, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had with him 2 horses and 60 coats of mail.

This, then, was how they left Mecca and moved towards Badr.

Regarding the activities of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved out with his men several days after the start of Ramaḍān. He appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm to lead the people in prayer and he sent back Abū Lubāba from al-Rawḥā' to administer Medina.

"He entrusted the banner, which was white, to Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, while he was preceded by two black flags one, called *al-ʿUqāb*, the standard, carried by ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, the other borne by one of the Helpers."

Ibn Hishām stated that the Helpers' flag was carried by Saʿd b. Muʿādh. Al-Umawī said it was with al-Khabbāb b. al-Mundhir.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Qays b. Abū Ṣaʿṣaʿa, a brother of the Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār, over the rear guard."

Al-Umawī said that they had two horses, on one of which rode Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, and on the other al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. Saʿd b. Khaythama had charge of the right flank, al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad that of the left.

Imām Aḥmad recounted, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Isḥāq, from Ḥāritha b. Maḍrab, who quoted ʿAlī as saying, "The only horseman we had at Badr was al-Miqdād."

Al-Bayhaqī related, through Ibn Wahb, from Abū Sakhb, from Abū Muʿāwiya al-Balkhī, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that ʿAlī told him, "We only had two horses with us – that of al-Zubayr and that of al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad." He was referring to the battle of Badr.

Al-Umawī stated, "My father related to us, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from al-Taymī, who said, 'At the battle of Badr the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had with him two horsemen, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām on the right flank, al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad on the left."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "They had with them 70 camels they would ride in turn. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shared one with ʿAlī and Marthad b. Abū Marthad, while Ḥamza and Zayd b. Ḥāritha, along with Abū Kabsha and Anisa, two freedmen of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), took turns with another."

This is what Ibn Isḥāq stated, may God Almighty have mercy on him.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Affān related to us, from Ḥammād b. Salama, ʿĀṣim b. Bahdala related to us, from Zirr b. Ḥubaysh, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, who said, 'At Badr we were three to a camel. Abū Lubāba and ʿAlī were the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He also said, 'They were the ones taking turns riding with him, and they told him, "Let us walk." He replied, "You are no stronger than me; nor can I dispense with the reward more than you can."'"

Al-Nasāʾī recounted this, from al-Fallās, from Ibn Mahdī, from Ḥammād b. Salama.

I would comment that this might have been before Abū Lubāba was sent back from al-Rawḥāʾ, and that it was thereafter that he shared with ʿAlī and Marthad instead of Abū Lubāba. But God knows best.

The Imām Aḥmad stated, "Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to us, quoting Saʿīd, from Qatāda, from Zurāra b. Abū Awfā, from Saʿd b. Hishām, from ʿĀʾisha, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that the bells be cut off the necks of the camels at the battle of Badr."

This line of transmission accords with the criteria of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. However, al-Nasāʾī recounted it from Abū al-Ashʿath, from Khālid b. al-Ḥārith, from Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatāda.

Our teacher, the *ḥāfiẓ* Sheikh al-Mizzī, stated in *al-Aṭraf* (*The Extremes*): "It was Saʿīd b. Bishr who quoted directly from Qatāda. And also Hishām gave it from Qatāda, from Zurāra, from Abū Hurayra." But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from ʿUqayl, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, who quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb as reporting, "I heard Kaʿb b. Mālik say, 'The only expedition in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) participated, that I did not attend, except for the raid on Tabūk, was the battle of Badr. And God did not reproach anyone who stayed behind from it. Because when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth on it he was heading for the Quraysh

caravan; God, however, brought the Muslims into contact with their enemies unexpectedly.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his way out towards Mecca via the upper part of Medina. His path then led by al-'Aqīq, Dhū al-Ḥulayfa and Ūlāt al-Jaysh. From there he passed by Turbān, Malal, Ghamīs al-Ḥamām, Ṣukhayrāt al-Yamāma, al-Sayyāla, Fajj al-Rawḥā' and Shunūka, this being the direct route.

"Arriving at 'Irq al-Ẓabiyya he met a bedouin. They asked him about other people, but received no news from him. The Muslims told him, 'Pay your respects to the Messenger of God! (ṢAAS).' The man asked, 'Do you have the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) among you?' 'Yes,' they replied. The man then did greet him, but asked, 'If you're the Messenger of God, then tell me what is inside the belly of this female camel of mine.' Salama b. Salāma b. Waqsh responded, 'Don't you put questions to the Messenger of God! (ṢAAS). Come on over to me, and I'll tell you that. You mounted her and so she has a little goat inside her belly from you!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'You've used obscene language to the man!' He then turned away from Salama.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a halt at Sajsaj, where there is the well of al-Rawḥā', and proceeded on to al-Munṣaraf, where he left the Mecca road which goes to the left and took that to the right, towards al-Nāziyya, heading for Badr. He continued on this path for some way, crossing a valley called Ruḥqān, between al-Nāziyya and the al-Ṣafrā' pass. He crossed through the pass, then emerged from it and continued to near al-Ṣafrā'. From there he sent Basbas b. 'Amr al-Juhanī, an ally of the Banū Sā'ida, and 'Adī b. Abū al-Zaghbā', an ally of the Banū al-Najjār, on to Badr to seek any news of Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb and his caravan."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated that he had dispatched them both before he left Medina and that when they returned and reported on the status of the caravan, he sent people ahead to it.

If what both Mūsā b. 'Uqba and Ibn Isḥāq stated is correct, then he sent them forward twice. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq, God bless him, went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded ahead and approached al-Ṣafrā', a village set between two mountains. He asked what were the names of the two mountains and was told that one was called Musliḥ and the other Mukhri'. He then asked about the people living on them and they were named as the Banū al-Nār and the Banū Ḥurāq, two sub-tribes of Ghifār. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not like these names, thinking them an ill-omen,[58] and so he left them and al-Ṣafrā' to his left, making his way along a valley called Dhafirān. Having gone through it, he made camp."

58. The words *musliḥ* and *mukhri'* can both be interpreted as "he who defecates"; *al-nār* means fire, and *ḥurāq* means conflagration.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "There he received the news that Quraysh had set out to protect their caravan.

"He told his men about this, and asked their opinion.

"Abū Bakr arose and spoke, giving good advice.

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb arose and spoke, giving good advice.

"Al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr then got up and said, 'Carry on as ever God tells you, O Messenger of God. We are with you. We will certainly not say to you what the people of Israel said to Moses – that is, "You and your Lord go and fight together; we are staying here!" Rather, (we say) you and your Lord go and fight together, and we will fight along with you! By Him who sent you with the truth, if you were to take us even to Bark al-Ghimād,[59] we would fight with you all over the place until you reached it!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) expressed his appreciation and blessed him. He then said, 'Now you advise me, men!' He was really addressing the Helpers, because they were the majority and because, when they had given him allegiance at al-ʿAqaba they had told him, 'We are free of responsibility for you until you reach our territory. When you join us, you will be under our protection, and we will then protect you as we do our own sons and women.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was therefore apprehensive that they would feel obliged to help him only against those enemies attacking him in Medina, and that they had no duty to proceed against an enemy beyond their lands.

"When he said this, Saʿd b. Muʿādh responded, 'Is it us you are asking, O Messenger of God?' When he said that it was, Saʿd affirmed, 'We do believe in you and bear witness that you bring the truth. We have given you our oaths and agreement to listen to and to obey all your commands. Proceed as ever you decide, for we are with you. I swear, if you were to plunge into the sea, we would do so with you, not one of us would remain behind. We would have no reluctance to accompany you in confronting our enemy tomorrow. We are stoic in battle, trustworthy in the fray. Let us hope that God will give you pleasure in us. Go forward with God's blessings!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was delighted with Saʿd's words and they spurred him on. He then said, 'Go forward in good spirits! God has promised me I shall take one of the two parties. I swear by God I feel I can already see their destruction!'"

This was how Ibn Isḥāq, God have mercy on him, related it. And there are various testimonies to it.

One such is what al-Bukhārī related in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. He stated that, "Abū Nuʿaym related to him, quoting Isrāʾīl, from Mukhāriq, from Ṭāriq b. Shihāb, who quoted Ibn Masʿūd as having said, 'I witnessed a scene involving al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad such as to make me more his friend than I would have

59. Apparently the reference is to a place some five days' journey away from Mecca towards Yemen; presumably the name is used to imply a distant and inaccessible place.

been from what was reported of him. He went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was praying against the polytheists. Al-Miqdād said, "We will not say as Mūsā's people did to him, 'You go off with your Lord and fight along with Him; we're staying here!' Instead, we will fight on your right and your left, and in front of you and behind you!"'

"(Ibn Masʿūd went on) 'At that I saw the face of the Prophet (ṢAAS) light up in delight.'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gave this; Muslim did not. The former related it several places in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from a *ḥadīth* of Mukhāriq. Al-Nasā'ī also recounted it from his *ḥadīth*; his version states, "At the battle of Badr, Miqdād rode a horse." He then related it.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿUbayda related it to us, he being the son of Ḥumayd, from Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sought advice concerning going to battle at Badr. First Abū Bakr gave him advice and again he sought it from all. Then ʿUmar gave him advice and again he sought it. One of the Helpers observed, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wants your advice, O Helpers.'

"One of them said, 'Well, O Messenger of God, we'll not speak as the people of Israel did to Moses, that is, "Go off with your Lord and fight; we're staying here!" If you were to race all the way to Bark al-Ghimād, we'd follow you!'"

Two-thirds of this chain of authorities meets the conditions for being considered *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic".

Aḥmad also stated, "ʿAffān related to us, quoting Ḥammād, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sought advice when he learned of the approach of Abū Sufyān. Abū Bakr spoke, and he turned away from him. Then ʿUmar spoke, and he turned away from him. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda then said, 'It's to us the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is wanting to respond. By Him in whose hand is my soul, if you were to order us to plunge into the sea we would do so. And if you told us to race all the way to Bark al-Ghimād we would do so.'

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) urged his men forward.

"They set off and reached Badr. People came to them with reports of Quraysh, and one of these was a black youth of the Banū al-Ḥajjāj whom they captured. The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him about Abū Sufyān and those men with him. He would respond, 'I have no knowledge of Abū Sufyān. But it was Abū Jahl b. Hisham, ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa and Umayya b, Khalaf.' When he said this they beat him. When they did so, he would then say, 'Yes, I will tell you! It was Abū Sufyān.' When they let him go and asked him, he said, 'I have no knowledge of Abū Sufyān. But it was Abū Jahl, ʿUtba, Shayba and Umayya.' When he said this too, they would beat him.

"Meanwhile the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was standing there praying. When he saw this scene, he left, saying, 'By Him who holds my soul in His hands, you beat him when he speaks the truth, and you leave him alone if he lies!"

"He went on, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "This is the place where so and so shall fall. He then placed his hands on the ground here and here." And no one effaced the place where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had placed his hand.'"

Muslim related this from Abū Bakr, from ʿAffān in a similar form.

Ibn Abū Ḥātim related in his *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), as did Ibn Mardawayh, and the wording is his, through ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Aslam, from Abū ʿImrān, who said he had heard Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, while we were in Medina, 'I have received information that Abū Sufyān's caravan is approaching. Do you want us to go out against it in the hope that God will grant it to us as booty?' We replied, 'Yes.'

"'And so he went forth as did we too. When we had travelled for a day or two, he asked us, "What should we do about their force? They have been informed of our advance." We replied, "No; we just don't have the strength to do battle with them. We came seeking the caravan."

"'Again he asked what we thought of engaging them in battle and we replied as before."

"'Then al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr arose and said, "In such case we would not say to you what Moses' people told him – that is, 'You and your Lord can go off and fight; we're staying here.'"

"'We wished that our people, the "Helpers", had spoken as al-Miqdād had done, preferring that to great wealth. And then God the Almighty and Glorious made revelation to His Messenger, with the words, "just as your Lord brought you forth from your house with the truth. A group of the believers are reluctant"'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.5).

He then related the rest of the *ḥadīth* as above.

Ibn Mardawayh also related, through Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. ʿAlqama b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to Badr and, having gone as far as al-Rawḥāʾ, there he addressed his force. 'What do you think?' he asked them. Abū Bakr replied, 'O Messenger of God, we have heard that they are so-on and so-forth.' Again he asked them what they thought, and ʿUmar responded as Abū Bakr had done. But he asked a third time what they thought.

"Saʿd b. Muʿādh then asked him, 'O Messenger of God, is it us you ask? By Him who honoured you and sent down the Book to you, I've never travelled this road before and so have no knowledge of it. But if you were to travel on to Bark al-Ghimād, in Yemen, we'd accompany you. We'll not be like those who told Moses, "Go off with your Lord and fight; we're staying here." Instead, you go off with your Lord and fight, and we will follow you. And if you proceeded for one purpose and God gave you another, then recognize what God has charged you with and proceed. Make or break with whomever you wish, make war or peace with whomever you wish, and take from our wealth whatever you wish.'"

There was a revelation in the Qur'ān concerning Saʿd's words, "Just as your Lord brought you forth from your home with the truth. A group of the believers are reluctant" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII. v.5).

Al-Umawī related this in his work on the military expeditions and he added, after his words, "and take from our wealth whatever you wish" the phrase "and give us what you wish. And what you take from us will be dearer to us than what you have left. Whatever orders you give us we will follow completely. And, I swear, if you were to go on until you reached al-Bark of Ghamdān, we would go with you."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) travelled on from Dhafrān and traversed the passes called al-Aṣāfir. From there he went down to a town called al-Dābba, leaving al-Ḥannān on his right. This is a huge sandhill, like a mountain, and from there he went on down to near Badr. He and another man then rode on further."

Ibn Hishām stated that this man was Abū Bakr.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "This was related to me by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabbān. They went on and finally stopped near an old bedouin sheikh. He asked him about Quraysh and about Muḥammad and his Companions and what news he had of them. The old man replied, 'I'll not tell you until you tell me to whom you belong.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'You tell us and we'll tell you.' The sheikh asked, 'This for that?' 'Yes,' he agreed.

"The old man then said, 'I have been told that Muḥammad and his Companions left on such and such a day. And if the person who told me this spoke the truth, then today they should be at such and such a place.' This was the name of the very place where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) actually was. 'And,' he went on, 'I was told that Quraysh left on day so-and-so. And if the person who told me this spoke the truth, then today they should be at such-and-such.' This was the place where Quraysh then were.

"When he had finished his report, he asked, 'And who are you?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'We are from *mā'*, "water".' He then left. As he did so the old man was asking, 'What's that about *mā'*? You mean you're from the *mā'*, the water, of Iraq?'"

Ibn Hishām said that this man's name was Sufyān al-Ḍamrī.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to his Companions. That evening he dispatched ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, along with a number of his men, to the well at Badr to seek news; it was Yazīd b. Rūmān who told me this, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr.

"They came across a watering-party of Quraysh among whom were Aslam, a youth of the Banū al-Ḥajjāj, along with ʿArīḍ Abū Yasār, a youth of the Banū al-ʿĀṣ b. Saʿīd. They brought them back and questioned them, while the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was standing praying. The youths told them they were water carriers sent to bring them water.

"The Muslim force disliked what they said and, believing they were under the command of Abū Sufyān, beat them. After they had been severely beaten, the youths said that they were from Abū Sufyān. The Muslims then released them.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) bowed and prostrated in prayer twice and said, 'When they spoke the truth you beat them and when they lied you released them! They did speak the truth, by God. They are of Quraysh. Now, you two, tell me about Quraysh!' They responded, 'They are beyond that sandhill you can see over on the far side of the valley.' That sandhill was called al-ʿAqanqal.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them, 'How many men do they have?' 'Very many,' they replied. 'How many in number?' he asked. 'We don't know,' they answered. 'How many camels do they slaughter each day?' he next asked. 'Some days nine, others ten,' they told him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) concluded, 'So their force must be between 900 and 1000 men.'

"He then asked them, 'What Quraysh nobles do they have among them?'

"They replied, 'ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, Shayba b. Rabīʿa, Abū al-Bukhtarī b. Hishām, Ḥākim b. Ḥizām, Nawfal b. Khuwaylid, al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. Nawfal, Ṭuʿayma b. ʿAdī b. Nawfal, al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith, Zamʿa b. al-Aswad, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, Umayya b. Khalaf, Nabīh and Munabbih, two sons of al-Ḥajjāj, Suhayl b. ʿAmr and ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to his men and told them, 'This Mecca has thrown at you slices of its very liver!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Basbas b. ʿAmr and ʿAdī b. Abū al-Zaghbāʾ had gone on ahead to Badr and halted at a hill near the well. They then took a water-skin they had and went to fetch water. Majdī b. ʿAmr al-Juhanī was there at the well and ʿAdī and Basbas heard two girls from the village laying claims on the water. The one under obligation was saying to her companion, 'The caravan will arrive tomorrow or the day after. I will work for them, then pay you what I owe you.' Majdī answered, 'You are right.' He then made a settlement between them.

"ʿAdī and Basbas overheard that, mounted their camels and left, riding back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and telling him what they heard.

"Abū Sufyān led the caravan cautiously ahead to the well and asked Majdī b. ʿAmr, 'Did you see anyone?' He replied, 'I saw no one suspicious, except for two riders who dismounted over at that hill, took water in a skin they had, then left.'

"Abū Sufyān made his way to where they had dismounted and picked up some of the droppings of their camels, broke it up and found it contained date-stones. He then said, 'I swear this is from feed of Yathrib.'

"He then hurried back to his men, struck his camel to direct it away from the road and headed it towards the sea coast, leaving Badr to his left and moving off at top speed.

"Quraysh advanced and at al-Juḥfa Juhaym b. al-Ṣalt b. Makhrama b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf had a vision. He said, 'I had a vision in my sleep, while half-way between waking and sleeping, of a man riding a horse and leading a camel, who came to a halt. He then said, 'ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, Shayba b. Rabīʿa, Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām, Umayya b. Khalaf and so on, are all killed!' He went on to enumerate other chiefs of Quraysh as well who were killed at Badr.

"Juhaym went on, 'I then saw him strike the upper chest of his camel and send it on into the camp. And every single tent there was splattered with its blood.'

"When Juhaym's vision was reported to Abū Jahl, God damn him, he said, 'So he too is a prophet from the ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib family! He'll know tomorrow who will be killed, if we meet in battle!'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Thinking he had saved his caravan, Abū Sufyān sent word to Quraysh, 'You came out to do battle in order to protect your caravan, people and wealth; God has now saved these, so go back!'

"But Abū Jahl b. Hishām said, 'By God, we'll not turn around until we reach Badr!'"

Badr was a place where the Arabs would hold a fair and market each year.

(Abū Jahl went on) "'We'll stay there three days, slaughter some camels, eat well, drink wine and the entertainers will play music for us. The bedouin will get to hear of our journey and of our gathering there, and they will always respect us for it. Let's proceed ahead.'

"Al-Akhnas b. Sharīq b. ʿAmr b. Wahb al-Thaqafī, an ally of the Banū Zuhra, who lived in al-Juḥfa, said, 'O Banū Zuhra, God has saved your wealth for you and has now rendered your companion Makhrama b. Nawfal safe; since you only came out to protect him and the wealth he bears, put the blame for cowardice on me and go back. There is no need for you to go to battle when you have suffered no loss. Don't do as he says.'

"And they did go back; not one member of the Zuhra tribe took part in the battle of Badr. They obeyed him because they recognized his authority.

"Every sub-tribe of Quraysh except the Banū ʿAdī did participate. Not a single one of them took part.

"And so the Banū Zuhra went back with al-Akhnas; not a man from these two tribes engaged in the battle."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "And so the force proceeded. There was some debate between Ṭālib b. Abū Ṭālib, who was present there, and some of the Quraysh. They told him, 'We well know, you men of the Banū Hashim, that even though you have come out with us, that your sympathy lies with Muḥammad.' And so Ṭālib went back to Mecca with some other men. On that subject he spoke the following verses,

> 'O God, if Ṭālib goes to battle with a force allied to
> fight in great troops like there,

Then let him be the one despoiled, not the despoiler,
the one defeated, not the one defeating.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Quraysh proceeded and made camp on the far side of the valley, behind the sandhill called al-ʿAqanqal. The floor of the valley, called Yalyal, was between Badr and the huge sandhill, al-ʿAqanqal, behind which were Quraysh. The well at Badr was on the other side of the valley, nearest to Medina."

I would comment that on this subject the Almighty said, "You were on the nearer side, they on the further, and the caravan was below you" (that is, over towards the coast) "and had you made appointment for this you would have failed to keep it; however, (the battle did take place) in order for God to bring about something already ordained" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.42).

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "And God dispatched the heavens (with rain). The valley was soft ground and the water from the sky merely dampened the earth for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his force but did not impede their progress. But Quraysh had such rain fall upon them that they could not move ahead."

I comment that on this God spoke, "And He sent down upon you water from the sky to purify you thereby, to remove from you the devil's filth, to strengthen your hearts and to steady your feet" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.11).

Here God refers to cleansing them both inside and out, to steadying their feet and giving them courage, to thwarting the devil and his inspiring them with fear and doubts. This action was to give strength both within and without. He sent down His help for them from above, as exemplified in His words, "when your Lord revealed to the angels that I am with you. And so make those who believe; for I shall cast terror into the hearts of the unbelievers. Therefore strike above their necks" (upon their heads, that is) "and strike off all their finger-tips" (so that they cannot grip their weapons). "This is because they were hostile to God and to His Messenger. And God is violent in His punishment of those who are hostile to God and His Messenger. Taste that then! And (know) that the punishment of hell is for disbelievers" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.12–14).

Ibn Jarīr stated, "Hārun b. Isḥāq related to me, quoting Muṣʿab b. al-Miqdām, quoting Isrāʾīl quoting Abū Isḥāq, from Ḥāritha, from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, 'That night – the one preceding the morning when the battle of Badr occurred – it drizzled and we took shelter from it beneath the tree and under leather shields. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained up praying and he exhorted us for the battle ahead.'"

The Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to us, from Shuʿba, from Abū Isḥāq, from Ḥāritha b. Miḍrab, from ʿAlī, who said, 'The only horseman we had at the battle of Badr was al-Miqdād. From what I saw, all slept except for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who remained beneath a tree praying and weeping until morning came.'"

This *ḥadīth* will be given hereafter at greater length.

Al-Nasā'ī related this from Bundār, from Ghundar, from Shu'ba. Mujāhid stated, "He sent down upon them rain which settled the dust and compressed the soil for them. It pleased them to have their feet tread upon it."

I comment that the night before Badr was the eve of Friday, the 17th of Ramaḍān, 2 AH. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spent that night near the stump of a tree there, praying. He kept prostrating himself and repeating, "O Everlasting One! O Self-Reliant One!" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.255).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to urge his men on to the well, and when he reached the nearest source at Badr, he stopped there.

"It was related to me by some men of the Banū Salama, that they had been told that al-Ḥubāb b. Mundhir b. al-Jamūḥ said, 'O Messenger of God, is this the place about which God revealed to you that we should not advance beyond nor stop before? Or is this a question of opinion, warfare and tactics?'

"He replied, 'It's one of opinion, warfare and tactics.'

"Al-Ḥubāb then said, 'Well, O Messenger of God, this isn't a place to stop. We should go ahead till we get to the well nearest to their force and stop there. We should then stop up the wells behind it and build a cistern and fill it with water. Then we can fight them and have water to drink, while they'll have none.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'You've had a good idea!'"

Al-Umawī stated, "My father related to us as follows: 'Al-Kalbī claimed, quoting Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "As the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was gathering the men into groups with Gabriel on his right, an angel came to him and said, 'O Muḥammad, God greets you with peace.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'He is peace; from Him comes peace, and to Him peace goes.' The angel then said, 'You are to do as al-Ḥubab b. Mundhir told you.'"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "O Gabriel, do you know this man?" He replied, "I don't know all the people of heaven, but he is truthful. He is no devil."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and those with him arose and proceeded on to the well nearest to the Quraysh force, where they halted. He then ordered that the other wells be blocked and built a cistern at the well where he had stopped and filled it with water. They then threw the water jugs into it.'"

Some say that when al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir made his suggestion to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) an angel descended from the sky while Gabriel was there with him. The angel said, "O Muḥammad, your Lord greets you with peace and says to you that you are to do what al-Ḥubāb advised you." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked up at Gabriel who said, "I don't know all the angels, but he is an angel, not a devil."

Al-Umawī stated that they halted at the well that was nearest to the polytheists at midnight and made camp there. They completely filled the cistern, and so the polytheists had no water.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that he was informed that Saʿd b. Muʿādh stated, 'O Prophet of God, should we not build you a cover where you could stay and near which we could tether your mounts, and then we can meet our enemy. If God gives us victory over our enemy, that will be fine by us; but if the opposite happens, you can mount up and join those of our people behind us; those who stayed do not love you any less than we do. If they had thought you would be going into battle, they would not have stayed. God will protect you through them and they will give you sincere counsel and will fight hard with you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thanked him and prayed for him. Then a shelter was constructed for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) where he stayed."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When morning came, the Quraysh force advanced.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw them coming forward into the valley from their position behind the sandhill at al-ʿAqanqal, he said, 'O God, these men advancing are Quraysh in all their vanity and pride; they are antagonistic to You and are calling Your Prophet a liar. O God, give us Your victory You promised us! O God, destroy them this morning.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, having seen ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa in the Quraysh force mounted on a red camel, 'Whatever good may be in them resides in the man mounted on the red camel. If they were to obey him, they would be well guided.'

"Khufāf b. Aymāʾ b. Raḥaḍa, or his father Aymāʾ b. Raḥaḍa al-Ghifārī, had sent to Quraysh a son of his with some slaughtered camels which he was donating to them, telling them, 'If you wish us to provide you with weapons and men we will do so.' Quraysh sent back with his son the following response, 'You have maintained family ties and fulfilled your duty. If we are only fighting men, we will not lack the power. But if we are fighting God, as Muḥammad claims, no one could stand up to Him.'

"When the Quraysh force made camp, some of their men came forward to the water cistern of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); they included Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Let them come.' And every man who drank that day was killed, except for Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, who survived. He later accepted Islam and became a good Muslim; whenever he later made a serious oath, he would say, 'By Him who saved me at the battle of Badr.'"

I would comment that the troops of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consisted of 313 men, as will be shown in a chapter we will give following the account of the battle in which we will list their names in alphabetical order, if God wills it.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, from al-Barāʾ, there is the *ḥadīth*: "We used to relate that those Muslims present at Badr totalled 300 men and some tens more, the same number as the companions of Ṭālūt, who crossed the river along with him; and all those who did so were believers."

Al-Bukhārī also quotes from the same source as follows, "I and Ibn ʿUmar were deemed too young to participate in the battle of Badr. The Emigrants there numbered some 60 men, while the Helpers totalled some 240."

Imām Aḥmad related from Naṣr b. Rīʾāb, from Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Muqsim, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Those participating at Badr totalled 313, while the Emigrants numbered 76. The defeat occurred on Friday, 17th Ramaḍān."

God Almighty stated, "And recall when God showed them to you in your sleep as few; and if He had showed them to you as many, you would have lost courage, and would have disputed about the matter. However, God granted salvation" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.43).

That related to a dream he had that night. It is said that he slept in the shelter and that he told his men that they should not fight until they received permission. When the Quraysh force approached, Abū Bakr began to wake him up, saying, "O Messenger of God, they are getting close! Wake up!" God had showed them to him in his sleep as being few in number.

Al-Umawī related this, and it is very strange.

The Almighty stated, "And when He showed them to you, when you met, as few in number in your sight, as He diminished you in theirs, in order to bring about a matter already decreed" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.44).

When the two sides were to engage in battle, God made each of them fewer in the view of the other so that they would have courage to face each other, there being very great wisdom in this.

This is not contrary to the statement of God Almighty: "There was a sign for you in the two sides battling together, one fighting for God, the other unbelieving and seeing them by their own sight as twice their own like. And God aids with His victory those He wishes" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.12).

The meaning according to the most authentic statements is that the unbelievers did indeed view the believers as twice their number. This was when the battle and swordsmanship had begun, God cast weakness and terror into the hearts of the unbelievers. He first led them on by showing them as few in the initial engagement and then aided the believers by making them seem twice as many as they were so that the enemy was weakened and overcome. For this reason God stated, "God aids with his help those He wishes. And there is a lesson in that for those who have vision" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.12).

Isrāʾīl stated, from Abū Isḥāq, Abū ʿUbayd and ʿAbd Allāh, "They were made fewer in number in our sight on the day of the battle of Badr, to the point where I said to a man by my side, 'Do you think they are 70 strong?' He replied, 'I see them as 100!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Abū Isḥāq b. Yasār and other scholars related to him that sheikhs of the Helpers had said, "When the Quraysh force felt secure they sent out ʿUmayr b. Wahb al-Jumaḥī with orders to estimate the size of the force of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"He circled the camp on his horse and returned, saying, 'They are approximately 300 men in number; but be patient while I check out whether they have any others hidden or in reserve.'"

"He rode far off into the valley but saw nothing. So he came back and told them, 'I saw nothing more; but what I did see, O Quraysh, was camels bearing death. The Yathrib mounts bear imminent death. They are people whose only aid and refuge is their swords. I swear I don't foresee any of them being killed before he kills one of you. And if they do kill of you a like number as their own, what good will it be to live after that? Consider carefully.'

"When Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām heard that he walked through the force to ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa and said, 'Al-Walīd, you are a leader and a commander of Quraysh; do you wish to be remembered with pride by your people until the end of time?'

"'How do you mean, Ḥakīm?' he asked. 'Take your force back and deal with the issue of your ally ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍramī.' 'Consider it done,' he agreed, 'you have my guarantee of it. He was under my protection and so it is my duty to pay his bloodwit and provide compensation for what was taken from him. Go and talk to Ibn al-Ḥanẓaliyya – meaning Abū Jahl – he is the only one I fear might make trouble.'

"ʿUtba then arose to speak, saying, 'O Quraysh, by fighting Muḥammad and his Companions you will accomplish nothing. If you do attack him, each of you will always be looking at others who will dislike looking back at you; you will be known to have killed their cousin or a member of their tribe. Go home and leave Muḥammad up to the other Arabs. If they kill him that will be accomplishing your aims and if otherwise, he will find you not to have been exposed to (the risk of) what you now plan.'

"Ḥakīm went on, 'So I went on to Abū Jahl whom I found to have put on a coat of mail and was getting it ready. I told him, "Abū al-Ḥakam, ʿUtba has sent me to you." And I told him what he had said. He replied, "I swear, his lungs filled with terror when he saw Muḥammad and his men. By God, we will not return until God decides the issue between us and Muḥammad. ʿUtba is not sincere in what he says. He sees Muḥammad and his men as fodder for camels awaiting slaughter, and his own son is there among them. He's scaring you for his own sake."'

"Abū Jahl then sent for ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥaḍramī and told him, 'This ally of yours wants our force to return home. Yet you see before you your vengeance; stand up and demand your rights for the slaying of your brother.'

"'ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥaḍramī arose, uncovered his head and proclaimed, 'Woe for ʿAmr! Woe for ʿAmr!'

"And so the mood for warfare became heated and the attitude of the Quraysh force hardened and they became set in their evil course, while ʿUtba's advice was ignored.

"When Abū Jahl's words 'his lungs filled with terror' reached ʿUtba, he exclaimed, 'That fellow with the filthy yellow backside will find out whether it's me or him whose lungs filled in terror!'

"ʿUtba then looked for a steel helmet to put on his head. But he could not find one with the army that was big enough for his skull. Realizing this, he wrapped his head in a cloth he had."

Ibn Jarīr related through al-Musawwar b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Yarbūʿī, from his father, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "While we were at the home of Marwān b al-Ḥakam, his doorkeeper came in and said, 'Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām asks if he can come in.' Marwān said that he could, and when Ḥakīm came in, he said to him, 'Welcome to you, Abū Khālid, do sit close by.' He then moved away from the central cushion, taking a seat with the cushion next to him. He then greeted him and said, 'Tell us about the battle of Badr.'

"Ḥakīm then said, 'We went out as far as al-Juḥfa, at which point one entire Quraysh tribe went back, none of their polytheists consequently being at Badr. We then went on to al-ʿUdwa where we stopped as the Almighty had said. I then went to ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa and asked, "Abū al-Walīd, how would you like to enjoy honour for this day for as long as you live?" "What should I do?" he asked. I replied, "Ask of Muḥammad only compensation for the death of your ally, al-Ḥaḍramī; be satisfied with his blood-money and the force will go home."

"'"You have convinced me," he said, "go on to Ibn al-Ḥanẓaliyya (meaning Abū Jahl) and tell him his cousin asks him if he is willing to now return home with his men."

"'So I went to him (Abū Jahl) and found him with a group of his men all around him. There too, standing in front of him, was Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī who was saying, "I have cancelled my contract with ʿAbd Shams; now it stands with the Banū Makhzūm."

"'I said to him (to Abū Jahl), "ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa asks you whether you will now return with your men?" He replied, "Are you the only messenger he could find?" I answered, "No; and I'd be the messenger for no one but him."'

"Ḥakīm went on, 'I hurried off to ʿUtba to be sure I would miss nothing that happened. He was leaning over Aymāʾ b. Raḥaḍa al-Ghifārī, who had donated to the polytheists ten camels for slaughter.

"'Abū Jahl then appeared, looking extremely mean, and said to ʿUtba, "Have your lungs filled with terror then?" ʿUtba replied, "You'll find out!" At that Abū Jahl drew his sword and slapped the flank of his horse with it. Aymāʾ b. Raḥaḍa commented, "This is a bad omen." And at that point warfare began.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had established very effective battle lines for his force.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, that Ḥakīm used the words, "It was during the night that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established us in battle lines at Badr."

Imām Aḥmad related, from an account of Ibn Lahīʿa, as follows, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me that Aslam Abū ʿImrān related to him that he heard Abū Ayyūb say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established our battle lines at

Badr, and our heralds went out in front of our lines. The Prophet (ṢAAS) looked over at them and said, "With me! With me!"'"

Aḥmad alone gives this account. The line of transmission is good.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥabbān b. Wāsiʿ b. Ḥabbān related to me, from sheikhs of his tribe, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lined up his forces at the battle of Badr, he held an arrow which he used to indicate how they should adjust their position. He passed by Sawwād b. Ghaziyya, an ally of the Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār, and a little ahead of the line. He poked him in the belly with the arrow, saying, 'Straighten up, Sawwād!'

"He replied, 'O Messenger of God, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth and justice that you hurt me! So let me retaliate!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) promptly uncovered his stomach and said, 'Retaliate then!' Sawwād hugged him and then kissed his stomach. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asked, 'Why did you do that, Sawwād?' He replied, 'O Messenger of God, you can see what is about to happen; I wanted my last contact with you to be my skin touching yours.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spoke a prayer for him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that ʿAwf b. al-Ḥārith, he being ʿAfraʾs son, said, 'O Messenger of God, what is it about His worshippers that pleases God?' 'For them to charge into the enemy unprotected by helmet or chain-mail,' he replied.

"At this ʿAwf removed the suit of chain-mail he wore, threw it aside, then drew his sword and fought until he was killed; may God be pleased with him!"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Having arranged the position of his forces, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to his shelter and went in, accompanied by Abū Bakr, no one else being there with him."

Ibn Isḥāq and others also said, "Saʿd b. Muʿadh, God be pleased with him, was standing at the door of the shelter wearing his sword. With him were some of the Helpers standing guard over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fearing he might be attacked by the polytheist enemies, while choice horses stood there at the ready for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to ride back to Medina if necessary, as Saʿd b. Muʿādh had suggested."

Al-Bazzār related in his *Musnad* (collection of *aḥādīth*), from an account of Muḥammad b. ʿUqayl, that ʿAlī (once) addressed the forces, saying, 'Who is the bravest of all the people?' 'It is you, O Commander of the Faithful!' they responded.

"'Well,' he commented, 'I have never refused anyone's challenge, but it was in fact Abū Bakr. We made a shelter for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to prevent his being attacked by one of the polytheists. And, I swear, it was Abū Bakr alone who came over to us, holding his drawn sword above the head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And when anyone came towards him, Abū Bakr would raise his sword before him. This man was the bravest of all.'

"'Alī went on, 'Once I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the hands of some Quraysh men, some blocking his way, others jostling him, and saying, "You made the gods into just one!" And, I swear, the only one of us who intervened was Abū Bakr, striking and pushing and jostling them, saying, "Shame on you! Would you kill a man for saying that God is his Lord?"'

"'Alī then raised up the mantle he wore and wept, his beard wet with tears. He said, 'Were the believers among Pharoah's people better than him?' The crowd was silent, and 'Alī went on, 'By God, an hour of Abū Bakr is better than an earth full of the believers from among Pharoah's people. Those were people who concealed their belief, while he was a man who made his faith public.'"

Al-Bazzār then stated, "We know of this anecdote only from this account."

This reflects the special distinction of Abū Bakr; it was he who was with the Messenger of God in the shelter, just as he had been with him in the cave. May God be pleased with him and please him!

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was meanwhile making invocations, pleas and prayers saying, among other things, 'O God, if this force perishes, You will never again be worshipped on earth!' He cried out to God the Almighty and Glorious, 'O Lord, fulfil what You promised me; O God, give me aid!'

"In saying this he would raise his hands so high that his cloak would slip down over his shoulders, and Abū Bakr, God bless him, would stand close behind him repositioning it for him and saying, in sympathy at the effusiveness of his supplication, 'O Messenger of God, lessen your appeals to your Lord; He will fulfil His promise to you.'"

This, then, is how it is related by al-Suhaylī, from Qāsim b. Thābit. Abū Bakr only used the words meaning "lessen your appeals to your Lord" out of his concern for what he saw as his being so engrossed in his prayer and supplications that his mantle had slipped down over his shoulders. By saying these words he was in effect asking, "Why are you so exhausting yourself; God has made you a promise of His help." Abū Bakr, God bless him, was a tender-hearted man with great empathy and compassion for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-Suhaylī related that his teacher, Sheikh Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī, said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in a situation of *khawf*, fearing, while Abū Bakr was in one of *rajā'*,[60] hoping. And this was really a time of fearing." By this he meant that *khawf* (in this instance) was more appropriate, "because it was up to God to do as He wished; and he feared that God would not be worshipped thereafter. His fear was therefore worship."

I would comment that the view of some Sufi ascetics that this situation was analogous to that of the day in the cave is to be rejected. For this person did not make mention of the weakness of his viewpoint, nor the consequences thereof.

60. These are terms used especially by Muslim mystics to describe the attitudes one can adopt in one's relationship to the Divine being.

In any case, the contending forces did confront one another in battle, the outcome resting in the hands of the All-Merciful. The greatest of the prophets called upon his Lord's help, his Companions too raising their voices loud in invocation of the Lord of heaven and earth, Who hears all prayers and discovers all heroic action.

The first of the polytheists to be killed was al-Aswad b. ʿAbd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "This was a mean and disreputable fellow who had said, 'I swear to God I will drink from their cistern or destroy it, or die before I get there!' And when he came forth to do battle, Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib went out to confront him. When they met, Ḥamza struck him and off came his foot and half his leg, before he had reached the cistern. He fell down on his back, his leg spurting blood back towards his companions. He then crawled on in the direction of the cistern, plunging into it intending, so they say, to fulfil his oath. Ḥamza pursued him and struck him again and again until he had killed him, there in the cistern."

Al-Umawī stated, "At that ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa became excited and determined to demonstrate his bravery. He came forth with his brother Shayba on one side of him and his son al-Walīd on the other and, standing out in the centre between the two lines, they issued a challenge for single combat. Three young men from the Helpers went out to confront them; they were ʿAwf and Muʿādh, the two sons of al-Ḥārith, their mother being ʿAfrāʾ, along with ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, so they say. 'And who are you?' they were asked, and they replied, 'We are from among the *anṣār*, "the Helpers".' 'We have no quarrel with you,' they were told."

In one account it is said that the Quraysh warriors then said, "These are our honourable peers, but send forth some of our own people." Their herald then called out, "O Muḥammad, send forth our peers from our own people."

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, 'You go, ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith, and you Ḥamza, and you, ʿAlī.'"

According to al-Umawī, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was displeased when the three Helpers stepped forth. This was because this was the first battle pitting his men against his enemies, and he would have preferred his warriors to have been from his own tribe. He therefore ordered the first three men to withdraw and ordered out the three men named above.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the three combatants approached the three Quraysh warriors, the latter asked their names." (This is an indication that they were wearing armour and they could not be recognized by their weapons.) "ʿUbayda, Ḥamza and ʿAlī each gave their names in turn. The Quraysh champions then commented, 'Worthy peers.'

"ʿUbayda then stepped forward, he being the oldest of them, and faced ʿUtba, while Ḥamza addressed Shayba and ʿAlī stood before al-Walīd b. ʿUtba.

"Ḥamza soon killed Shayba, as ʿAlī did al-Walīd. ʿUbayda and ʿUtba exchanged blows and each brought the other down. Ḥamza and ʿAlī then turned

their swords against ʿUtba and finished him off. They then picked up their fallen comrade and carried him back to their side. May God be pleased with him."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Mijlaz, from Qays b. ʿUbād, that Abū Dharr used to swear on oath that this verse, "These two are adversaries who dispute about their Lord" (*sūrat al-Ḥajj*; XXII, v.19) was revealed about Ḥamza and his opponent and about ʿUtba and his, referring to their coming forth at Badr.

This is the wording al-Bukhārī gives in explaining this verse.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ḥajjāj b. Minhāl related to us, quoting al-Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān, who said, 'I heard my father say that Abū Mijlaz related to him, from Qays b. ʿUbād, who quoted ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib as having said, "I will be the first person who kneels before the All-Merciful one, Almighty and Glorious is He, among the adversaries on Judgement Day."'

"Qays stated, 'And it was about them that the verse was revealed, "These two are adversaries who dispute about their Lord."' He went on, 'This referred to those who stood forth to do battle at Badr – ʿAlī and Ḥamza, ʿUbayda and Shayba b. Rabīʿa, and ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa and al-Walīd b. ʿUtba.'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this.

We have discussed this at sufficient length in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*); and to God be all praise and credit.

Al-Umawī stated, "Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmr related to us, from Abū Isḥāq, from Ibn al-Mubārak, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from ʿAbd Allāh al-Bahiyy, who said, 'ʿUtba, Shayba and al-Walīd, stood forth to do battle and Ḥamza, ʿUbayda and ʿAlī went out to face them. The Quraysh champions said, "Speak, so we may know you." Ḥamza replied, "I am *Asad Allāh*, 'God's lion', and the lion of the Messenger of God; I am Ḥamza, son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib." They responded, "A worthy peer." ʿAlī then said, "I am *ʿAbd Allāh*, 'God's slave', and the brother of the Messenger of God." ʿUbayda said, "I am he who is among the allies." Each then engaged in man-to-man conflict, and God killed them.'"

Hind spoke the following on that subject,

> "Eyes of mine, make copious tears flow down for the
> best of heroes who did not turn aside.
> His people called out to him on the morning when the
> Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib did battle,
> Making him taste the sharpness of their swords, raising
> him aloft even after he had been destroyed."

This was why Hind swore she would eat Ḥamza's liver.

The ʿUbayda referred to here was the son of al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf. They carried him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and placed him on a bed next to where he stood. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then honoured him by allowing his cheek to rest on his foot.

"ʿUbayda then said, 'O Messenger of God, if Abū Ṭālib could only see me, he would know that it was to me his words applied, "We will serve him until we are laid out before him, uncaring even of our sons and our wives."'

"He then, God be pleased with him, died, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I bear witness that you are a martyr!'"

Al-Shāfiʿī, God bless him, related this.

The first Muslim killed in the battle was Mihjaʿ, the freed-man of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; he was shot with an arrow.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "He was the first man killed. Then Ḥāritha b. Surāqa, one of the Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār, was shot at as he drank from the cistern. An arrow hit him in the throat, and so he died."

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Anas, that Ḥāritha b.Surāqa was killed at Badr. He was in the vanguard and was struck by a stray arrow which killed him. His mother later came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "O Messenger of God, tell me about Ḥāritha. If he is in heaven, I will be content. Otherwise, let God show me what to do." That is, to engage in mourning for him, a practice not yet forbidden. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "Have you gone crazy? There are eight gardens there, and your son has earned the very highest of paradise!"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The forces moved slowly towards one another. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told his men not to attack until he gave them the order. He said, 'If the enemy should surround you, then force them back with arrows.'"

In his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, al-Bukhārī quotes Abū Usayd as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), told us at the battle of Badr, 'If they close in on you' – meaning the polytheists – 'then shoot at them and gather up your arrows.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Ḥākim informed us, quoting al-Aṣamm, that Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār related to us, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Abū Isḥāq, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made the battle-cry of the Emigrants at Badr, "O Banū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān!" (that is, "O tribe of the worshipper of the All-Merciful") and that of al-Khazraj, "O Banū of ʿAbd Allāh" (that is "O tribe of the worshipper of God"), that of al-Aws, "O Banū ʿUbayd Allāh" (that is, "O tribe of the slaves of God"). He named his cavalry "God's horsemen."'"

Ibn Hishām stated that the war cry used at Badr by the *ṣaḥāba*, the Companions, was "One! One!"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in the shelter with Abū Bakr, God bless him, he called out to God the Almighty and Glorious for help. As the Almighty stated, 'When you sought aid from your Lord, and he answered you, saying, "I will help you with 1,000 angels, following after one another. And God made of it nothing but glad tidings, to ease your hearts by it. And victory comes only from God. God is powerful, wise"'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.9, 10).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Nūḥ Qurād related to him, quoting ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, quoting Simāk al-Ḥanafī, father of Zumayl, quoting Ibn ʿAbbās, quoting ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, as follows, "At the battle of Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked over at his force numbering some 300 and viewed the polytheists, totalling more than 1,000. He then turned in the direction of the *qibla*, wearing his shawl and pants and spoke the words, 'O God, fulfil what you promised me; O God, if this force perishes You will never again be worshipped on earth.'

"He kept up his appeals and prayers to his Lord until his mantle fell down. Abū Bakr then came and replaced it, remaining close behind him. He then said, 'Let your appeals to your Lord be enough now. He will fulfil what He has promised you.' And so God revealed, 'When you sought aid from your Lord, and He answered you, saying, "I will help you with 1,000 angels, following after one another"'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.9).

He then related the conclusion of the *ḥadīth* as will come hereafter.

Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Jarīr and others all related this, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār al-Yamānī. ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī and al-Tirmidhī declared it authentic.

Others also stated, from Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Suddī, Ibn Jarīr and others, that this verse was revealed concerning the prayers said by the Prophet at Badr.

Al-Umawī and others stated that the Muslims shouted out loudly to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, seeking His aid.

As for the words of the Lord "with 1,000 angels, following after one another", it implies that "they are following on towards you and giving aid to your party".

Al-ʿAwfī related this *ḥadīth* from Ibn ʿAbbās along with Mujāhid, Ibn Kathīr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd and others. Abū Kudayna stated, from Qābūs, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the word *murdifīn*, i.e. "following after one another", meant that each angel was followed by another one. In another account from him, with the same chain of authorites *murdifīn* is taken to imply that each came immediately after the other. Abū Ẓabyān, al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Qatāda said this.

ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalḥa al-Wālibī related from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "God provided His Prophet and the believers with 1,000 angels. Gabriel was there with one wing of 500, while Michael had another wing of 500. This is very well known."

However, Ibn Jarīr stated, "Al-Muthannā related to me, quoting Isḥāq, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhrī, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān, from al-Rabaʿī, from Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr, from ʿAlī, who said, "Gabriel came down along with 1,000 angels on the right flank of the Prophet (ṢAAS) where Abū Bakr was, while Michael came down with 1,000 angels on the left flank of the Prophet (ṢAAS) where I was.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this in his work *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*), from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Jubayr, from ʿAlī. He added the words, "And Isrāfīl came down with 1,000 angels."

He related in that account that he was stabbed that day by a lance, with the result that his armpit was reddened with blood, and that 3,000 angels came down.

This is strange, and there is some weakness in its chain of authorities. If true, the account would strengthen even further the prior statements. This is substantiated by the alternative reading of some authorities who read the word *murdafīna*,[61] with an "a" following the "d". But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Ḥākim informed us, quoting al-Aṣamm, while Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Qazzāz related to us, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Majīd Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥanafī, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mawhab, quoting Ismāʿīl b. ʿAwf b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Rāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, 'At the battle of Badr, I fought for a while, then hurried to see what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was doing. When I got there, I found him prostrate in worship, saying, "*Yā Ḥayy! Yā Qayyūm*!" "O Living One! O Eternal One!"; he was saying nothing else. I returned to the fighting, then came back to find him still prostrate and still repeating the same. Again I went off to battle, and once more returned to find the same. He kept saying this till God gave him victory.'"

Al-Nasāʾī related it in *al-Yawm wa al-Layla* (*Day and Night*) from Bundār, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Majīd Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥanafī.

Al-Aʿmash stated, from Abū Isḥāq, from Abū ʿUbayda, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, who said, "I never heard any worshipper imploring God more strongly than did Muḥammad (ṢAAS) at the battle of Badr. He was saying, 'O God, I beseech you in the name of Your promise and Your pact! O God, if this force perishes, You will not be worshipped!' He then turned, and it was as if the moon had cleft its face! He said, 'I seem to be seeing the enemy's destruction in the late evening!'"

Al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash.

He also said, "When we met in battle at Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose, and I never saw anyone implore God more strongly for his rights than did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." And he related as above.

It has been definitively stated in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, on the authority of Anas b. Mālik, as stated, above, how the Prophet (ṢAAS) gave details of the circumstances of the deaths at Badr of the polytheists leaders. This information will also be reported later from the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim on the authority of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

The conclusion to be drawn from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Masʿūd is that he gave notice of this on the actual day of the engagement. This is appropriate. The other two accounts, from Anas and from ʿUmar, suggest that he gave this information one day prior thereto.

There is no objection to combining between these. He could have given this information a day or more before, and (again) an hour before, on the actual day of the battle. But God knows best.

61. Changing the vowel i to a has the effect of changing the word from an active to a passive participle.

Al-Bukhārī related through several different lines of transmission, from Khālid al-Hadhā', from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Prophet (ṢAAS), while in a pavilion he had at Badr, spoke the words, "O God, I appeal to Your pact and to Your oath! If You wish it, You will not be worshipped ever again after this day!" Abū Bakr took him by the hand and said, "That is enough, O Messenger of God! You are pestering your Lord." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went outside, walking vigorously in his armour, speaking the verse, "The force will be defeated! They will retreat! The hour will come, and it will be most bitter!" (*sūrat al-Qamar*; LIV, v.45).

This verse was revealed in Mecca. Its truth was substantiated at the battle of Badr, as Ibn Abū Ḥākim related, as follows, "My father related to us, quoting Abū al-Rabī' al-Zahrānī, quoting Ḥammād, from Ayyūb, from 'Ikrima, who said, 'When the verse was revealed, "The force will be defeated! They will retreat!" 'Umar asked, "Which force will be defeated, and which will be supreme?" And 'Umar (later) said, "On the day of the battle of Badr, I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) walking vigorously in his chain-mail and reciting, 'The force will be defeated! They will retreat! Their hour will come, and it will be most bitter!' I then realized how it was to be interpreted."'"

Al-Bukhārī related, through Ibn Jurayj, from Yūsuf b. Māhān, who heard 'Ā'isha say, "While I was a girl playing in Mecca, there was revealed to Muḥammad the words, 'Their hour will come, and it will be most bitter.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began appealing to his Lord for the aid He had promised him, saying, 'O God, if this force perishes, You will not be worshipped.' Abū Bakr was saying meanwhile, 'O Prophet of God, diminish your appeals to your Lord. God will fulfil for you what He has promised you.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) had a brief nap while he was in the shelter. When he awoke, he said, 'Be joyful, Abū Bakr, God's help will come to you; I saw Gabriel taking his horse by the reins and leading it. And on its front teeth there was *al-naq*'!' By this word he meant 'dust'."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went outside to the men and urged them on, saying, 'Every man who fights them bravely and advances without retreating will have God give him entry into heaven.'

"'Umayr b. al-Ḥumām, a brother of the Banū Salama had some dates in his hand that he was eating. He shouted, 'Great! Great! Is all that stands between me and paradise to have them kill me?' He then tossed away the dates, took his sword and fought the enemy until he was killed. God bless him!"

Imām Aḥmad said, "Hāshim b. Sulaymān related to us, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Basbas off as a scout to see what had become of Abū Sufyān's caravan. He then returned to the house where only I and the Prophet (ṢAAS) were present, as far as I know, except for some of his wives. He (Basbas) then made his report to him.'

"Anas went on, 'Thereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out and made an address, saying, "We have a request to make: whoever presently has a camel may ride with us." Some men there sought permission to fetch their camels from the upper parts of the town but he replied, "No; only those who have their camels present."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men then set off and arrived at Badr before the polytheists. When the latter did arrive, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "None of you may advance for any purpose unless I am right behind."

"'When the polytheists advanced, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Go forth towards a garden the size of the heavens and the earth combined."'

"Anas continued, 'At this ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥammām al-Anṣārī asked, "O Messenger of God, could a garden really be the size of the heavens and earth combined?" "Yes," he replied. ʿUmayr then said, "Fine! Fine!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, "What makes you say 'fine'?" ʿUmayr replied, "O Messenger of God, by God, it is only because of my hope of being one of its people." "You certainly will be," responded the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"'ʿUmayr then took some dates out of his quiver and began eating them. He then said, "If I were to live long enough to eat these dates, it would be a long life!" He then threw away all the dates he had and engaged them in battle until he was killed, God bless him.'"

Muslim related this anecdote from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and a group of authorities, from Abū al-Naḍr Hāshim b. al-Qāsim, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra.

Ibn Jarīr recounted that while ʿUmayr fought he spoke the verses,

> "Racing on to God, my only provision is my piety and
> action for the life to come,
> And my persistence in fighting for God; for all other
> provisions soon become exhausted,
> Except for piety, goodness and right-guidedness."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from Ḥāritha b. Miḍrab, from ʿAlī, who said, 'When we got to Medina we fell sick from its fruits and the marshes there. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was preparing for Badr. When we received news that the polytheists were advancing, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved out to Badr, it being the site of a well. We arrived there ahead of the polytheists but we did discover two men there. One was of Quraysh, the other a freed-man of ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿīṭ. The man of Quraysh escaped, but we took the freed-man and asked him how large was their force. He replied, "I swear, their numbers are great and their morale is very high." When he said this, the Muslims would beat him.

"'Eventually they took him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who asked him how many they were, and the freed-man replied as before. The Prophet (ṢAAS)

tried hard to get him to tell their numbers, but he refused. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then asked how many camels they were slaughtering for food. He replied that it was ten each day. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, "Their force numbers 1,000; each slaughtered camel would feed 100 men and their attendants."

"'That night rain drizzled down on us and we moved beneath a tree and took shelter from the rain beneath leather shields. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set about praying to his Lord, saying, "O God, if this force is destroyed, You will not be worshipped."

"'When dawn came, he called out, "Come to prayer, O worshippers of God!" The men emerged from beneath the tree and the leather shields, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed with us and urged the men on to battle. He then said, "The Quraysh force is over behind those red slopes of the mountain."

"'When the enemy force drew near and we lined up to face them, there was one man among them mounted on a red camel. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out, "ʿAlī, summon Ḥamza!" This Quraysh man was the closest to us. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Who is it on the red camel?" When Ḥamza came, he said the man was ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa. He was advising them against going to war, telling them, "Tie it up to my head; tell people, 'ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa turned cowardly.' Though you well know I'm no more cowardly than any one of you."

"'Abū Jahl heard of this and said, "You say this? I swear, were it anyone else who spoke thus, I would set my sword upon him! Your lungs have filled your belly with fear!"

"'He (ʿUtba) then said, "You dare to revile me, you yellow-bottomed one! You will discover today which one of us is cowardly."

"'ʿUtba, his brother Shayba and his son al-Walīd went forth challengingly and called out, "Who will come and oppose us?" Some young warriors from among the Helpers stepped forward, but ʿUtba called out, "We don't want them. We will do battle against our own relatives of the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib."

"'At this the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Off you go, Ḥamza, and you ʿAlī and you too, ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib."

"'God then killed ʿUtba and Shayba, sons of Rabīʿa, and al-Walīd, ʿUtba's son. ʿUbayda was wounded; of their men we killed 70 and took 70 prisoner.

"'One of the Helpers brought in al-ʿAbbās b. al-Muṭṭalib as a prisoner, and al-ʿAbbās said, "O Messenger of God, this is not the man who captured me. A bald, fine-looking man on a piebald horse whom I had not seen with your men was he who took me prisoner." The Helper insisted, "No; it was I who captured him, O Messenger of God!"

"'But he replied, "Keep quiet! God gave you the help of a noble angel."'

"'ʿAlī went on, 'Of the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib we captured al-ʿAbbās, ʿUqayl and Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith.'"

This account is good. It corroborates what is given above and will come hereafter. Imām Aḥmad alone gives it in full. Abū Dāʾūd gave part of it, quoting a *ḥadīth* of Isrāʾīl.

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had come out of the shelter and urged the men on to fight, they remained in their battle lines, firm and frequently invoking God's name, as the Almighty had ordered them to do in the words, "O believers, when you meet a force in battle, remain firm and invoke frequently the name of God" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.45).

Al-Umawī stated, "Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmr related to us, from Abū Isḥāq, who quoted al-Awzāʿī as having stated, 'It used to be said that rarely did an armed force remain firmly in place. Those who can stay in place at such times, cast their eyes down and make frequent mention of God are likely to remain safe from the charge of hypocrisy.'"

ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa said to his men at the battle of Badr, "Do you not see them" – referring to the force of the Prophet (ṢAAS) – "how they crouch down on their mounts, keeping firmly in place, licking their lips like *al-ḥayyāt*, 'serpents'? Or he may have used the word *al-afāʿi*, 'snakes'."

Al-Umawī stated in his work on the military expeditions, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) urged the Muslims on to battle, he promised that each man would keep any spoils they took and said, 'By Him in whose hands is my soul, any man who fights them hard and valiantly, advancing and not retreating, who is killed, will be allowed entry to heaven by God.'"

Al-Umawī's account then repeats the anecdote relating to ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥamām given above.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself fought with heart and soul, as did Abū Bakr, just as they had exerted themselves in the shelter in prayer and entreating. Thereafter, they went forth, and urged on the men to fight, themselves participating physically, thus combining their two noble functions.

The Imām Aḥmad stated, "Wakīʿ related to us, quoting Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from Ḥāritha b. Miḍrab, from ʿAlī, who said, 'I saw at Badr how near we kept to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was the one of us most close to the enemy. He was one of the bravest men there that day.'"

Al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Isḥāq, from Ḥāritha, quoting ʿAlī as having said, "When the forces engaged and the battle grew fierce we sought protection with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abū Nuʿaym related to us, quoting Misʿar, from Abū ʿAwn, from Abū Ṣālih al-Ḥanafī, from ʿAlī who said that he and Abū Bakr were told at Badr, 'With one of you is Gabriel and with the other is Michael. Isrāfīl, a great angel, will witness the battle but not fight.' Or the words used were 'will witness the ranks.'"

This account is similar to the information preceding, namely, that Abū Bakr was on the right flank, and that at Badr when the angels descended Gabriel was there with 500 of them on one flank, the right along with Abū Bakr, while Michael was on the other, the left, with 500 more angels, along with ʿAlī.

In a *ḥadīth* related by Abū Yaʿlā, through Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim, ʿAlī is quoted as saying, "At Badr, I was swimming in the water-hole when a

great wind arose, then another, then another. Finally Michael came down along with 1,000 angels. He took up position on the right of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) where Abū Bakr was positioned. Isrāfīl came to the left flank where I was, with another 1,000 angels. Gabriel was present, also with another 1,000." ʿAlī then said, "That day the water reached up to my armpits."

The author of *al-ʿIqd*[62] and others maintain that the finest verse ever spoken by the Arabs is that of Ḥassān b. Thābit,

> "And a well at Badr when Gabriel and Muḥammad held back
> their mounts, beneath our banner."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Jarīr, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Muʿādh b. Rifāʿa b. Rāfiʿ al-Zurqī, who quoted his father, who had been one of those present at Badr, as saying, 'Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked, "How do you consider those of you who were at Badr?" He replied, "As the best of Muslims," or some such phrase. Gabriel commented, "Likewise those of the angels who were present at Badr."'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this *ḥadith*.

God Almighty had said, "When your Lord reveals to the angels that I am with you. And so strengthen those who believe; for I shall cast terror into the hearts of the unbelievers! Therefore strike above their necks" (meaning their heads) "and strike off all their finger-tips" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.12).

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, through ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, from Abū Zumayl, (it states) that Ibn ʿAbbās said, "While one of the Muslim warriors was vigorously pursuing one of the unbelievers ahead of him he heard above him the noise of a whip striking and a rider's voice saying, 'Giddy up, Ḥayzūm!' When the Muslim warrior looked at the polytheist in front of him, he found him prostrate on the ground. Examining him more closely he found that the man's nose had been smashed and his face split apart by a blow from a whip, all having turned dark in colour. The warrior, a Helper, went and told this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said, 'You speak true. That was help from the third heaven.' That day they killed 70 and captured 70 more."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥazam related to me, from someone who related it to him, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from a man of the Banū Ghifār, who said, "I and a cousin of mine were present at Badr, though we were still polytheists then. We were up on a mountain waiting for the battle to take place and to see who would win, when a cloud approached. When it drew near the mountain we heard the sound of horses galloping and a voice saying, 'Giddy up, Ḥayzūm!' My companion suffered a heart attack and died on the spot, while I almost expired, but later recovered.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, from a man of the Banū Sāʿida, from Abū Usayd Mālik b. Rabīʿa, who was present at Badr, who

62. Presumably the reference is to *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd* by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, d. 940 AH.

said, his sight by then having gone, 'If I were there today at Badr and had my sight back, I would show you the defile from which the angels emerged. I would have no doubt whatsoever about it.

"'When the angels came down and Satan saw them, God revealed to them the verse, "I am with you. And so make firm those who believe" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.12). "Making them firm" referred to the fact that the angels would come to someone in the form of a person they would know and would say, "Be glad! For they are as nothing, and God is with you. Attack them!"'"

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ibn Abū Ḥabība related to him, from Dā'ūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The angel would appear in the form of someone they knew and would say, 'I went close to them and heard them say, "If they attack us, we'll not hold firm. They are as nothing." And so on.'" This relates to the words, "When your Lord reveals to the angels that I am with you. And so make firm those who believe."

When Satan saw the angels he turned on his heels and said, "I'm quit of you. I see what you do not see." He was then in the guise of Surāqa.

Abū Jahl came forward haranguing his men and saying, "Don't be scared by the nonsense Surāqa is telling you. He has a rendezvous with Muḥammad and his men." He then said, "By al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā, we'll not return until we scatter Muḥammad and his men into the mountains. Don't kill them; take them prisoner."

Al-Bayhaqī related, through Salāma, from 'Uqayl, from Ibn Shihāb, from Abū Ḥāzim, from Sahl b. Sa'd, who said, "Abū Usayd stated, he being by then blind, 'Cousin, I swear by God, that if you and I were at Badr and God were to restore my sight, I'd show you the defile through which the angels came out to us; I'd do so without any doubt or difficulty at all.'"

Al-Bukhārī related, from Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā, from 'Abd al-Wahhāb, from Khālid, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said on the day of the battle at Badr, "This is Gabriel over here, holding the head of his horse and fully accoutred for battle."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Ibn Abū Ḥabība related to us, from Dā'ūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, and Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī informed us, from his father, and 'Ābid b. Yaḥyā related to me, from Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, from 'Umāra b. Ukayma al-Laythī, from 'Ikrima, from Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, who all said, 'When the time for battle arrived, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood with his arms raised imploring God's aid and fulfilment of His promise, saying, "O God, if they prevail over this force, then polytheism too will prevail and You will have no religion left." Meanwhile Abū Bakr was saying, "I swear that God will give you aid and will make you content." And then God sent down 1,000 angels descending *en masse* and surrounding the enemy.'"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said,'Rejoice, Abū Bakr! I saw Gabriel wearing a yellow turban, holding the reins of his horse, up there between heaven and earth! When he came down to earth, I lost sight of him for a while, but then

he appeared again; he was dusty all over and he was saying, "God's aid did come to you when you prayed to Him!"'"

Al-Bayhaqī related from Abū Umāma b. Sahl who quoted his father as saying, "My son, I saw for myself at Badr that all any of us had to do was to point to the head of a polytheist and it would fall from his body before a sword even touched it!"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "My father related to me, quoting some men of the Banū Māzin, quoting Abū Wāqid al-Laythī, as saying, 'I was pursuing one of the polytheists, wishing to strike him, when his head came off – before my sword reached him! I realized that someone other than myself had killed him.'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from 'Īsā b. 'Abd Allāh al-Taymī, from al-Rabī' b. Anas, who said, "Our men could differentiate the ones the angels had killed from those they had struck by the blow having occurred above their necks, and by their finger-tips looking as if they had been burned by a branding iron."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A reliable source related to me, from Muqsim, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'The distinguishing dress of the angels at Badr was the white turbans they wore that hung down over their backs. Except for Gabriel, that is; he had on a yellow turban.'"

Ibn 'Abbās stated, "The only battle in which the angels participated was at Badr. At the other battles they constituted auxiliaries and reinforcements that did not actually fight."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā b. Abū Umayya related to me, from Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, from a freed-man of Suhayl b. 'Amr, who quoted Suhayl b. 'Amr as saying, 'At the battle of Badr, I saw white men on piebald horses riding between heaven and earth, bearing banners, killing and taking prisoners.'

"And Abū 'Ubayd used to say, he being by then blind, 'If I were there at Badr with you now and had my sight back, I could show you the defile from which the angels came without any doubt or confusion.'"

Al-Wāqidī went on, "Khārija b. Ibrāhīm related to me, quoting his father as saying, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Gabriel, "Which one of the angels was it who said at Badr, 'Giddy up, Ḥayzūm?'" Gabriel answered him, "O Muḥammad, I am not familiar with every denizen of the heavens!"'"

I comment that this is a *ḥadīth mursal*;[63] it refutes those, like al-Suhaylī and others, who maintain that Ḥayzūm is the name of Gabriel's horse. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā related to me, from Ḥamza b. Ṣuhayb, from his father, who said, 'I can't tell you how many were the severed arms and deep wounds I saw at the battle of Badr that did not bleed!'"

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā related to me, from Abū 'Uqayl, from Abū Burda b. Niyār, who said, "I gathered up three heads at Badr and placed them before the

63. One in which the Prophet is quoted without mention of the Companion who narrated the statement.

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) telling him, 'Two of these I myself killed. Regarding the third, I saw a tall man kill him and I then took his head.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'O, that was so-and-so, one of the angels.'"

Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm related to me, quoting his father, as saying, "Al-Sā'ib b. Abū Ḥubaysh used to relate, during the period of ʿUmar's rule, 'I swear, it was no man who took me prisoner.' 'Who was it then?' he would be asked, and he would respond, 'When Quraysh were defeated, so was I with them. A tall, long-haired man on a white horse took me and tied me up. Then along came ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf and found me there bound. He called out to the men, "Who was it captured this man?" Eventually he took me to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who asked, "Who was it took you prisoner?" I told him I did not know, but I was reluctant to tell him what I had seen. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "It was an angel who took you prisoner. Take your captive away, Ibn ʿAwf."'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "ʿĀbid b. Yaḥyā related to me, as did Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, from ʿImāra b. Ukayma, from Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, who said, 'At the battle of Badr, I witnessed striped cloth come down from the sky and it blocked off the horizon. And then the valley streamed with water. It occurred to me that this was something from heaven with which Muḥammad was to be helped. And it was not long before there was the defeat and the advance of the angels to the forefront.'"

Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh stated, "Wahb b. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim related to us, saying, 'My father told me, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said, "My father quoted to me Jubayr b. Muṭʿim as saying, 'Before the enemy force was defeated, and while the men were still fighting, I saw something like a black striped cloth descend from the sky, like black ants; I had no doubt it was the angels, and soon the enemy force was defeated.'"'"

The angels descended to give their help and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw them when he took a nap and, upon waking up, he told Abū Bakr the good news, saying, "Rejoice at this, Abū Bakr; for Gabriel was there, leading his horse and with dust all over him." By this he meant from the battle.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left the shelter, dressed in chain-mail, and began urging on the men to battle. He told them of heaven and gave them encouragement in news of the coming of the angels. The men were meanwhile still in their battle ranks, not yet having advanced against their enemy. The result was that they felt tranquility and confidence.

They felt that calmness that is the sign of confidence, security and faith, just as God stated, "When He caused calm to overcome you, as a security from Him" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.11). This similarly happened to them thereafter, at the battle of Uḥud, as in the reference in the Qur'ān.

This is why Ibn Masʿūd remarked, "Calm in the battle ranks is a sign of faith; calm during the prayer is a sign of hypocrisy."

God Almighty stated, "If you sought judgement, it has come to you. If you desist, it will be better for you. If you go back, so will we. Your forces will serve you nothing, no matter how numerous they are. God is with the believers" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.19).

Imām Aḥmad stated, quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Zuhrī from ʿAbd Allāh b. Thaʿlaba that Abū Jahl said, when the two sides met in battle, 'O God, he (Muḥammed) was willing to destroy the ties of kinship, and the one to introduce us to that which was foreign to us, so destroy him this morning.' It was Abū Jahl who 'sought judgement'."

Ibn Isḥāq related it thus in his biography. Al-Nasā'ī related it through Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from al-Zuhrī. And al-Ḥākim related it also from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī. He then said, "It is authentic and in accordance with the criteria of both scholars (al-Bukhārī and Muslim); though neither one of them mentioned it."

Al-Umawī stated, "Asbāṭ b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī related to us, from ʿAṭiyya, from Muṭrif, concerning God's words, 'If you sought judgement, it has come to you' that Abū Jahl said, 'O God, assist the better of the parties, the more noble of the tribes, and the more numerous of the forces.'" And the words came down, "If you sought judgement, it has come to you."

ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalḥa quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, regarding the words, "And when God promises you that one of the two parties is yours" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.7). "The caravan belonging to the people of Mecca approached on its way to Syria. Those in Medina got news of this and they went forth, accompanied by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to attack the caravan.

"News of this reached the Meccans and they hurried out to the caravan to prevent the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his force from seizing it. The caravan outstripped the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); God had promised them one of the two parties, and they had wanted to meet up with the caravan.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did set forth with the Muslims heading for the enemy force, but they were reluctant to leave, being aware of the strength of their opponents. The Prophet (ṢAAS) made a halt with his Muslims at a place where there was a large sandhill between them and the wells. The Muslims were extremely tired, and Satan made them discontented by whispering to them, 'You claim to be partisans of God and to have His Messenger among you, yet it was the polytheists who reached the wells before you did, leaving you like this.'

"Then God sent down upon them a heavy rain. The Muslims drank and cleaned themselves and God withdrew Satan's evil from them. The sand became packed down and so both men and their animals could walk easily upon it. They then went out to fight the enemy force, and God aided his Messenger and the believers with 1,000 angels. Gabriel was there with 500 angels on one flank, and Michael was on the other with another 500 angels.

"Satan also brought a force of devils, including some of his own progeny, these being in the guise of men of the Banū Mudlij. Satan himself was in the

form of Surāqa b. Mālik b. Jaʿsham; he addressed the polytheists, saying, 'No one will defeat you today. I shall protect you!'

"When the battle lines were drawn, Abū Jahl spoke the words, 'The one more worthy of the truth, provide him with assistance.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) raised up his hands and prayed, 'O God, if this force is destroyed, You will never be worshipped on earth.'

"Gabriel told him to pick up a handful of soil. He did so and threw it into the faces of the polytheists. Every one of those whose eyes, nostrils or mouth any of this soil touched turned and retreated.

"Gabriel went towards Satan and at the time when the former saw him his hand was holding that of a polytheist. Satan withdrew his hand and retreated, along with his party of devils. The polytheist asked him, 'I thought you claimed to be our protector?' He replied, 'I see what you do not. I fear God, for God is mighty in His punishment.' He said this when he saw the angels."

Al-Bayhaqī related this in *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*).

Al-Ṭabrānī stated, "Masʿada b. Saʿd al-ʿAṭṭār related to us, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān and Hishām b. Saʿd, from ʿAbd Rabbihī b. Saʿīd b. Qays al-Anṣārī, from Rifāʿa b. Rāfiʿ, who said, 'When Satan saw how the angels dealt with the polytheists at Badr, he was afraid that the same would happen to him. Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām was staying very close to him, believing him to be Surāqa b. Mālik; Satan struck al-Ḥārith hard in the chest, then hurried away and threw himself into the sea, raising his hands into the air and pleading, "O God, I ask you to look kindly down upon me!" He was afraid that he was going to be killed. Abū Jahl came up and called out, "O people, do not be disturbed by the rambling of Surāqa b. Mālik; he was about to attend a meeting with Muḥammad! And don't be scared by the killing of Shayba, ʿUtba and al-Walīd; their time had come. I swear by al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā, we'll not go back home before we have scattered them into the mountains. I don't expect any of you to kill any of them. Just capture them roughly and make them aware of their bad behaviour in parting company with you and in abandoning al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā."'"

"Abū Jahl then quoted the line:

> 'Fierce warfare will not take revenge on me, spry like
> a two-year old camel; I am young in years.
> It was for such as this that my mother bore me.'"

Al-Wāqidī related, from Mūsā b. Yaʿqūb al-Zamʿī, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Sulaymān, from Abū Ḥatma, (who said), "I heard Marwān b. al-Ḥakam ask Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām about the battle of Badr. The sheikh was reluctant, but when Marwān insisted Ḥakīm said, 'We met and engaged in battle, and I heard a sound of something falling from the sky to the ground, making a noise like pebbles dropping into a brass basin. Then the Prophet (ṢAAS) picked up a handful of dirt and threw it. And we were defeated.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh related to us, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Thaʿlaba b. Ṣuqayr (who said), "I heard Nawfal b. Muʿāwiya al-Dīlī say, 'We were defeated at Badr as we heard a noise like that of pebbles dropping into a bowl, right inside us and behind us! That had a terrifying impact on us.'"

Al-Umawī stated, "My father related to us, quoting Ibn Abū Isḥāq, quoting al-Zuhrī from ʿAbd Allāh b. Thaʿlaba b. Ṣuqayr, that Abū Jahl said, when the forces met, 'O God, in the morning destroy the one who introduced us to that which was foreign to us and who ruined the family ties.' This was the 'judgement sought'.

"While they were in this state, God had encouraged the Muslims in meeting their enemy and had so diminished their enemy in their eyes that they were eager to fight them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took a nap in the shelter, then woke up and said, 'Rejoice, Abū Bakr; Gabriel is here, wearing a turban and holding the reins of his horse he is leading, with dust upon him. God and His forces have come to you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) issued orders picked up a handful of pebbles, went outside and faced the enemy and said, 'You are disgraced!' He then cast the pebbles out over them and said to his men, 'Attack!'"

The defeat soon came. God killed some of their leaders and took some prisoner. Ziyād stated, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then picked up a handful of pebbles, approached Quraysh carrying them and said, 'You are disgraced!' He cast the pebbles out over them and ordered his men, 'Attack them!' The defeat then occurred and God killed some of their chieftains and captured others."

Al-Suddī al-Kabīr stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ʿAlī at the battle of Badr, 'Give me some pebbles from the ground!' He handed him some pebbles with dirt on them which he threw into the faces of the enemy. None of the polytheists escaped having a little of that dirt enter their eyes. The Muslims forced them back, killing and capturing them. God revealed on that subject, 'You did not kill them; it is God who killed them. It was not you who threw when you threw, but God who threw'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.17).

ʿUrwa, ʿIkrima, Mujāhid, Muḥammad b. Kaʿb, Muḥammad b. Qays, Qatāda, Ibn Zayd, and others all spoke similarly, agreeing that this verse came down about the battle of Badr.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did the same during the expedition of Ḥunayn, as we will explain in the proper place, if God wills it, and in Him we trust.

Ibn Isḥāq reported that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) urged his men on to battle, cast the dirt at the polytheists and God Almighty defeated them, he went back up into the shelter accompanied by Abū Bakr. Saʿd b. Muʿādh, along with some of the Helpers stood guard at its door, bearing swords, concerned that some of the polytheists might attack the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When his men busied themselves in taking prisoners, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) noticed, so I have been told, some discontent in the face of Saʿd b. Muʿādh at what they were doing. He therefore asked him, 'Do I see you dislike what our men are doing, Saʿd?' He replied, 'Yes, by God, O Messenger of God; this is the first battle God has waged against the polytheists and I would have preferred the men to be massacred rather than kept alive!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maʿbad related to me, from some of his family, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said to his Companions that day, 'I have learned that some men of the Banū Hāshim, and others, have been forced to come out and did not want to do battle against us. If any of you should meet up with any men of the Banū Hāshim, do not kill them. If one of you should meet Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad, he should not kill him. Anyone meeting al-ʿAbbās b.ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) should also not kill him; he only came forth reluctantly.'

"Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa then asked, 'Should we then kill our own sons and brothers yet leave al-ʿAbbās alone? I swear by God, if I meet up with him, I'll attack him with my sword!'

"This comment reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he said to ʿUmar, 'O father of Ḥafṣ' – ʿUmar swore this was the first time he had ever used this name when addressing him – 'shall the face of the uncle of the Messenger of God be struck with a sword?'

"'O Messenger of God,' ʿUmar replied, 'let me strike Abū Ḥudhayfa's neck with my sword; he's turned hypocrite!'

"Abū Ḥudhayfa stated, 'I never felt safe, having made that comment that day. I always feared that the only thing that would mitigate it would be my martyrdom.'

"And he was killed as a martyr at the battle of al-Yamāma. God be pleased with him."

THE DEATH OF ABŪ AL-BAKHTARĪ B. HISHĀM.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only forbad the killing of Abū al-Bakhtarī because in Mecca he had been the most protective of the Messenger of God. He never harmed him, nor allowed anyone to mistreat him. He had also been one of those who had annulled the document boycotting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Al-Mujadhdhir b. Dhiyād al-Balawī, an ally of the Helpers met up with him and told him, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has forbidden us from killing you.' Abū al-Bakhtarī had with him a friend who had come forth from Mecca in his company, a man named Junāda b. Malīḥa, of the Banū Layth. Abū al-Bakhtarī asked, 'And what about my friend?'

"Al-Mujadhdhir replied, 'No, by God, we'll not excuse your friend; it was about you alone the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders.' Abū al-Bakhtarī

said, 'Well then, I and he will die together. I'll not have the womenfolk of Mecca say of me that I abandoned my friend because of my own will to live!'

"Abū al-Bakhtarī spoke the following verse as he began to battle al-Mujadhdhir,

> 'No free man abandons his comrade until he dies or sees his way.'

"They fought, and al-Mujadhdhir b. Dhiyād killed him. On this subject he spoke the verses,

> 'Should you have not known or forgotten my lineage, be sure that I descend from Balī,
> Men who fight using Yazanī spears, striking down the high and mighty,
> Either tell Abū al-Bakhtarī's son that he's an orphan now, or tell my son the same of me.
> I am he whose lineage is known to be from Balī; I thrust home my spear so hard it almost folds over.
> I slaughter my foe with a sharp Mashrafī blade, racing to death like a milch-camel to milking,
> You will never see Mujadhdhir inventing a lie.'

"Al-Mujadhdhir then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, I did try to take him prisoner to bring him to you, but he insisted on fighting me. So I fought back and killed him.'"

Chapter: On the death of Umayya b. Khalaf.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and others related to me, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, who said, 'Umayya b. Khalaf had been a friend of mine at Mecca. My name at that time was ʿAbd ʿAmr, and when I became a Muslim I renamed myself ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. When we met in Mecca, he addressed me by saying, "Hey, ʿAbd ʿAmr, don't you like the name your father gave you?" "That's right," I replied. He then said, "Well, I don't know this 'al-Raḥmān' name; let's give you some name just for you and me that I can call you. You don't respond to your first name and I can't call you by what I don't recognize." When he addressed me by ʿAbd ʿAmr, I did not respond. So I told him, "Abū ʿAlī, name me whatever you want." "Then you can be 'Abd al-Ilāh", he said, and I agreed to this.

"'Thereafter, when I passed him, he would address me as ʿAbd al-Ilāh, and I would respond and talk with him.

"'At the battle of Badr, I passed by him as he was standing with his son ʿAlī, holding his hand. I was carrying some coats of chain-mail I had got as spoils and when he saw me he called out, "ʿAbd ʿAmr!" I made no reply, so he then called

out, "ʿAbd al-Ilāh!" "Yes?" I then responded. He asked, "Don't you think I'm worth more to you than those coats of chain-mail you're carrying?" "Yes, you are," I replied.

"'So I put down the chain-mail and took him and his son by the hands. As I did so he commented that he had never seen the like of that day and asked, "Don't you have need of milk?"[64] I then walked off with them both.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abū ʿAwn related to me, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, who said, 'Umayya b. Khalaf said to me as I walked between him and his son, holding hands with them both, "ʿAbd al-Ilāh, who is that man distinguished by an ostrich feather across his chest?" I replied, "That is Ḥamza." He commented, "He's the one who ruined us."

"'As I was leading them on, Bilāl saw him with me, Umayya having been the one who had so persecuted him for his adoption of Islam. Bilāl shouted out, "Hey, there's that polytheist-in-chief Umayya b. Khalaf! I'll not live on if he does!" I responded, "Now Bilāl, he's my prisoner." "I'll not live on if he does," he insisted. He then began shouting at the top of his voice, "O partisans of God, here's Umayya b. Khalaf, the worst polytheist of all! I'll not live on if he does!" Men soon surrounded us till they had us in a sort of enclosure, with me protecting him all the while. Then one man took his sword and struck the leg of Umayya's son, making him fall down. Umayya then let out a cry such as I never heard before. I told him to try to escape, though there was no chance of this, and I could do nothing for him. After that our men fell on them with their swords and killed them.'"

The account concludes, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān used to say, 'May God have mercy on Bilāl; he deprived me of both my chain-mail and my two prisoners!'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in similar terms in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. In the chapter dealing with the power of attorney, he stated, "ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz related to me, he being the son of ʿAbd Allāh, quotingYūsuf, he being the son of al-Mājishūn, from Ṣālih b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, who quoted his father as saying that his father, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf said, 'I corresponded with Umayya b. Khalaf asking him to take care of my personal affairs in Mecca while I looked after his in Medina. When I used the word "al-Raḥmān" in my name, he responded, "I don't know any 'al-Raḥmān'; write to me in the name you had before." So I wrote to him as "ʿAbd ʿAmr." At Badr I went out to the mountain to protect him when the men were asleep, but Bilāl caught sight of him and came out and stood where there was a group of the Helpers and yelled, "Umayya b. Khalaf! I'll not live on if Umayya b. Khalaf does!"

"'So he and a group of the Helpers took off after us. Fearing they would catch up with us, I left behind for them his son to deter them. But they killed him and pursued us; he was a heavy man. When they caught up to us, I told him to kneel down and when he did so I shielded him with myself. But they reached him with

64. According to Ibn Hishām, he was suggesting that he would be able to offer milch-camels as ransom for himself and his son.

their swords while he was beneath me, and one of them cut my leg with his sword.' And ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf used to show us the mark on the back of his leg."

Yūsuf heard Ṣāliḥ relate this, his father being Ibrāhīm.

Al-Bukhārī, alone of all the authorites, gave this account. In the collection of *ḥadīth* attributed to Rifāʿa b. Rāfiʿ, it was he who killed Umayya b. Khalaf.

THE DEATH OF ABŪ JAHL, GOD DAMN HIM!

Ibn Hishām stated, "As Abū Jahl advanced that day he spoke the following verse as he fought,

> 'Violent warfare will not take revenge on me, spry like
> a two-year old camel; I am young in years.
> It was for such as this that my mother bore me.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished with his enemy, he ordered that the body of Abū Jahl be sought among those killed.

"Regarding who was the first to find Abū Jahl, I was told by Thawr b. Zayd, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, and also by ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, as follows, 'Muʿādh b. ʿAmr b. al-Jamūḥ, a brother of the Banū Salama, said, "I heard our men say that Abū Jahl was amid some bushes, and that he could not be reached."

"'When I heard this, I made him my business and went off for him. When I could do so, I attacked him and gave him such a blow as to sever his foot and half his leg. I swear, the only thing I can compare it with as it flew off was like the kernel of a nut emerging after having been struck by a nutcracker. His son ʿIkrima struck me on my shoulder and off came my arm, which remained attached only by the skin of my side. The battle drew me away from him, and I spent the whole day fighting while dragging my arm behind me. When it began hurting, I kept my foot on it as I walked ahead until I had removed it.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Muʿādh lived on after that into the reign of ʿUthmān.

"Then Muʿawwidh b. ʿAfrāʾ passed by Abū Jahl, who was already badly wounded, and struck him till he disabled him completely. Muʿawwidh left him on the point of death and fought on until he was killed.

"'ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd next passed by Abū Jahl, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having issued the order that he be sought from among those killed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told them, so I have been informed, 'If when you search he is hidden among the dead, look for someone with a scar on his knee. He and I, when we were youths, were once sitting crowded together at a feast given by ʿAbd Allāh b. Judʿān. I was a little slimmer than him, and I gave him a push making him fall down on his knees, one of which received a wound that left a permanent scar.'"

"Ibn Masʿūd stated, 'When I found him he was on the point of death. When I recognized him I put my foot on his neck; he had once held me captive in

Mecca and hurt me and kicked me. I asked him, "So God has put you to shame then, you enemy of God!" He replied, "And how has He shamed me?" he asked. "Aren't I the most noble man you have killed? Tell me which side won the day?" "It went to God and to His Messenger," I told him.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Men of the Banū Makhzūm claim that Ibn Masʿūd used to say, 'Abū Jahl said to me, 'You've climbed very high, for having been just a herdsman!' I then severed his head and took it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'This, O Messenger of God, is the head of God's enemy.' 'Is it really, by God other than Whom there is none?' (This was the oath the Messenger of God used to speak.) I responded, 'Yes, by God other than whom there is none.' I then threw Abū Jahl's head down in front of him and he praised God."

This is an account given by Ibn Isḥāq, God be pleased with him.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, through Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb b. al-Mājishūn, from Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, from his father who quoted ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, as saying, "At Badr I was standing in the battle line and when I looked to my right and my left I found myself to be between two Helpers, both of whom were young men. I had hoped to be positioned between two men who would be weaker than these. One of them asked me, winking, 'Uncle, would you know Abū Jahl?' 'Yes,' I replied, 'what need have you of him?' He replied, 'I've heard that he curses the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, if I were to see him, I'd not leave him before the death of whichever of us had his time come first.'

"I was amazed to hear this. Then the young man on my other side winked at me and asked me the same. I looked right over at Abū Jahl, moving around his men and commented, 'Can't you see? That's the man over there you're asking about.' Thereupon the two men charged at him with their swords drawn and struck him until they had killed him. They then went off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and informed him and he asked which of them had killed him. Each one said he had. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'Have you both wiped your swords clean?' They replied, 'No.' He then examined the swords and concluded that they had indeed both killed him. He decided that Abū Jahl's spoils should go to Muʿādh b. ʿAmr b. al-Jamūḥ, the other man being Muʿādh b. ʿAfrā'."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, from his father, from his grandfather, who quoted ʿAbd al-Raḥmān as having said, 'I was there in the line at Badr and happened to look to my left and right and found those next to me to be young men. I wasn't feeling very comfortable at their position, when one of them asked me, keeping his question secret from his companion, "Uncle, point out Abū Jahl to me." "What will you do to him?" I asked. He replied, "I swore to God that if I saw him I would kill him or die in front of him." The other man asked me in confidence the same question. Nothing pleased me more than to be in that position between them both. I pointed Abū Jahl out to them and they flew at him like falcons and struck him down. These men were two sons of 'Afrā'.'"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, moreover, there is an account from Abū Sulaymān al-Taymī quoting Anas b. Mālik as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Who will find out what became of Abū Jahl?' Ibn Masʿūd offered to do so and went off and located him; he had been struck down by ʿAfrā''s two sons and was on the point of death. Ibn Masʿūd then took him by the beard and asked, "Are you Abū Jahl?" He replied, "Is any man superior whom you have killed?" Or he said, "It is his people who killed him!"'"

According to al-Bukhārī, from Abū Usāma, Ismāʿīl b. Qays quoted Ibn Masʿūd as having said that he went to Abū Jahl and asked him, "Has God disgraced you then?" He replied, "Aren't I the most noble man you have killed?"

Al-Aʿmash stated, from Abū Isḥāq, from Abū ʿUbayda, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "When I reached Abū Jahl he was stretched out, wearing a helmet and holding a fine sword. My own sword was a poor one. I was about to sever his head with my sword, remembering how my own head had been struck with swords in Mecca till the hands of my attackers tired. Then I picked up his sword, whereupon he raised his head and asked, 'Which side won the day? Us or them? And aren't you our young herdsman from Mecca?'

"'Abd Allāh went on, 'So I killed him. Then I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and told him I had killed Abū Jahl. He exclaimed, "Did you really, by God other than Whom there is none!" He made me swear it three times. He then arose and went outside, with me accompanying him, and cursed them (those polytheists killed in battle).'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Wakīʿ related to us, quoting Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from Abū ʿUbayda, who said, "Abd Allāh stated, "When I reached Abū Jahl at the battle of Badr, I found that his leg had been severed, but he was still using his sword to defend himself. I said, 'Praise be to God for disgracing you, you enemy of God!' He responded, 'Is he any but a man killed by his own people!'

"'"I set about fighting him with a blunt sword I had and struck him on the hand. His sword fell, and I picked it up and hit him with it till I had killed him."'

"'Abd Allāh went on, 'I then went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) as though walking on air, and told him. He responded, "Is it really so, by God other than Whom there is none!" He repeated this three times. I then replied, "It really is, by God other than whom there is none!"'

"'Abd Allāh continued, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went out, accompanied by myself, stood over him and said, "Praise be to God! God has disgraced you, you enemy of God! This man was the Pharoah of his people!"'"

In another account, Ibn Masʿūd stated, "And he gave me his sword as booty."

Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī stated, from al-Thawrī, from Abū Isḥāq, from Abū ʿUbayda, from Ibn Masʿūd, who said, "I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of Badr and told him I had killed Abū Jahl. He replied, 'Is it really so, by God other than whom there is none?' I replied, 'It really is, by God other than whom there is none!' I said this twice or thrice.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'God is Great! Praise be to God who fulfilled His promise, and aided His servant and defeated the parties by Himself.' He then added, 'Go and show him to me.' I went and did so and he said, 'This is the Pharoah of this nation.'"

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī related it from a *ḥadīth* told by Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood where the two sons of ʿAfrāʾ had died and said, 'God bless the two sons of ʿAfrāʾ; they were partners in the killing of the Pharoah of this nation, the leader-in-chief of the polytheists.' Someone asked, 'O Messenger of God, who was it who killed him along with them?' He replied, 'The angels; and also Ibn Masʿūd participated in killing him.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Ḥākim related to us, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from ʿAnbasa b. al-Azhar from Abū Isḥāq, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received at Badr the good news of the death of Abū Jahl, he asked (the informant) to swear thrice that he had indeed seen him dead. He did so whereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prostrated in prayer.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then related through Abū Nuʿaym, from Salama b. Rajāʾ, from al-Shaʿthāʾ, a woman of the Banū Asad, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū ʿAwfā, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), prayed two *rakʿāt* (four prostrations) when he was given the good news of the victory, and when he was brought Abū Jahl's head.

Ibn Māja stated, "Abū Bishr Bakr b. Khalaf related to us, quoting Salama b. Rajāʾ, who said, 'Shaʿthāʾ related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made two prostrations in prayer on the day he was brought the head of Abū Jahl.'"

Ibn Abī Dunyā stated, "My father related to me, quoting Hishām, quoting Mujālid from al-Shaʿbī, that a man said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'As I passed by Badr, I saw a man coming out of the battle-field being struck by a man with an iron staff he had until he disappeared into the ground. When he next appeared, the man would hit him again, and this happened several times.'"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "That was Abū Jahl b. Hishām being tortured until Judgement Day."

Al-Umawī stated in his work on the military expeditions, "I heard my father say that al-Mujālid b. Saʿīd related to him, from ʿĀmir, who said, 'A man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "I saw at Badr a man seated while another man struck him on the head with an iron rod until he disappeared into the ground." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "That was Abū Jahl; an angel had been appointed to do that to him whenever he came up. He is going to go on sinking down into the ground until Judgement Day."'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "ʿUbayd b. Ismāʿīl related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father, who said, 'Al-Zubayr stated, "At Badr I met up with ʿUbayda b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ who was fully accoutred, so that nothing of him could be seen except his eyes. He was known by the nickname 'Abū al-Kirsh',

i.e. 'pot-belly'. He told me he was Abū al-Kirsh and I charged at him with a javelin, struck him in the eye and he died."'

"Hishām stated, 'I was informed that al-Zubayr said, "I put my foot on him and trod down, only managing to extract it with difficulty for its two blades had bent over."'"

ʿUrwa stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked for it and he gave it over. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, it being still in his possession, Abū Bakr requested and received it. When Abū Bakr died, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb requested and received it. When ʿUmar died, he (al-Zubayr, tr.) took it, but ʿUthmān requested it and he gave it to him. When ʿUthmān was killed, it went to ʿAlī's family. Then ʿAbd Allāh, al-Zubayr's son, asked for it and had possession of it until he was killed."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Abū ʿUbayda related to me, quoting other scholars learned in the early military engagements, that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ as he passed by, 'You seem to me annoyed about something; do you think I killed your father? If I had, I would not apologize to you for doing so. However, it was my uncle al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra whom I killed. I did pass by your father, but he was acting like a bull scraping the earth with his horn. So I avoided him and it was his nephew ʿAlī who sought him out and killed him.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿUkkāsha b. Miḥṣan b. Ḥirthān al-Asadī, an ally of the Banū ʿAbd Shams, used his sword to fight with at Badr until it broke off in his hand. He went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who then gave him a wooden club and told him, 'fight with this, ʿUkkāsha!'

"When ʿUkkāsha took it from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and brandished it, it turned into a fine, long, white steel sword. He fought using it until God gave victory to the Muslims. That sword was named *al-ʿawn*, 'the helper'; he had it at all the battles he witnessed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until ultimately he was killed by Ṭulayḥa al-Asadī, during the wars of apostasy. Ṭulayḥa spoke an ode about this, part of which was,

> "The evening I left Ibn ʿAqram lying prostrate, and
> ʿUkkāsha al-Ghanamī on a battle-field."

Ṭulayḥa later accepted Islam, as will be related hereafter.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿUkkāsha was he who said, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), gave his nation the good news that 70,000 of them would enter heaven without either testing or punishment, 'Pray to God to make me one of them.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) then spoke the words, 'O God, make him one of them!'"

This *ḥadīth* is given in all the *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic", and *ḥisān*, "good", collections of traditions, as well as elsewhere.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said – so I have been told – 'We have the finest horseman of all the Arabs.' 'And who is he then?' he was

asked, and he replied, 'ʿUkkāsha b. Miḥṣan.' Ḍirār b. al-Azwar commented, 'He's one of our men, Messenger of God.' He replied, 'He's not one of yours. He's one of ours by alliance.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related, from al-Ḥākim, through Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī, "'Umar b. ʿUthmān al-Khashnī related to me, from his father, from his maternal aunt, who said, 'ʿUkkāsha b. Miḥṣan stated, "My sword broke at Badr, so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave me a stick and suddenly it became a long, white sword. I fought with it until God defeated the polytheists." He kept it with him until he died.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Usāma b. Zayd related to me, from Dāʾūd b. al-Ḥusayn, from some men of the Banū al-Ashhal, several of whom said, 'The sword of Salama b. Ḥuraysh broke during the battle of Badr. Without a sword, he was unable to fight, so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him a staff he carried made of a green palm tree frond. He told him, "fight with this!" And it turned into a fine sword. He kept it with him until he was killed at the battle of Jisr Abū ʿUbayda.'"

HOW THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) REPLACED QATĀDA'S EYE.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, in the *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), "Abū Saʿd al-Mālīnī informed us, quoting Abū Aḥmad b. ʿAdī, quoting Abū Yaʿlā, quoting Yaḥyā al-Ḥimmānī, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Sulaymān b. al-Ghasīl, from ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, from his father, from his grandfather Qatāda b. al-Nuʿmān, that his eye was wounded at Badr and that its pupil came down on to his cheekbone. They were about to slice it off, but asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said that they should not do this. He then said a prayer for him, covering his cheek with his palm. And later you could not tell which of his eyes had been struck!"

According to one account, this became his better eye.

An account came down to us from the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz that when he was told this account by ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, he also recited,

> "I am the son of him on whose cheek his eye descended,
> which was replaced so well by the hand of the Chosen-One."

Upon hearing this, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, God bless him, quoted very appropriately the verse of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt about the sword of Ibn Dhū Yazin,

> "These fine qualities are not like two bowls with milk
> merely whitening the water that soon becomes urine."

ANOTHER SIMILAR ACCOUNT.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh informed us, quoting Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ, quoting al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Shaʿrānī, quoting

Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān, quoting Rifāʿa b. Yaḥyā, quoting Muʿādh b. Rifāʿa b. Rāfiʿ, from his father Rāfiʿ b. Mālik, who said, 'At the battle of Badr, the enemy was gathered around Ubayy b. Khalaf and when I drew near him, I saw that his chain-mail had been damaged beneath his arm pit. So I stabbed him there with my sword. At Badr I was also hit by an arrow and my eye was gouged out. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spat on it and said a prayer for me. And no harm had been done to me.'"

This account is unique from this line; its chain of transmission is excellent, but the (major) scholars did not quote it. Al-Ṭibranī, however, related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir.

Ibn Hishām stated, "And Abū Bakr called for his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who was at that time on the side of the polytheists, not yet having accepted Islam. Abū Bakr asked him, 'Well, where's my property now, evil one?' ʿAbd al-Raḥmān replied, in verse,

> "All that remains are weapons and the horse Yaʿbūb, and
> a sword with which to kill silly old men."

By this he meant that all that was left was equipment for warfare and a horse, named Yaʿbūb, on which misguided old men could be fought. This is what he said in his state of disbelief.

We have been informed in al-Umawī's work on the military campaigns that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr went out and walked among the dead, the former commenting, "We're splitting the chieftains apart," the latter reciting the verse,

> "Of powerful men who were against us; they were very
> haughty and evil!"

An Account of how the heads of the unbelievers were thrown into the well at the battle of Badr.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that those killed should be thrown into the burial pit, it was done. Umayya b. Khalaf, however, was not thrown in because he had swollen up in his armour and quite filled it. When they went to take him out of it, his body fell apart so they left him in it and threw on him the earth and the stones they had removed.

"'Having thrown them into the pit, he stood over them and said, "O denizens of the pit, have you found what your Lord promised you to be true, for I have found what my Lord promised me?"'

"She went on, 'His Companions asked him, "O Messenger of God, are you talking to people who are dead?"

"'He replied, "They have learned that what their Lord promised them was true'" (*sūrat al-Rūm*; XXX, v.52).

"'Ā'isha stated, 'People say that he spoke the words, "They heard what I said to them." However, what he said was, "they have learned"'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl related to him, from Anas b. Mālik who said, "The Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) heard him saying in the middle of the night, 'O denizens of the pit, O 'Utba b. Rabī'a, O Shayba b. Rabī'a, O Umayya b. Khalaf, O Abū Jahl b. Hishām,' and he went on to enumerate those in the pit. 'Have you found what your Lord promised you to be true, for I have found what my Lord promised me to be true.'

"The Muslims said, 'O Messenger of God, are you calling out to decaying bodies?'

"He replied, 'You do not hear any better than they what it is I say; but they cannot answer me.'"

Imām Aḥmad related this from Ibn Abū 'Adī, from Ḥamīd, from Anas. His account was similar. This tradition conforms to the criteria of both the sheikhs (al-Bukhārī and Muslim).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A scholar related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'O denizens of the pit, you were very bad relatives of the prophet who was your Prophet. You called me a liar, while the people believed in me. You expelled me, while they gave me shelter. You fought me, while they aided me. Have you found what your Lord promised you to be true? I have found what my Lord promised me to be true.'"

I would comment that this is one of those *aḥādīth* that 'Ā'isha, God bless her, used to interpret (differently), believing them to contradict the verses in the Qur'ān. These have been documented in a single volume.

In this case the passage contradicted, in her view, is the verse, "And you do not make those in the graves listen" (*sūrat al-Fāṭir*; XXXV, v.22). This verse however does not contradict the previous statement. The view of the majority of the Companions is correct in the light of the *aḥādīth* that contradict her views, God bless her and be pleased with her.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Ubayd b. Ismā'īl related to him, from Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, who said, "Someone mentioned in 'Ā'isha's presence that Ibn 'Umar quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having said, that the dead would be persecuted in their graves because of the weeping of their families. She commented, 'God have mercy on him, no! What the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said was, "They will be tortured for their faults and their sins, and their families are weeping for them now."'

"She went on, 'That is like the account saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood at the trench in which were the polytheists who had been killed at Badr and he spoke to them, and commented, 'They do listen to what I say.'" However, what he said was, "They now know that what I was telling them was true."' She then recited, "you do not make the dead to hear" (*sūrat al-Rūm*;

XXX, v.52) and "you do not make those inside the graves hear" (*sūrat al-Fāṭir*; XXXV, v.22). She commented, "When they had taken their places in hell-fire, that is." Muslim related it from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Usāma.

The assertion concerning hearing the dead after their burial comes in more than one *ḥadīth*, as we will establish, if God wills it, in our book on funerals in *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr* (*The Major Statutes*).

Al-Bukhārī then stated, "'Uthmān related to me, quoting 'Abda, from Hishām, from his father, from Ibn 'Umar, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood at the burial pit at Badr and said, "Have you found what your Lord promised you to be true?" He then said, "They now listen to what I tell them!'"

"This was related to 'Ā'isha and she commented, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) really said, "Now they know that what I used to tell them was the truth."' She then recited, 'you do not make the dead to hear' to the end of that verse."

Muslim related this from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Usāma, and from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Wakī', both of them quoting Hishām b. 'Urwa.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, (that) he heard Rawḥ b. 'Ubāda (say), 'Sa'īd b. Abū 'Arūba related to us, from Qatāda, who said, "Anas b. Mālik reported to us, from Abū Ṭalḥa, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered on the day of the battle at Badr that 24 of the chiefs of Quraysh be thrown into a dirty, refuse-laden old well. Whenever he went forth against an enemy he would stay for three nights out in an open area. On the third day at Badr he ordered his mount to be readied and it was saddled. He then set off, followed by his Companions who told one another that he had to have some important reason to be leaving. He came to a stop at the lip of the well and began calling out their names, referring also to their fathers' names by saying, 'You so-and-so, son of so-and-so' etc. 'Would you now be pleased to have obeyed God and His Messenger? We have found that what our Lord promised us was true. Have you found what your Lord promised you to be true?'"'

"'Umar then said, 'Messenger of God, why do you talk to bodies that have no spirits in them?'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, 'By Him who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hand, you do not hear what I say any better than do they!'"

Qatāda stated, "God gave them life until He had made them hear his words, to reprimand, denigrate, and punish them, to make them feel sorry and regretful."

The rest of the scholars gave this tradition, except for Ibn Māja, from various lines, back to Sa'īd b. Abū 'Urūba.

Imām Aḥmad related it from Yūnus b. Muḥammad al-Mu'adib, from Shaybān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Qatāda, who said that Anas b. Mālik gave this *ḥadīth*, in similar form, but without making reference to Abū Ṭalḥa. This chain of authorities is good, but the prior one is more reliable and more clear. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAffān related to us, quoting Ḥammād, from Thābit, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left the dead at Badr unburied for three days, till they became putrid. He then went out, stood near them and said, 'O Umayya b. Khalaf, O Abū Jahl b. Hishām, O ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, O Shayba b. Rabīʿa, have you found what your Lord promised you to be true? I have found what my Lord promised me to be true.'"

He continued, "ʿUmar heard his voice and asked, 'O Messenger of God, do you call out to them after three days, and do they hear? God Almighty said, "You do not make the dead to hear."' He replied, 'By Him in whose hand is my soul, you do not hear any better what I say than they do. But they cannot reply.'"

Muslim related this from Hudba b. Khālid, from Ḥammād b. Salama.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses,

'I recognized Zaynab's home on the dunes, traced like a line of revelation on a clean sheet,
The winds blow over them and all the dark clouds pouring down heavy rain,
Its traces are worn and have become defaced that once were the abode she enjoyed.
Give up remembering her every day and cast off the agony of your sad heart,
And relate shamelessly, honestly and without inventing lies.
Tell what the All-Powerful did in the morning at Badr, giving us success over the polytheists,
That morning when their force seemed as great as Mt. Ḥirāʾ, its dimensions plain at sunset.
When we engaged them our force was like forest lions, young and mature alike,
Ahead of Muḥammad whom they defended against his enemies in the fires of warfare,
Sharp, thin swords in their hands, all well-tried and bone cutting,
The Banū al-Aws in the vanguard, helped by the Banū al-Najjār, men in the firm faith.
We left Abū Jahl prostrate, and ʿUtba on the ground,
And Shayba we left there, along with other men of noble lines.
When we threw them upside down into the pit, the Messenger of God called to them,
"Do you not now find my words were true? And God's command does take by the heart."
They did not speak but if they had they would have said, "You spoke true; your views were correct."'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered they be thrown into the pit, 'Utba b. Rabī'a was dragged there. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked, so I have been told, into the face of Abū Ḥudhayfa, son of 'Utba, and he looked sad and distressed. He asked some such question as, 'Abū Ḥudhayfa, are you very upset at your father's fate?'

"He replied, 'No, I swear, O Messenger of God. I've no problems with my father's fate; but I once knew him as a man of reason, judgement and goodness, and hoped those qualities would lead him to Islam. When I saw what his fate was and how he had died in disbelief despite my hopes for him, I was saddened.' Hearing this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) treated him with kindness and said a prayer for him."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Al-Ḥumaydī related to us, quoting Sufyān, quoting 'Amr, from 'Aṭā', from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, quoting the verse of the Qur'ān, 'those who exchanged disbelief for God's favour' (*sūrat Ibrāhīm*; XIV, v.28), 'These, I swear, were the disbelievers of Quraysh.' 'Amr commented, 'They were Quraysh; and Muḥammad was God's favour.' And regarding the verse, 'And their people came to dwell in a waste-land abode' he commented, 'This referred to the hell-fire, after the battle of Badr.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses,

> 'My people are those who gave refuge to their Prophet
> and who believed him, while the earth's inhabitants were
> unbelievers,
> Except for certain special peoples who preceded the
> virtuous Helpers, aiding them,
> Rejoicing in their words at God's decree, for there
> having come to them one noble in line, chosen.
> "Welcome indeed! Welcome in ease and security!" How
> fine the Prophet, fine the decree, and the protection!
> They had him stay in a place where nothing was to fear
> from those neighbours who lived close by;
> The Helpers shared their wealth with them when they
> arrived as Emigrants, while the fate of the deniers was the
> fire.
> We went and they did too, to their fate; had they but
> known for sure they would not have gone.
> He set them in conceit, then delivered them up; the
> vile are careless of those who empower them.
> He told them, "I am your neighbour." Then he brought
> evil upon them, including punishment and disgrace.
> We then met up against them and they turned away from
> their leaders who were aiding them, and one faction of them
> fell far down.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yaḥyā b. Abū Bakr and 'Abd al-Razzāq related to us, as follows, 'Isrā'īl related to us, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When

the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished with the slain, he was told, 'Pursue the caravan; there's nothing protecting it now.' Al-ʿAbbās, in shackles, called out to him, 'It behoves you not!' 'Why not?' he asked. He replied, 'Because God promised you one of the two parties and He has fulfilled His promise to you.'"""

The total number of polytheist leaders killed at Badr were 70, this taking place in the presence of 1,000 angels.

It was no doubt God's decree that a majority of those who survived would accept Islam. If He had wished He could have sent down just one angel against them and destroyed them to the last man. But the (angels) killed only those totally devoid of good.

For among those angels was Gabriel, whom God Almighty had once ordered to destroy the cities of the people of Lot. There were seven of these cities and they consisted of a variety of nations, animals, lands and farms, and God only knows what. He lifted these cities up until he had raised them to the very heavens on the edge of his wing. He then turned them upside down and lowered them, pursuing them with stones that struck them. This was as we described it in our account of the people of Lot.

God had planned for the warfare of the believers against the unbelievers. The Almighty had laid out his judgements about that in saying, "And when you meet in battle those who disbelieve, then strike their necks until you have defeated them. Then take them prisoner. Later set them free either as a favour or for ransom until the war is concluded. That will be how it is; if God had wished he would have inflicted full retribution upon them. But He acted to try some of you through others" (*sūrat Muḥammad*; XLVII, v.4).

The Almighty also stated, "Fight them! God will punish them through your hands and will disgrace them. He will give you victory over them and He will assist you against them, relieving the hearts of a people who are believers. He will remove the anger from their hearts and He will grant forgiveness to those He wishes" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.14, 15).

The death of Abū Jahl came about at the hands of a youth from the Helpers. Thereafter ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd was placed over him; he grasped Abū Jahl by the beard and stood upon his chest, until he said, "You have reached remarkable heights, for a herdsman!" ʿAbd Allāh then cut off his head and took it and placed it before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

By this God comforted the believers. And this was more effective than if He had made a bolt of lightning strike Abū Jahl down, or made the roof of his house fall upon him, or if he had died a natural death. But God knows best!

Among those polytheists killed at Badr, Ibn Isḥāq mentions some Muslims who had come to battle along with them only out of fear. These Muslims had been persecuted and enticed away from Islam. Among these were al-Ḥārith b. Zamʿa

b. al-Aswad, Abū Qays b. al-Fākih, Abū Qays b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, 'Alī b. Umayya b. Khalaf, and al-'Āṣ b. Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It was regarding them that the Almighty revealed, 'Those whom the angels made to die were unjust to themselves. They say, "What were your circumstances?" They will reply, "We were powerless on earth." They shall ask them, "Was God's earth not spacious enough for you to move away elsewhere?" Those persons shall have hell as their abode, and bad will be their fate'" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.97).

The prisoners taken at Badr that day totalled 70 and discussion relating to them will follow, if God wills it. These included some members of the family of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that is, his uncle al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, his cousin 'Āqil b. Abū Ṭālib, and Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

Al-Shāfi'ī, al-Bukhārī and others have used this as evidence in support of the view that not everyone who possesses a relative is obliged to set him free. They use this to refute the *ḥadīth* of al-Ḥasan, from Ibn Samra regarding this. But God knows best.

Abū al-'Āṣ b. al-Rabī' b. 'Abd Shams b. Umayya, the husband of Zaynab, daughter of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was one of those prisoners.

Division

The Companions differed over what to do with the prisoners taken at Badr. There were two views – that they should be killed, or that they should be freed in return for ransom.

As Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Alī b. 'Āṣim related to us, from Ḥumayd, from Anas, and from another man mentioned, from al-Ḥasan, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sought the advice of his men concerning what to do with the prisoners taken at Badr. He told them, 'God has placed them in your power.'"

He went on, "'Umar arose and said, 'O Messenger of God, strike their necks!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turned away from him.

"He then again asked them the same question. Abū Bakr arose and said, 'O Messenger of God, we consider you should pardon them and accept ransom for them.'

"At this the unhappiness on the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) disappeared; he did pardon them and accepted ransom for them.

"And God Almighty revealed the words, 'Were it not decreed by God beforehand you would have suffered mightily'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.68). Aḥmad alone quoted this tradition.

He also related – and the following wording is his – as did Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī, stating it to be authentic, as did 'Alī b. al-Madīnī, who also affirmed its authenticity, from a *ḥadīth* of 'Ikrima b. 'Ammār, as follows, "Simāk al-Ḥanafī Abū Zumayl related to us, quoting Ibn 'Abbās, quoting 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who said, 'At the battle of Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)

looked out and saw his force to be some 300 strong, while that of the polytheists was more than 1,000.'"

He then related the *ḥadīth* as above as far as the words, "and 70 of them were killed, while 70 were taken prisoner."

And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked the advice of Abū Bakr, ʿAlī and ʿUmar about them. Abū Bakr responded, "O Messenger of God, these are your close relatives, your tribal brothers; I think you should accept ransom from them. What we receive from them will give us power against the unbelievers; and God might well give them guidance so that they become allied to us."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "Well, what do you think, O ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb?" ʿUmar went on, "I replied, 'By God, I don't agree with Abū Bakr. I think you should hand over to me so-and-so,' referring to someone closely related to ʿUmar, 'and I'll strike his neck. And if you hand ʿAqīl over to ʿAlī, he can strike his neck. And if you hand over to Ḥamza so-and-so, his brother, he can strike his neck. That way God will know that we feel no leniency towards the polytheists. These men are their chieftains, their very leaders.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) liked what Abū Bakr had said and did not like my view. And so he did accept ransom from them."

The following day, ʿUmar said, "I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) early in the morning; he was with Abū Bakr and they were weeping. I asked, 'O Messenger of God, tell me why you and your Companion are weeping. If I find reason to weep, I'll do so. If not I would pretend to weep at your weeping!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I'm weeping at how you Companions proposed to me that I accept ransom. Your punishment for doing so was proposed to me and it was closer than this tree,' referring to a tree nearby.

"And God Almighty sent down, 'It is not proper for a prophet to take captives before he has caused slaughter in the land. You desire the things of this world, while God wishes for the after-life. And God is All-Powerful, All-Wise! Were it not decreed by God beforehand you would have suffered mightily for what you took'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.67, 68).

This refers to the ransom. God then did make permissible the acceptance of spoils. He then went on to complete the *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʿāwiya related to him, quoting al-Aʿmash, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from ʿUbayda, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "At the battle of Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'What do you say concerning these prisoners?' Abū Bakr replied, 'O Messenger of God, they are your people, your relatives. Let them live; be lenient to them. Perhaps God will forgive them.'"

ʿAbd Allāh went on, "'Umar said, 'O Messenger of God, they exiled you and called you a liar. Bring them close and strike their necks!'

"'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa suggested, 'O Messenger of God, find a valley with many trees, make them enter it, then set it on fire around them!'"

ʿAbd Allāh went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went back inside without giving him any response. Some people said he was going to do as Abū Bakr had suggested, others that he would take ʿUmar's advice, still others that he would take that given by ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. Then he came out to them and said, 'God softens the hearts of men concerning Him, so that they become softer than soft. And God hardens the hearts of men so that they become harder than stone. You, Abū Bakr, are like Abraham who said, "Whoever follows me is of me, and whoever disobeys me, then You are Forgiving, Merciful" (*sūrat Ibrāhīm*; XIV, v.36). You, Abū Bakr, are like Jesus, who said, "If You punish them, they are Your servants; if You forgive them, then You are the All-Powerful, the Wise" (*sūrat al-Māʾida*; V, v.118). You, ʿUmar, are like Noah, who said, "O Lord, do not leave on the earth any place for the unbelievers" (*sūrat Nūḥ*; LXXI, v.26). And ʿUmar, you are like Moses, who said, "O God, destroy their wealth and make their hearts hard, for they will not believe until they see the painful punishment" (*sūrat Yūnus*; X, v.88). You are a support. Let none be exempt from either ransom or having their head smitten.'"

ʿAbd Allāh continued, "I asked, 'Except for Suhayl b. Bayḍā? For I have heard him talk of Islam.'" He went on, "But he remained silent."

ʿAbd Allāh then said, "And I was never more afraid that there should fall upon me some stone from heaven than I was that day, until he said the words 'Except for Suhayl b. Bayḍā'."

He went on, "And so God revealed, 'It is not proper for a prophet to take captives before he has caused slaughter in the land. You desire the things of this world, while God wishes for the after-life; and God is All-Powerful, All-Wise. And were it not for a decree'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.67–8).

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus, as did al-Ḥākim, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Muʿāwiya. Al-Ḥākim stated, "The chain of authorities is authentic, though they (al-Bukarī and Muslim) did not narrate it." Also, Ibn Mardawayh related it through ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and Abū Hurayra in similar words. And it is similarly related from Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī.

Ibn Mardawayh related, and so did al-Ḥākim in the *al-Mustadrak*, (*The Compendium*), from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā, (as follows), "Isrāʾīl related to us, from Ibrāhīm b. Muhājir, from Mujāhid, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'When the prisoners were taken at the battle of Badr, al-ʿAbbās was among them; he was captured by a Helper.' He went on, 'The Helpers had warned him they would kill him. That information reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said, "I did not sleep tonight because of my uncle al-ʿAbbās. The Helpers are saying they are going to kill him."' ʿUmar asked, 'Should I go to them?' 'Yes,' he replied.

"ʿUmar went to the Helpers and asked them to release al-ʿAbbās to him. They replied, 'No; by God we'll not release him!' ʿUmar then asked them, 'What if that is the pleasure of the Messenger of God?' They replied, 'If that is his pleasure, then take him.' So ʿUmar did take him and when he had control over him, ʿUmar asked him, "ʿAbbās, accept Islam! I swear, for you to accept Islam

would please me more than if al-Khaṭṭāb, my father, were to do so. And that would be only for the pleasure I would see your acceptance of Islam giving to the Messenger of God.'

"He went on, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked the advice of Abū Bakr, who replied, "They are of your family, release them." He asked the advice of ʿUmar, who said, "Kill them!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked ransom for them and so God revealed, "It is not proper for a prophet to take captives before he has caused slaughter in the land"'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.67).

Al-Ḥākim then stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, "This *ḥadīth* has an authentic chain of transmission, but the two authorities (al-Bukhārī and Muslim) did not narrate it."

Al-Tirmidhī related, as did al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Hishām b. Ḥassān, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, from ʿUbayda, from ʿAlī, who said, "Gabriel came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said, 'Ask your Companions to make a choice about the prisoners; if they want there to be ransom, so be it. If they want to kill them, so be it, provided that in a future year a similar number be killed of them.'

"They commented, 'So it's to be ransom or some of us will be killed!'"

This is a very strange *ḥadīth*. Some authorities relate it with an incomplete line of authorities, from ʿUbayda. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, concerning the verse "were it not for a decree from God that came before, you would have suffered mightily for what you took" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.68). "He is saying, 'Were it not for the fact that I do not punish those who disobey me until I have approached them, I would have made you suffer mightily for what you took.'"

It is similarly related from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, also from Mujāhid. Ibn Isḥāq and others chose it.

Al-Aʿmash stated, "He had previously made plain that he would not punish anyone who had taken part in the battle of Badr." It is similarly related from Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, Saʿīd b. Jubayr and ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Rabāḥ.

Mujāhid and al-Thawrī stated, "'were it not for a decree from God that had come previously.' That is, in forgiving them."

Al-Wālibī stated, from Ibn ʿAbbās, "It had previously been stated in the Qurʾān that the 'spoils and ransom for prisoners are permitted to you'. And this is why God later stated, 'and so enjoy whatever you have taken as booty, well and legally'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.69).

It was related similarly from Abū Hurayra, Ibn Masʿūd, Saʿīd b. Jubayr, ʿAṭāʾ, al-Ḥasan, Qatāda and al-Aʿmash, and Ibn Jarīr selected it.

This last statement is considered preferable because of what is substantiated in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), stated, 'I was given five things not given to any prophet before myself: I was given victory through fear (within Quraysh) for a month; the earth was made

for me into a mosque, and a pure place; booty was made permissible for me while it had not been made so for anyone before myself; I was given intercession; and prophets were previously sent to their people, while I was sent to all mankind.'"

Al-A'mash related, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Hurayra, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as saying, "Booty was not made permissible to leaders other than ourselves."

The Almighty therefore stated, "so enjoy whatever you have taken as booty, well and legally".

And so God Almighty made it permissible to take booty and ransom for prisoners.

Abū Dā'ūd stated, "'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mubārak al-'Absī related to us, quoting Sufyān b. Ḥabīb, quoting Shu'ba, from Abū al-'Anbas, from Abū al-Sha'thā', from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed a price of 400 dirhams as ransom for the non-Muslims at Badr. This sum was in fact the least taken for any one of them as ransom, while the largest amount taken for any one of them was 4,000 dirhams."

God promised those who believe that there will be returned to them what was taken from them, in this world and the next. The Almighty stated, "O Prophet, tell the prisoners now in your hands, 'If God knows there is good in your hearts, He will give you better than what has been taken from you, and He will forgive you'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.70).

Al-Wālibī stated, from Ibn 'Abbās: "Revelation came down about al-'Abbās, and he ransomed himself for 40 *awqiyya* of gold. And he commented, 'And so God did give me 40 slaves,' referring to those who worked for him in his business. He went on, 'And I hope for that forgiveness that God – most highly is He to be praised – has promised.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'bad related to me, from some of his family, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'The night following the Battle of Badr, after the prisoners had been bound, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at first could not get to sleep. His Companions asked him why he could not sleep and he replied, "I have been hearing my uncle al-'Abbās groaning in his fetters." So they untied him, he became silent and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to sleep.'"

Ibn Isḥāq concluded, "And he was a wealthy man, who ransomed himself with 100 *awqiyya* of gold."

My own comment is that this money was on behalf of himself, and for his nephews 'Aqīl and Nawfal, as well as for his ally, 'Utba b. 'Amr, one of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Fihr, as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told him to do when he claimed to have accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "What was evident was that you were against us. God knows best about your accepting Islam, and He will reward you."

Al-'Abbās claimed that he had no money and so he was asked, "Where is the money that you and Umm al-Faḍl buried when you told her, 'If I should be

killed on my expedition, then this is for my sons al-Faḍl, ʿAbd Allāh and Qathm?'

"Al-ʿAbbās responded, 'By God, I certainly know you're the Messenger of God; no one except myself and Umm al-Faḍl knew that.'"

Ibn Isḥāq related this from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, through Mūsā b. ʿUqba that Al-Zuhrī stated, "Anas b. Mālik related to me as follows, 'Some Helpers requested to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They asked him, "Give us permission and we will leave the ransom money for our sister's son al-ʿAbbās." He replied, "No, by God, you won't leave a single dirham for him!"'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān said, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb, from Anas, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was brought money from al-Baḥrayn and ordered that it be distributed in the mosque. It was the largest sum of money that was ever brought to him. Al-ʿAbbās came to him and said, 'O Messenger of God, give me some; I paid ransom for myself and for ʿUqayl.' 'Take some,' he told him. Al-ʿAbbās stuffed money into his gown, then moved away, dragging it, but was unable to do so. He asked, 'Tell someone to lift it up for me!' 'No, I won't,' he replied. 'Then you lift it upon me,' he asked. 'No, I won't,' he repeated. Al-ʿAbbās then scattered some of the money and made to go, again dragging it, but he could not. Again he asked, 'Tell someone to lift it up on me!' 'No, I won't,' he said. Al-ʿAbbās scattered some more of the money then lifted it up on his shoulders and left. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gazed after him until he was lost to our sight, amazed at his cupidity. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not rise to collect a single dirham of the money."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Ḥākim told us, quoting al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus, from Asbāṭ b. Naṣr, from Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī, who said, 'The ransom for al-ʿAbbās and his two cousins ʿAqīl b. Abū Ṭālib and Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib amounted to 400 dinars for each man. Then the Almighty threatened the rest, saying, "If they want to betray you, they have previously betrayed God. And so He took control of them. And God is knowledgeable, wise"'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.71).

Division

It is well known that the prisoners at Badr numbered 70, while the number of polytheists killed was also 70, as was related in more than one *aḥadīth* that have been given above and will be given hereafter, if God wills it. This is also stated in a *ḥadīth* of al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, namely that at Badr they killed 70 and captured 70.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "At the battle of Badr 6 Muslims of Quraysh were killed and 8 of the Helpers, while 49 of the polytheists were killed and 39 were taken prisoner."

Al-Bayhaqī related it thus from him and went on to state that Ibn Lahīʿa

reported it similarly, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, concerning the number of the Muslims who died as martyrs, and the number of polytheists who were killed.

Al-Bayhaqi continued, "Al-Ḥākim related to us, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said, 'At Badr 11 of the Muslims died as martyrs, 4 from Quraysh and 7 from among the Helpers, while more than a score of the polytheists were killed.'"

In another passage, al-Bayhaqi stated, "With the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) there were 40 prisoners, while their dead were of a similar number."

Al-Bayhaqī then related, through Abū Ṣāliḥ, al-Layth's secretary, from al-Layth, from ʿUqayl, from al-Zuhrī, who said, "The first of the Muslims killed was Mihjaʿ, the freed-man of ʿUmar, and a Helper. More than 70 of the polytheists were killed that day, a similar number of them being taken prisoner."

Al-Bayhaqi went on, "Ibn Wahb related it from Yūnus b. Yazīd, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr. He commented, "It is this that we have related that is the most authentic account of the number of polytheists killed and taken prisoner."

He then gave evidence of this, referring to what both he and al-Bukhārī had derived through Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, stating, "At the battle of Uḥud, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr in command of the archers, and they hit 70 of us. The Prophet (ṢAAS) and his men had struck down 140 of the polytheists at Badr, 70 being killed and 70 being taken captive."

I would comment that the fact is that the total number of polytheists at Badr was between 900 and 1,000.

Qatāda asserted that they were 950 men, as if he were deriving his information from what we have stated. But God knows best.

In the *ḥadīth* of ʿUmar given above, it is stated that they were more than 1,000; however, the first account is what is authentic, since the Prophet (ṢAAS) stated, "The enemy force was between 900 and 1,000."

The Muslim forces that day totalled some tens above 300 men, as evidence shows that will be given hereafter, if God wills it, along with their names.

It has been previously stated in the *ḥadīth* of al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the battle of Badr took place on Friday, the 17th of Ramaḍān; ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr also stated this, as did Qatāda, Ismāʿīl, al-Suddi al-Kabīr and Abū Jaʿfar al-Bāqir.

Al-Bayhaqī related, through Qutayba, from Jarīr, from al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, who said with reference to the *laylat al-qadr*.[65] "Search for it with 11 nights remaining of the month, for Badr took place on the morning of that date."

65. The term refers to that night in the month of Ramaḍān when revelation of the Qurʾān first occurred.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "It is related of Zayd b. Arqam that he was questioned about the *laylat al-qadr* and he replied, 'The night of the 19th, without doubt.' He went on, 'And the day known as *al-furqān*[66] when the two forces met in battle.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "It is well known from the works of the scholars of the early military campaigns that that occurred on the 17th of Ramaḍān."

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, "Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān informed us, quoting Abū ʿAmr b. al-Sammāk, quoting Ḥanbal b. Isḥāq, quoting Abū Nuʿaym, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, who quoted Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, as saying, 'Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī was asked about the battle of Badr, and he replied, 'It was either on the 17th or the 13th, or when either 11 or 17 days remained of the month.'"

This is very strange.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir recounted in the biography of Qubāth b. Ashyam al-Laythī, through al-Wāqidī and others, with lines of authority going back to him, that Qubāth was present at Badr on the side of the polytheists and that he recounted their defeat despite the small size of the force of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He stated, "I kept saying to myself, 'I only ever saw women take flight from such as this.' I swear, if the Quraysh women had gone forth to battle bearing only easily-drawn bows, they would have turned back Muḥammad and his men! And following the battle of *al-Khandaq*, 'the trench', I wished I had gone to Medina and had looked into what Muḥammad was saying. Islam had now entered my spirit." He went on, "I then went there and asked after him and was told he was over in the shade of the mosque with a group of his Companions. So I went there, but I was unable to distinguish him from the others. I made my greetings and he asked me, 'So, Qubāth b. Ashyam, you're the man who said of Badr, "I only ever saw women take flight from such as this?" I replied, 'I bear witness that you are the Messenger of God! This is something I never uttered, not even muttering it. It's only what I said to myself. And were you not a prophet, you'd not know of it! Let me now pledge to you my allegiance to Islam!' And I accepted Islam."

Division

The Companions, God be pleased with them, disagreed among themselves over who should receive the spoils gained from the polytheists at Badr.

When the polytheists retreated, the Muslims performed three functions. One group remained on watch guarding the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) aware that any one of the polytheists might come back and attack him.

Another group pursued the polytheists, killing and capturing them.

A third group gathered the spoils of the battle from various places.

Each of these groups maintained that their activities were important and entitled them to a greater share than the rest.

66. The term refers to that "clear differentiation" that occurred between the forces of good and evil at the battle of Badr.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith and others related to me from Sulaymān b. Mūsā, from Makḥūl, from Abū Umāma al-Bāhilī, who said, 'I asked 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit about the *sūrat al-Anfāl*, (*The Spoils*). He replied, "It was revealed about those of us who took part in the battle at Badr after we had begun quarreling about the spoils and were behaving badly. God therefore took them away from us and gave them over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who divided them *'an bawā'*, equally, that is, among the Muslims."'"

Aḥmad related this similarly from Muḥammad b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

By the word given above for "equally" it is meant that the spoils were split between those who had gathered them, those who had chased the enemy, and those who had remained near the banners. No one group was given the preferential treatment they claimed.

This does not contradict the concept of spoils being divided into five parts, each fifth being allotted to a specific recipient, as some scholars might maintain, including Abū 'Ubayda and others. But God knows best. In fact, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his sword *Dhū al-Fiqār* from the booty taken at Badr.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "He similarly chose a camel that had belonged to Abū Jahl that had a silver ring through its nose. This was also before the issuance of the edict about the fifth."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr related to us, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās b. Abū Rabī'a, from Sulaymān b. Mūsā, from Abū Sallām, from Abū Umāma, from 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, who said, 'We went forth with the Prophet (ṢAAS) and I witnessed Badr with him. When the forces met and God defeated the enemy, one group went off after them, putting them to flight and killing them, another group sought and gathered up the booty, while a third group kept watch over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so that the enemy would not do him harm. When night came and the forces gathered back together, those who had assembled the booty said, "We gathered it and no one else has any right to it." Those who had pursued the enemy said, "You have no greater right to it than us; we drove the enemy away from the booty and we defeated them." Those who had guarded the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "We feared some harm might come to him from the enemy, and so we devoted ourselves to him." And so it was that God sent down, "They ask you about the spoils. Say, 'The spoils belong to God and to His Messenger. So fear God, reconcile and obey God and His Messenger, if you are indeed believers'"' (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.1).

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided the booty among the Muslims. Whenever he raided enemy territory he would divide the spoils into fourths. But if he pursued a retreating (army) he would divide it into thirds. He had a dislike for booty."

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja related the latter part of this, from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This is a *ḥadīth ḥasan*,[67] a 'good *ḥadīth*'." Ibn Ḥibbān related it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, as did al-Ḥākim in his *al-Mustadrak* (*The Compendium*) from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Al-Ḥākim stated, "This is authentic according to the criteria of Muslim, but he did not narrate this tradition."

Abū Dāʾūd, al-Nasāʾī, Ibn Ḥibbān and al-Ḥākim related, on various lines from Dāʾūd b. Abū Hind, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, the following: "At the battle of Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Those who have done so-and-so shall receive such-and-such.' The younger men made haste to carry this out, while the older men stayed near the banners. When the booty had been collected the men gathered to claim their share. The older men asked that they not be given less credit than the rest, saying they had acted as a safeguard against the sudden attack by any enemy force. There was much dispute and so God Almighty revealed, 'They ask you about the spoils. Say, "The spoils belong to God and to His Messenger. So fear God, reconcile and obey God and His Messenger, if you are indeed believers"'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.1).

We have made extensive comments elsewhere, too lengthy to explore here, on the reason for the revelation of this verse.

The meaning of the words is that decisions over the spoils devolve upon God and His Messenger to judge in accord with the best interests of the worshippers regarding this life and the after-life. The Almighty therefore stated, "The spoils belong to God and to His Messenger. So fear God, reconcile and obey God and His Messenger, if you are indeed believers."

He then went on to recount the events and outcome of the battle of Badr, concluding, "And know that whatever thing you have taken as spoils of war, then one-fifth of it is for God and for His Messenger and for the kinfolk, orphans, the poor and wayfarers" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.41). It is evident that this verse explains God's commands regarding the spoils of war which He has made subject to Himself and to His Prophet (ṢAAS). The Almighty has clarified and determined this in accord with His wish. This is the view of Abū Zayd.

Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Salām, God bless him, claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided up the booty taken at Badr equally between the men and that he did not divide it into fifths. The edict relating to the division into fifths was revealed after this, cancelling the previous practice.

Al-Wālibī related this similarly, from Ibn ʿAbbās, and Mujāhid, ʿIkrima and al-Suddī attested to it. However, there is controversy over this. And God knows best. The controversy relates to whether the above verses came prior to or following the verse referring to the division into fifths, since all relate to the battle of Badr. It seems necessary to consider them to have been revealed all together

67. Al-Tirmidhī used this term to define a *ḥadith* whose narrators were known to have defective memories.

at one time and not separately, with some having come later, as would be necessary if some had cancelled others.

Then there is the *ḥadīth* in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections relating to ʿAlī, God be pleased with him. This tells how, regarding Ḥamza's having cut off the two humps of his two old mare camels, and of his stating that one of these was part of the fifth part set aside at Badr. His statement directly contradicts Abū ʿUbayd's contention that the spoils at Badr were not divided into five parts. God knows best; but they were divided into five according to the accounts of al-Bukhārī, Ibn Jarīr and others; this is the correct and preferable view. But God knows best.

Division

The return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Badr to Medina and the events on that journey by which his Lord gave him help and assistance.

It has previously been stated that the engagement took place on Friday, the 17th of Ramaḍān, 2 AH.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that following an engagement against an enemy, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would thereafter spend three days in an open area. His normal period of three days so spent at Badr, however, ended, as related above, after two days when he mounted his camel and stood above the pit at Badr, berating those dead polytheists who had been dragged there.

Thereafter he departed, taking with him the prisoners and the great quantity of booty. He had sent on ahead two heralds to Medina to announce the victory over those who had associated others with God and denied and disbelieved in Him. One of these heralds was ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, whom he sent to the upper parts of Medina. The other, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, he sent to the city's lower parts.

Usāma b. Zayd stated, "The news reached us when we had finished levelling the earth over Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Her husband, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, God bless him, had remained behind to nurse her at the orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who had assigned to him a share in the spoils of Badr."

Usāma stated further, "When my father, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, arrived, I went to him and found him standing at the prayer shrine, swamped by people. He was saying, 'ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa has been killed, as also had been Abū Jahl b. Hishām, Zamʿa b. al-Aswad, Abū al-Bakhtarī al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām, Umayya b. Khalaf and Nubayh and Munabbih, the two sons of al-Ḥajjāj.' I asked him 'Father, is this true?' He replied, 'Son, I swear it is so.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, citing a line of authorities through Ḥammād b. Salama, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from Usāma b. Zayd, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) had left ʿUthmān and Usāma b. Zayd to look after his daughter. Then Zayd b. Ḥāritha arrived, mounted on *al-ʿAḍbā'*, the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with the good news. Usāma said, "I heard the tumult and so went outside. There I found Zayd who had brought the good news. But, I swear, I

didn't really believe it until I saw the prisoners. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had assigned to ʿUthmān a share in the spoils."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) following his return from Badr, performed the evening prayer at al-Athīl.[68] When he had finished one *rakʿa* he smiled. Someone later asked why he was smiling and he replied that he could see Michael with dust on his wing, who had smiled at him and said, 'I was looking for the rest.' And Gabriel had come to him when he had finished fighting the enemy at Badr, riding a mare, its forelock knotted and the furrows of its head covered with dust. He had said, 'O Muḥammad, my Lord has sent me to you and told me not to leave you until you are content. Are you content?' 'I am,' he had replied."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "They related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Zayd b. Ḥarītha and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa ahead from al-Athīl and they arrived on Sunday in the heat of late morning. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa parted from Zayd b. Ḥāritha at al-ʿAqīq and began calling out, still on his mount, 'O Helpers, rejoice at the safety of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and at the killing and capture of the polytheists! The two sons of Rabīʿa have been killed, along with the two sons of al-Ḥajjāj, Abū Jahl, Zumʿa b. al-Aswad and Umayya b. Khalaf, while Suhayl b. ʿAmr has been taken prisoner!'

"ʿĀṣim b. ʿAdī stated, 'I went up to him and accompanied him, saying, "Is that the truth, Ibn Rawāḥa?" He replied, "It certainly is! And tomorrow the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) will arrive with the prisoners in chains." He then went to the homes of the Helpers, one after the other, in the upper part of the town, telling them the good news. The children chanted along with him, "The evil Abū Jahl is dead!" He continued on until he reached the home of the Banū Umayya, when Zayd b. Ḥāritha arrived on the camel called *al-Qaswāʾ* belonging to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announcing the good news. When he reached the prayer shrine he shouted, still mounted, "ʿUtba and Shayba, the two sons of Rabīʿa have been killed! And the two sons of al-Ḥajjāj! Umayya b. Khalaf is dead, as are Abū Jahl, Abū al-Bakhtarī, and Zamʿa b. al-Aswad. Suhayl b. ʿAmr Dhū al-Anyāb has been taken captive, along with many others!'

"Some people refused to believe Zayd and began saying, 'Zayd b. Ḥāritha has only come because he's been defeated!' This confused and scared the Muslims.

"Zayd arrived when we had finished levelling the earth over Ruqayya, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at al-Baqīʿ, and one of the hypocrites commented to Usāma, 'Your master has been killed, and all those with him!' Another said to Abū Lubāba, 'Your friends have scattered, and they'll never unite around him again. His Companions have died for him, and Muḥammad has been killed. This we know to be his own camel. And Zayd is so confused he doesn't know what he is saying. He's come in defeat.' Abū Lubāba said, 'God will refute what you are saying.' The Jews commented, 'Zayd has only come in defeat.'

68. A place near Medina, between Badr and Wādī al-Ṣafrāʾ.

"Usāma said, 'So I went off alone with my father and asked, "Is it really true, what you are saying?" He replied, "Yes indeed, son; I swear by God what I say is true."

"'This encouraged me and I returned to that hypocrite telling him, "You are spreading lies about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and about the Muslims! We're going to have you up before the Messenger of God, and he'll execute you!" He replied. "It's only what I hear people saying."'

"He went on, 'The prisoners were brought in, in the custody of Shaqrān, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He had participated at Badr with the rest. They were 49 men in number.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "According to the sources, they totalled 70; and there is no doubt about this."

He went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met with the city leaders who congratulated him on the victory God had given him. Usayd b. al-Ḥuḍayr told him, 'O Messenger of God, praise be to God who has given you victory and made you content. By God, O Messenger of God, nothing would have kept me from joining you at Badr if I had thought you would be meeting an enemy in battle; but I thought you were going after a caravan. If I had known it was an enemy, I'd not have stayed behind.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'You speak the truth!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began his journey back to Medina, taking the prisoners with him. Amongst them were ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayṭ and al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith. In charge of the booty he had appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. Mabdhūl b. ʿAmr b. Ghanm b. Māzin b. al-Najjār.

"One of the Muslims who composed doggerel verse, who according to Ibn Hishām was said to be ʿAdī b. Abū al-Zaghbā', spoke the lines,

> 'Water your camels, Basbas, for there's no place for them to halt at Dhū al-Ṭalḥ.
> Nor in the deserts of ʿUmayr is there any corral; though the people's mounts can't be kept penned in.
> It's smarter to get them on the road; God has given victory, and al-Akhnas has fled.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went forward and, having come through the pass at al-Ṣafrā', he halted at a hill between the pass and al-Nāziyya called Sayar, near a willow tree. There he divided up equally the spoils that God had bestowed upon the Muslims from the polytheists. Then he moved on to al-Rawḥā', where he was met by Muslims congratulating him on the victory that God had given him and his Muslim force. Salama b. Salama b. Waqsh – as I have been told by ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar and Yazīd b. Rūmān – asked them, 'What are you congratulating us about? All we faced were bald old women, like camels bound for sacrifice, and we slaughtered them!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled at this and said, 'Hey, cousin, those were the *al-mala'*, chiefs!'"

Ibn Hishām observed, "He was referring to the nobles and the leaders."

THE DEATHS OF AL-NAḌR B. AL-ḤĀRITH AND ʿUQBA B. ABŪ MUʿAYṬ, GOD DAMN THEM!

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at al-Ṣafrā', al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith was killed by ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, or so I was told by a scholar from Mecca. After they had moved on to ʿIrq al-Zabiyya, ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayṭ was executed.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his death, ʿUqba asked him, 'Who will look after my children, Muḥammad?' 'The fire!' he responded. The man who killed him was ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ, a brother of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, as I was told by Abū ʿUbayda b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba also stated this in his work on the military expeditions. He claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) killed no other person taken captive.

He stated, "And when ʿĀṣim b. Thābit came up (to kill him) ʿUqba asked, 'O tribe of Quraysh, why am I to be killed out of all those here?'

"He replied, 'For your enmity towards God and His Messenger.'

"Ḥammād b. Salama stated, from ʿAṭā b. al-Sā'ib, from al-Shaʿbī, who said, 'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered the execution of ʿUqba, he asked, "Will you kill only me from among Quraysh?"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "Yes. Do you know how this man treated me? He came up while I was prostrate in prayer behind the *maqām*,[69] placed his foot on my neck and pressed down on it. I thought my eyes were going to come out, before he lifted up his foot. On another occasion he brought a sheep's entrails which he threw over my head while I was prostrate in prayer. Fāṭima came and washed it off my head."'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is also said that it was ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib who killed ʿUqba, according to al-Zuhrī and other scholars."

I would comment that these two men were among the most evil of God's servants, the most stubborn, wicked, envious and disbelieving of men and they had been very active in satirizing Islam and its supporters. God damn them! And He did, indeed!

Ibn Hishām stated, "Qutayla, daughter of al-Ḥārith, sister of al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith, spoke the following verses about the death of her brother,

'O rider, al-Athīl is a landmark since the morning of
the fifth night, and you are fortunate.
Inform there a dead man of a greeting that the finest
of all are still waving,
From me to you, and of tears that are shed in

69. The "shrine of Abraham", near the *kaʿba*.

profusion, flooding out, while others are repressed.
Will al-Naḍr hear if I call to him; or can a dead man hear who cannot speak?
Muḥammad, you, the finest son of a woman noble among her people, and her husband a fine stallion,
It would not have harmed you to forgive him, for a valorous man often forgives, despite his anger or rage.
Or you could have accepted ransom, and the largest sum ever paid would have been provided,
And al-Naḍr was the closest in ties to you of all your captives, and the worthiest, if any were to be freed.
The swords of his father's sons would then have charged for God, with wombs being split asunder on His behalf,
Stoically he was led to death, worn out and bound, but servile.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "And it is said, though God alone knows best, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, when those verses were recited to him, 'If only this had reached me before his death, I would have spared him!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "At that place the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was met by Abū Hind, the freed-man of Farwa b. 'Amr al-Bayāḍī, his cupper. He had with him a wine-skin filled with *hays*, that being dates in a butter sauce, a gift for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He accepted it and recommended Abū Hind to the Helpers.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went on into Medina, arriving there one day before the prisoners."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Nabīh b. Wahb, brother of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār, related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided up the prisoners among his Companions following their arrival and said, 'Behave well towards them.'

"Abū 'Azīz b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim, a brother of Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr by the same father and mother, was among the captives. Abū 'Azīz stated, 'My brother Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr passed me by while one of the Helpers was tying me up. Muṣ'ab said, "Bind his hands fast. His mother is wealthy, and she'll ransom him from you."'

"Abū 'Azīz went on, 'I was with a group of Helpers bringing me from Badr. When they had their midday and evening meals, they gave me the bread and ate the dates themselves, in accordance with the instruction given them by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) regarding us. Every piece of bread that came into their hands they passed on to me. I was embarrassed and would return the bread, but they would pass it back untouched.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "This Abū 'Azīz was the standard-bearer of the polytheists at Badr, following al-Naḍr b. Ḥārith.

"And after his brother had made his comment to Abū al-Yusr, the man who had me captive, Abū 'Azīz commented, 'Brother, is this how you treat them?' Muṣ'ab replied, 'He's more my brother than you are!'

"His mother asked what was the highest price paid to ransom a Quraysh man. She was told, 'Four thousand dirhams.' She therefore ransomed him with four thousand dirhams she sent."

I comment that the given name of this Abū ʿAzīz was Zurāra, according to what Ibn al-Athīr stated in his work *Ghābat al-Ṣaḥāba* (*Compendium of Companions*). Khalīfa b. Khayāṭ included him in his list of names of the Companions. He was Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr's brother on his father's side. They had another paternal brother who was Abū al-Rūm b. ʿUmayr. Those who would have him as killed at Badr as an unbeliever are in error. That person was really Abū ʿAzza, as will be told hereafter. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, that Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿd b. Zurāra said, 'When the prisoners were brought in, Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was with the family of ʿAfrāʾ, who were engaged in mourning for ʿAfrāʾ's two sons, ʿAwf and Muʿawwidh. This was before the veil was made required for the wives of (the Prophet). Sawda said, "I swear by God, there I was when someone came in and said, 'They've brought in the prisoners!' So I went off to my house, where the Messenger of God was, and there I found Abū Yazīd Suhayl b. ʿAmr in a corner of the room with his hands tied with a rope behind his neck. I couldn't restrain myself from saying, at the sight of Abū Yazīd, 'O Abū Yazīd! You gave yourself up then! Couldn't you have died a noble death!'

"'"I swear, I was then quite startled to hear the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) call out from inside the house, 'Sawda, are you stirring up trouble for God and for His messenger!' I replied, 'O Messenger of God, by Him who sent you with the truth, I couldn't restrain myself from saying as I did when I saw Abū Yazīd with his hands tied up at his neck!'"'"

Information will follow hereafter in detail recounting the arrival of the prisoners in Medina, and how and at what cost they were ransomed. If God wills it so, that is.

An Account of the joy of the Negus, God bless him, at the outcome of the battle of Badr.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥurfī of Baghdad informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. Salmān al-Najjād, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū al-Dunyā, quoting Ḥamza b. al-ʿAbbās quoting, ʿAbdān b. ʿUthmān, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd, quoting Jābir, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, a man from Ṣanʿā, who said, 'One day the Negus sent for Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib and his Companions and when they went in to him they found him in his house sitting on the ground dressed in rags. Jaʿfar said, "We felt very sorry for him when we saw him, in this state, and when he observed this in our faces, he explained, 'I have good news for you

that will make you rejoice. A spy has come to me from your land and has told me that God has given victory to his Prophet, defeated his enemy, taken captive so-and-so and so-and-so, and killed so-and-so and so-and-so. The forces met in a valley called Badr where many thorny trees grow. It's as if I can see it now, for I used to look after camels there for my master, a man of the Banū Ḍamra.'"

"'Jaʿfar then asked the Negus, "Why are you sitting on the ground, without even a carpet, dressed in those old clothes?" He replied, "We agree with what God sent down to Jesus – that it is the duty of God's worshippers to behave in humility when God performs some favour for them. Since God has favoured me with the victory of his Prophet (ṢAAS), I am acting in humility in this way for him."'"

Chapter: On the arrival of the news of those stricken at Badr to their families in Mecca.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The first to arrive in Mecca with news of the Quraysh casualties at Badr was al-Ḥaysumān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khuzāʿī. When he was asked for news, he reported the deaths of ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, Shayba b. Rabīʿa, Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām, Umayya b. Khalaf, Zamʿa b. al-Aswad, Nubayh and Munabbah, and Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām.

"As he ennumerated the Quraysh nobles, Ṣafwān b. Umayya commented, 'That makes no sense; ask him about me!' So they asked him what had happened to Ṣafwān b. Umayya, and he responded, 'He's over there, sitting in the *ḥijr*; I saw the deaths of his father and his brother when they were killed.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "When the news reached Mecca and was verified, the women cut off their hair; and many horses and riding camels were slaughtered."

Al-Suhaylī recounted, from the book *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*) of Qāsim b. Thābit, whose author said that at the time of the battle of Badr the people of Mecca heard a spirit calling out,

> "The *ḥanīfs* brought a battle to bear at Badr because of
> which the power of Chosroe and Caesar will collapse,
> It sent men of Luʾayy to their death, and brought forth
> unmarried women to strike the ground in despair.
> Woe to him who becomes Muḥammad's enemy, deliberately
> straying from the right path and getting lost!"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās related to me, from ʿIkrima, the freed-man of Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'Abū Rāfiʿ, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I was a slave of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib at the time when Islam had entered us, the people of the house. Al-ʿAbbās accepted Islam, as did Umm al-Faḍl and myself as well. Al-ʿAbbās was concerned about his people and disliked opposing them and so he concealed his acceptance of Islam. He was a man of great wealth that was scattered amongst his people. Abū Lahab had stayed behind from Badr and had sent al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām

b. al-Mughīra in his place. This was the practice; any man who could not go to battle sent another in his place.

"'"When he received news of those of Quraysh who were struck down at Badr, God humiliated and disgraced Abū Lahab, while we experienced a sense of power and pride. I was a weak man and I used to make arrows, sharpening them in the pavilion near *zamzam*, the sacred well. I was seated there active in this, with Umm al-Faḍl sitting there with me, happy at the news we had received, when in came Abū Lahab, dragging his feet in annoyance. He sat down at one side of the pavilion, his back facing mine. As he sat there people announced, 'Here's Abū Sufyān, al-Mughīra b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who has arrived.' Abū Lahab called out, 'Come on in to me; you must have some news.'

"'"Abū Sufyān came and sat down, people standing all around. Abū Lahab then spoke, 'Cousin, tell me what happened to everyone.'

"'"'Well,' he reported, 'I swear that no sooner had we joined battle with them, than we turned our back to them and they killed and captured us just as they liked. But, I swear, I don't blame them; we faced men dressed in white mounted on piebald horses between heaven and earth. I swear, they spared nothing, and nothing could withstand them.'"'

"Abū Rāfi' went on, 'I then raised the tent rope with my hand and commented, "By God, those were the angels!"

"'At that Abū Lahab raised his fist and hit me a very hard blow in the face. I charged at him, but he fought back and knocked me to the ground. He then knelt down on me, beating me. I was a weak man. Then Umm al-Faḍl took hold of one of the tent supports and began hitting him with it, making a nasty wound in his head and shouting, "So you think he's powerless now that his master is away!'

"'He got up and left, humiliated. And by God, he only lived seven more days before God afflicted him with the pustules that killed him.'"

Yūnus, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, added, "His two sons left him unburied for three days after his death and he began to decompose. Quraysh greatly feared those pustules, just as they did the plague. Eventually one of the Quraysh said to his sons, 'Aren't you ashamed that your father is decomposing in his house, without you burying him?' They replied, 'We're scared of those terrible pustules.' The man insisted, 'If you do it, I'll help you.' And they did not wash him and merely threw water over him from a distance, not going close to him at all. They then carried him to the heights of Mecca, placed him against a wall and covered him over with stones."

Yūnus said, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, "Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, mother of the believers, who said she always veiled herself with her gown until she had passed beyond the place where Abū Lahab was buried."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād related to me as follows, 'Quraysh mourned their dead. Then they told one another not to do this because when Muḥammad

and his supporters heard of it they would revile them. They also agreed not to seek reassurance by making enquiry about the captives to discourage the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from making heavy demands for their ransom.'"

I observe that God's forcing them to forego mourning for their dead was part of the totality of His punishment of those of them that remained alive at that time. For weeping for the dead contributes to the recovery of the grieving heart.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib was afflicted with the loss of three of his sons, Zamʿa, ʿAqīl and al-Ḥārith, and he wished to mourn properly for them. He heard a woman in the night bewailing her loss and, because he was himself blind, he asked his son, 'Go and see if mourning has become permissible. Are Quraysh now bewailing their dead? Perhaps I will now be able to lament the loss of Abū Ḥakīma' – he was referring to his son Zamʿa – 'for I am in great pain.'

"When the boy returned, he reported that it was merely a woman lamenting the loss of a camel that had gone astray. It was then that al-Aswad spoke the verses,

> 'Is she weeping because a donkey of hers has gone
> astray and so insomnia keeps her from sleeping?
> Do not weep over a young camel, but over Badr that
> ruined all hopes,
> Over Badr and the elite of the Banū Huṣayṣ and Makhzūm
> and the tribe of Abū al-Walīd.
> And weep, if you weep at all, for Abū ʿAqīl and for
> Ḥārith, the lion of lions.
> Weep for them all, and do not hold back, for there is
> none the like of Abū Ḥakīma.
> After them it is other men who rule, and had it not
> been for Badr, they would not have come to lead.'"

Division

The payment of ransom money by Quraysh to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for their men who were captive.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Wadāʿa b. Ḍubayra al-Sahmī was among the prisoners. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'He has a son in Mecca who is a wealthy, shrewd merchant; no doubt he will come and seek to ransom his father.' When Quraysh advised that there would be no hurry in ransoming the prisoners so that Muḥammad and his Companions would not seek larger sums, al-Muṭṭalib b. Abū Wadāʿa, the man to whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had referred, agreed and also advised against haste. But he left secretly at night and went to Medina, where he ransomed and removed his father, having paid 4,000 dirhams."

I comment that this was the first prisoner ransomed. Then Quraysh sent to ransom their prisoners and Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Akhyaf went to ransom Suhayl b. ʿAmr, who had been taken captive by Mālik b. al-Dukhshum, brother of the Banū Sālim b. ʿAwf. Mālik spoke the following verses on this,

"I captured Suhayl and I would not want for him any
prisoner from any other nation.
Khindif knows that, if injustice be done, Suhayl is the
man to charge.
I struck with a sharp sword until it bent, forcing
myself on against that hare-lipped man."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Suhayl was a man who had a split lower lip."

He went on, "Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. ʿAṭāʾ, a brother of the Banū ʿAmr b. Luʾayy related to me, that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Let me extract the two front teeth of Suhayl b. ʿAmr; his tongue will protrude and he will never speak ill of you again. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), said, 'I will not mutilate him, for if I did, God would mutilate me, even though I am a prophet.'"

I observe that this *ḥadīth* is incomplete in its line of authorities; indeed, it may be defined as *muʿdal*, "problematic".

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "I have been informed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ʿUmar about this, 'Maybe he will take a stand for which you will not criticize him.'"

I observe that this refers to the stand adopted in Mecca by Suhayl when, following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) some of the Arabs rebelled. Hypocrisy arose in Medina and elsewhere, and Suhayl stood up and gave a public address in Mecca in which he urged the people to remain firm in the true *ḥanīf* religion. This will be related in its proper place.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When Mikraz negotiated with them about Suhayl and ultimately satisfied them, they said, 'Give us what is ours.' He replied, 'Take me hostage in his place and let him go until he sends you his ransom money.' They released Suhayl and kept Mikraz with them."

Ibn Isḥāq quoted some poetry of Mikraz that Ibn Hishām suggested might not be authentic. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, saying, 'ʿAmr b. Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb was among the prisoners.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "His mother was the daughter of ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿīṭ."

Ibn Hishām, however, said that his mother was ʿUqba's sister; and he added that it was ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib who had captured him.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, as follows, 'Abū Sufyān was advised to ransom his son, ʿAmr. He replied, "Shall blood and money combine against me? They killed Ḥanẓala, and shall I now ransom ʿAmr? Let him remain with them; they can keep him as long as they want!"'

"While he was thus imprisoned in Medina, Saʿd b. al-Nuʿmān b. Akkāl, a brother of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf and also related to the Banū Muʿāwiya, went forth on pilgrimage, accompanied by his young wife. He was elderly and a Muslim and had sheep at al-Baqīʿ. He left for there on pilgrimage with no idea he would be imprisoned at Mecca, since he was a pilgrim; Quraysh only ever

treated well those who came as pilgrims. But Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb attacked him in Mecca, imprisoning him in retaliation for this son ʿAmr. Abū Sufyān spoke the following verses on this,

> 'O tribe of Ibn Akkāl, answer his request; you had a pact together, so do not surrender the chief in his maturity.
> The Banū ʿAmr is lowly, contemptible, if they do not release their prisoner's fetters.'"

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses in response,

> "If Saʿd had been free to act that day in Mecca, he would have killed many of you before he was captured.
> Using a sharp sword or a bow of *nabʿa* wood, its string twanging when its arrows shoot."

He went on, "The Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him what had happened and asked him to give them ʿAmr b. Abū Sufyān so they could release him and receive their own man in exchange. The Prophet (ṢAAS) agreed and they sent ʿAmr to Abū Sufyān, who released Saʿd."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ b.ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿAbd Shams b. Umayya was among the captives, the son-in-law of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), husband of his daughter Zaynab."

Ibn Hishām added, "It was Khirāsh b. al-Ṣimma, of the Banū Ḥarām, who had captured him."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Abū al-ʿĀṣ was a respected Meccan credited with much wealth and goods. His mother was Hāla, daughter of Khuwaylid, sister of Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid. It was Khadīja who had asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to marry her daughter Zaynab to him, and he never disagreed with her; this occurred before the beginnings of revelation.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had married his daughter Ruqayya, or Umm Kulthūm, to ʿUtba b. Abū Lahab. And when revelation began, Abū Lahab said, 'Let Muḥammad look after his own!' He ordered his son ʿUtba to divorce Ruqayya with the promise to give him any woman he wanted. He did so before having consummated the marriage. She was then married by ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, God bless him. They approached Abū al-ʿĀṣ and said, 'Leave your wife and we will marry you to any Quraysh woman you desire.' He replied, 'No, by God! I will not leave her, and I do not want any other woman from Quraysh for my wife.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so I have been told, used to commend his son-in-law for this."

I comment that the evidence of his praise for his son-in-law is well established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, as will be shown.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had no authority in Mecca to allow or to forbid, since he was powerless. Islam had divided Zaynab,

daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from Abū al-ʿĀṣ, but he was not able to bring about their separation."

I comment that it was only in the year of the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya, in the year 6 AH that God made it unlawful for Muslim women to marry polytheists, as will be shown hereafter, if God wills it.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to him, from his father who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "When the Meccans sent ransom money for their men who were prisoners, Zaynab, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), sent money on behalf of Abū al-ʿĀṣ. She sent the necklace for him that Khadīja had given her upon her marriage to Abū al-ʿĀṣ. She said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw it, he was greatly touched for her and said, "If you should think fit to deliver her prisoner to her and to return to her what is hers, then do so." They replied, "Yes, Messenger of God." And they did release him and returned her property to her.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Those named to us as having been freed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) without ransom having been paid for them include: of the Banū Umayya, Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ, and of the Banū Makhzūm, al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥanṭab b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿUbayd b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm. He was taken prisoner by one of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. He had been left in their custody until he was released, whereupon he rejoined his own people."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had required of him (Abū al-ʿĀṣ) that he allow free movement to Zaynab, which meant that she could emigrate to Medina. And Abū al-ʿĀṣ did keep to his agreement, as will be told."

It is at this point that Ibn Isḥāq related this; however, we have deferred telling of it, since that is more appropriate. But God knows best.

We have previously related how al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, uncle of the Prophet (ṢAAS), ransomed himself and ʿUqayl and Nawfal, sons of his two brothers, for 100 *awqīya* of gold.

Ibn Hisham stated, "It was Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd who captured Abū al-ʿĀṣ."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ṣayfī b. Abū Rifāʿa b. ʿĀʾidh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm was left in the custody of his captives. They agreed with him that he would send them his ransom and so let him free; but he did not keep his word. On that subject Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the lines,

> 'Sayfī's word was not one to be trusted, like the trail
> of some fox that rested at a watering hole.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Abū ʿAzza ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Uhayb b. Ḥudhāfa b. Jumaḥ was a poor man with daughters to support. He said, 'O Messenger of God, you know my state of finances. I am poor and have a family, so be gracious to me.' The Messenger of God agreed to be gracious to him on condition that he did not support anyone else against him. Abū ʿAzza spoke the following lines in praise of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for this action,

'Who is it will tell the Messenger, Muḥammad, from
me, "You are truth; and the All-Powerful is to be praised.
You are a man who calls to the truth and to right
guidance, with witness for you from God the Almighty.
You are a man given a position of power among us,
there being steps both easy and high up to where you are.
You are someone whose opponents are unhappy being
fought, while those with whom you make peace are content.
But when I think of Badr and those who fought it, I am
overcome again by sorrow and depression.'"

I comment that thereafter this Abū ʿAzza broke the pact he had made with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he fell under the influence of the polytheists and rejoined them. At the battle of Uḥud he was again taken captive, and he again asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to set him free. But the latter replied, "I'll not let you stroke your beard and say that you deceived Muḥammad twice!" And so his head was cut off at Uḥud, as will be related in the account of that engagement.

It is said that it was of him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke as follows, "A believer will not be bitten twice from the same lair." This is one of those proverbs uttered only by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to me, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, as follows, 'ʿUmayr b. Wahb al-Jumaḥī was sitting with Ṣafwān b. Umayya in the *ḥijr* shortly after the losses that were suffered at Badr. He, ʿUmayr, was one of the devilish Quraysh provocateurs, a man who had grievously harmed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions at Mecca. His son Wahb b. ʿUmayr was one of those taken captive at Badr.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "The person who captured him was Rifāʿa b. Rāfiʿ, one of the Banū Zurayq."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to me, from ʿUrwa, that ʿUmayr made mention of the fate of those caste into the pit at Badr, at which Ṣafwān said, 'I swear, there's nothing good in life now they are gone.' ʿUmayr agreed, 'You are right. Were it not for a debt I can't pay and children whose survival after me concerns me, I would ride off to Muḥammad to kill him; I have cause against them, since my son is a prisoner in their hands.'

"Ṣafwān b. Umayya seized the opportunity to say, 'Consider your debt my responsibility; I will redeem it and consider your children as my own, caring for them as long as they live. Everything I have will be theirs.'

"'ʿUmayr suggested, 'Keep this matter a secret between us both.' Ṣafwān agreed.

"'ʿUmayr then called for his sword, sharpened it, put poison on it and left for Medina. While ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was there talking with a group of Muslims about Badr and recalling how God had honoured them and how He had treated

their enemy, ʿUmar saw ʿUmayr b. Wahb having just dismounted at the door to the mosque, wearing his sword. ʿUmar commented, 'There's that dog ʿUmayr b. Wahb, that enemy of God; he's come here only to do some mischief. It is he who sowed discord among us and estimated our numbers for the enemy at Badr!'

"ʿUmar then went in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'O Prophet of God, that enemy of God ʿUmayr b. Wahb is here wearing his sword.' He told him to let him enter, so ʿUmar went and seized the sheath of ʿUmayr's sword and wrapped it tightly around his neck, telling the Muslim Companions there to go and sit with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and to guard him against that evil fellow who could not be trusted.

"He then took him in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and when the latter saw him with ʿUmar holding his sword sheath around his neck, he said, 'Release him, ʿUmar; come near, ʿUmayr.' ʿUmayr went over to him and said, 'May your morning be good!' This was the mode by which people greeted one another before Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'God has honoured us with a greeting better than that, ʿUmayr. That is *salām*, peace, the greeting used by the people of paradise.'

"'Well,' ʿUmayr replied, 'it's a greeting you've not been using for long.'

"'So what brings you, ʿUmar?' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked.

"'I have come about that captive you have; treat him well,' ʿUmayr replied.

"'Why are you wearing a sword around your neck?'

"'God curse the swords! Have they done us any good?'

"'Seriously, why did you come?'

"'That's the only reason,' ʿUmayr insisted.

"'On the contrary, you sat in the *ḥijr* with Ṣafwān b. Umayya; you discussed the fate of the dead in the pit, then you said, "Were it not for a debt I can't pay and children whose survival after me concerns me, I would ride off to Muḥammad to kill him." And so Ṣafwān b. Umayya took responsibility for your debt and your family if you would kill me. But God prevented you from doing that.'

"ʿUmayr declared, 'I testify that you are the Messenger of God! We used to call you a liar when you brought us news from heaven and the revelations that came to you, but only Ṣafwān and I were present on that occasion, and I well know that only God could have told you of it. Praise be to God who led me to Islam and to where I am now!' He then gave testimony to the truth of Islam.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered, 'Give your brother instruction in the religion! Teach him the Qurʾān and release his prisoner to him!' They did so.

"ʿUmayr then said, 'O Messenger of God, I vigorously tried to extinguish the light of Islam and was very harsh towards those who followed God's religion. I would like you to give me permission to go to Mecca where I will call others to God, to His Messenger and to Islam. Perhaps God will guide them. Otherwise I will persecute them in their religion just as I used to maltreat your Companions in theirs.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to him and he did go to Mecca.

"Ṣafwān had been saying, following 'Umayr b. Wahb's departure, 'Rejoice at an event soon to happen that will make you forget Badr!'

"He would ask riders about 'Umayr, and eventually one came who told him of 'Umayr's acceptance of Islam. He swore that he would never say another word to him and never do him any favour."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "When 'Umayr arrived back in Mecca he set about preaching for Islam and persecuting those who opposed it. Many people accepted Islam due to him.

"And it was 'Umayr b. Wahb, or al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, who saw the enemy of God, Satan, when he turned on his heels and fled, saying, 'I'll have nothing to do with you, I see what you do not.' Satan was then in the form of Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju'shum, the leader of Mudlij."

Division

Hereafter Imām Ibn Isḥāq, God bless him, wrote on the revelations in the Qur'ān that relate to the battle of Badr. This is the passage from the first to the last of *sūrat al-Anfāl* (*The Spoils*; VIII). He wrote well and at length. We have examined this in detail in our work of exegesis and those wishing to read this should look at it there. And all praise and credit are due to God.

Division

He then begins giving the names of those Muslims who participated at Badr. He listed these names in the order of the Emigrants and then the Helpers, beginning with those of Aws and going on to those of Khazraj. He concludes with the statement, "The total number of Muslims, whether Emigrants or Helpers, who either witnessed Badr or who were credited with a share of the spoils from it, totalled 314 men.

"The Emigrants totalled 83 men.

"From Aws there were 61 men.

"From Khazraj there were 170 men."

Al-Bukhari listed them in his *ṣaḥīḥ* compendium in alphabetical order following the names of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr, 'Uthmān and 'Alī, may God be pleased with them all.

What follows is a list of the names of the Muslims who were present at Badr arranged alphabeticaly. This is derived from the book *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr* (*The Major Statutes*) by the *ḥāfiẓ* Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī and others. This alphabetical listing is preceded by the name of their chief and their pride, the leader of all the progeny of Adam, Muḥammad, Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

THE NAMES OF THOSE AT BADR ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY.

THE LETTER ALIF.

Ubayy b. Kaʿb al-Najjārī, leader of al-Qurrāʾ; al-Arqam b. Abū al-Arqam; Abū al-Arqam ʿAbd Manāf b. Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm al-Makhzūmī; Asʿad b. Yazīd b. al-Fākih b. Yazīd b. Khalda b. ʿĀmir b. al-ʿAjlān.

Aswad b. Zayd b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿUbayd b. Ghanm – Mūsā b. ʿUqba gave the same. Al-Umawī said, "There is doubt over Sawwād b. Rizām b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿUbayd b. ʿAdī." Salama b. al-Faḍl stated, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, that the name was Sawwād b. Zurayq b. Thaʿlaba. Ibn ʿĀʾidh gave it as Sawwād b. Zayd.

Usayr b. ʿAmr al-Anṣārī Abū Salīṭ, also known as Usayr b. ʿAmr b. Umayya b. Lawdhān b. Sālim b. Thābit al-Khazrajī; Mūsā b. ʿUqba did not mention him.

Anas b. Qatāda b. Rabīʿa b. Khālid b. al-Ḥārith al-Awsī, also so named by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, though al-Umawī named him Anīs in his biography (of the Prophet (ṢAAS)).

I comment that Anas b. Mālik was the servant of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) according to the account of ʿUmar b. Shabba al-Numayrī. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī related to us, from his father, from Thumāma b. Anas, who said, "Anas b. Mālik was asked whether he had been present at Badr, and that he replied, 'Where would I have been, to be absent from Badr, may you be motherless!'"

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated, "Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī informed us, my father related to us, from a freed-man of Anas b. Mālik, that the latter asked Anas whether he had been present at Badr. He replied, 'May you be motherless, where would I have been, to be absent from Badr?'"

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī stated, "Anas b. Mālik went forth to Badr with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as a servant in service to him."

Our teacher, the sheikh and *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī stated in his *tahdhīb*, his educational text, "Thus al-Anṣārī stated, but none of the authors of the works on the military expeditions said this."

Anas b. Muʿādh b. Anas b. Qays b. ʿUbayd b. Zayd b. Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmr b. Mālik b. al-Najjār; Anasa al-Ḥabashī, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); Aws b. Nābit b. al-Mundhir al-Najārī.

Aws b. Khawlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿUbayd b. Mālik b. Sālim b. Ghanm b. ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj al-Khazrajī. Mūsā b. ʿUqba gave his name as Aws b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Khawlī. Aws b. al-Ṣāmit al-Khazrajī, brother of ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit; Iyyās b. al-Bukayr b. ʿAbd Yālīl b. Nāshib b. Ghayra b. Saʿd b. Layth b. Bakr, ally of the Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb.

THE LETTER BĀʾ.

Bujayr b. Abū Bujayr, ally of the Banū al-Najjār, Baḥḥāth b. Thaʿlaba b. Khazama b. Aṣram b. ʿAmr b. ʿImāra al-Balawī, an ally of the Helpers; Basbas b. ʿAmr b. Thaʿlaba b. Kharsha b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Saʿid b. Dhubyān b. Rashdān b. Qays b. Juhayna al-Juhanī, an ally of the Banū Sāʿida, he being one of the scouts, along with ʿAdī b. Abū al-Zaghbāʾ, referred to above; Bishr b. al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr al-Khazrajī, who died at Khaybar from the poisoned mutton; Bashīr b. Saʿd b. Thaʿlaba al-Khazrajī, father of al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, said to have been the first man to pledge his allegiance to Abū Bakr; Bashīr b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir Abū Lubāba al-Awsī, who was sent back by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-Rawḥāʾ to take charge of Medina; he was assigned a full share in the spoils of Badr.

THE LETTER TĀʾ.

Tamīm b. Yaʿār b. Qays b. ʿAdī b. Umayya b. Jadāra b. ʿAwf b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj; Tamīm, the freed-man of Khirāsh b. al-Ṣimma; Tamīm, the freed-man of the Banū Ghanam b. al-Sallam. Ibn Hishām stated, "He was the freed-man of Saʿd b. Khaythama."

THE LETTER THĀʾ.

Thābit b. Aqram b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿAdī b. al-ʿAjlān; Thābit b. Thaʿlaba. This Thaʿlaba was known as al-Jadhaʿ b. Zayd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥarām b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salama.

Thābit b. Khālid b. al-Nuʿmān b. Khansāʾ b. ʿUsayra b. ʿAbd b. ʿAwf b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār al-Najjārī; Thābit b. Khansāʾ b. ʿAmr b. Mālik b. ʿAdī b. ʿĀmir b. Ghanm b. ʿAdī b. al-Najjār al-Najjārī.

Thābit b. ʿAmr b. Zayd b. ʿAdī b. Sawwād b. Mālik b. Ghanm b. ʿAdī b. al-Najjār al-Najjārī; Thābit b. Hazzāl al-Khazrajī; Thaʿlaba b. Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd b. Umayya b. Zayd b. Mālik b. al-Aws; Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd b. Mālik al-Najjārī; Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr b. Miḥṣan al-Khazrajī; Thaʿlaba b. ʿAnma b. ʿAdī b. Nābī al-Sulamī; Thaqf b. ʿAmr, of the Banū Ḥijr, of the clan of the Banū Salīm, he being an ally of the Banū Kathīr b. Ghanm b. Dūdān b. Asad.

THE LETTER JĪM.

Jābir b. Khālid b. Masʿūd b. ʿAbd al-Ashhal b. Ḥāritha b. Dīnār b. al-Najjār al-Najjārī; Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Riʾāb b. al-Nuʿmān b. Sinān b. ʿUbayd b. ʿAdī b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salama al-Sulamī, one of those who were present at al-ʿAqaba.

I comment that Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām, al-Sulamī also, is mentioned by al-Bukhārī among those at Badr. He gives a line of authorities from Saʿīd b. Manṣūr, from Abū Muʿāwiya, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sufyān quoting Jābir as saying, "I drew water from the well for my companions at the battle of Badr."

This line of authorities is according to Muslim. However, Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated, "I mentioned this *ḥadīth* to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar – meaning al-Wāqidī – and he commented, 'This is ficticious and comes from the Iraqi scholars.' He refuted Jābir's having been present at the battle of Badr."

Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal stated, "Rawḥ b. ʿIbāda related to us, quoting Zakariyyāʾ b. Isḥāq, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, that he heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, 'I went on 19 military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but I was not present at either Badr or Uḥud. My father prevented me. After my father was killed at Uḥud, I never missed any one of the military engagements of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

Muslim related this from Abū Khaythama, from Rawḥ.

Jabbār b. Ṣakhr al-Sulamī; Jabr b. ʿAtīk al-Anṣārī; Jubayr b. Iyyās al-Khazrajī.

THE LETTER ḤĀʾ.

Al-Ḥārith b. Anas b. Rāfiʿ al-Khazrajī; al-Ḥārith b. Aws b. Muʿādh b. Akhū Saʿd b. Muʿādh al-Awsī; al-Ḥārith b. Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd b. Umayya b. Zayd b. Mālik b. al-Aws, who was sent back by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the road to Badr, and he awarded him a share of the spoils; al-Ḥārith b. Khazma b. ʿAdī b. Abū Ghanm b. Sālim b. ʿAwf b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj, an ally of the Banū Zaʿūrā b. ʿAbd al-Ashhal; al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma al-Khazrajī, who was sent back by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) because his leg was broken en route; he gave him a full share in the spoils.

Al-Ḥārith b. ʿUrfuja al-Awsī; al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. Khalda Abū Khālid al-Khazrajī; al-Ḥārith b. al-Nuʿmān b. Umayya al-Anṣārī; Ḥāritha b. Surāqa al-Najjārī, who was struck by a stray arrow while he was with the observers and was elevated to paradise; Ḥāritha b. al-Nuʿmān b. Rāfiʿ al-Anṣārī; Ḥāṭib b. Abū Baltaʿa al-Lakhmī, an ally of the Banū Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy.

Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd b. Umayya al-Ashjaʿī, of the Banū Dahmān. This name is given thus by Ibn Hishām from a source other than Ibn Isḥāq. Al-Wāqidī gave it as Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Wudd; Ibn ʿĀʾidh gave it thus in his work on the military expeditions. Ibn Abū Ḥātim stated, "Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Shams was a name I heard from my father who said that this man's identity was unknown."

Al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir al-Khazrajī; it is said that the banner of Khazraj was in his care on that day.

Ḥabīb b. Aswad, freed-man of the Banū Ḥarām, of the Banū Salama. Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "The name was Ḥabīb b. Saʿd, instead of Aswad." Ibn Abū Ḥātim

stated, "Ḥabīb b. Aslam was the freed-man of the tribe of Jusham b. al-Khazraj, and a Helper and a man who participated in the battle of Badr."

Ḥurayth b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Abd Rabbihī al-Anṣārī, a brother of 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd, who was shown *al-nidā'*,[70] the call to prayer.

Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf; Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, an uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

THE LETTER KHĀ'.

Khālid b. al-Bukayr, brother of Iyās referred to above; Khālid b. Zayd Abū Ayyūb al-Najjārī; Khālid b. Qays b. Mālik b. al-'Ajlān al-Anṣārī; Khārija b. al-Ḥumayr, an ally of the Banū Khansā', of the Khazraj, a man also named as Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥumayr whom Ibn 'Ā'idh called "Khārija"; but God knows best. Khārija b. Zayd al-Khazrajī, son-in-law of Abū Bakr; Khabbāb b. al-Aratt, an ally of the Banū Zahra, one of the original Emigrants, a man whose origins were in the Banū Tamīm, though some say in Khuzā'a; Khabbāb, freed-man of 'Utba b. Ghazwān, one of the original Emigrants; Khirāsh b. al-Ṣimma al-Sulamī; Khubayb b. Isāf b. 'Inaba al-Khazrajī; Khuraym b. Fātik who was included among these by al-Bukhārī; Khalīfa b. 'Adī al-Khazrajī; Khulayd b. Qays b. al-Nu'mān b. Sinān b. 'Ubayd al-Anṣārī al-Sulamī; Khunays b. Ḥudhāyfa b. Qays b. 'Adī b. Sa'd b. Sahm b. 'Amr b. Ḥuṣayṣ b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy al-Sahmī, who was killed at Badr, thus making Ḥafṣa, daughter of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, a widow; Khawwāt b. Jubayr al-Anṣārī, who was accorded a share of the spoils, though he was not himself present at Badr; Khawlā b. Abū Khawlā al-'Ijlī, an ally of the Banū 'Adī, one of the original Emigrants; Khallād b. Rāfi'; Khallād b. Suwayd and Khallād b. 'Amr b. al-Jumūḥ, men of Khazraj.

THE LETTER DHĀL.

Dhakwān b. 'Abd Qays al-Khazrajī; Dhū al-Shimālayn b. 'Abd b. 'Amr b. Naḍla of Ghabshān b. Salīm b. Malkān b. Afṣā b. Ḥāritha b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir of the Banū Khuzā'a, an ally of the Banū Zuhra who was martyred that day. Ibn Hishām stated that his name was 'Umayr and that he was only called Dhū al-Shimālayn, i.e. "he with the two left hands" because he was left-handed.

THE LETTER RĀ'.

Rāfi' b. al-Ḥārith al-Awsī; Rāfi' b. 'Unjada: Ibn Hishām stated that 'Unjada was his mother; Rāfi' b. al-Mu'allī b. Lūdhān al-Khazrajī who was killed that day; Rab'ī b. Rāfi' b. al-Ḥārith b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha b. al-Jidd b. 'Ajlān b. Ḍubay'a.

70. This was a vision that he was shown while asleep of how the call to prayer was to be made to the Muslim community. See p. 222 above.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba gave his name as Rabʿī b. Abū Rāfiʿ. Rābiʿ b. Iyyās al-Khazrajī; Rabīʿa b. Aktham b. Sakhbara b. ʿAmr b. Lakīz b. ʿĀmir b. Ghanm Dūdān b. Asad b. Khuzayma, an ally of the Banū ʿAbd Shams of the Banū ʿAbd Manāf, he having been one of the original Emigrants; Rakhīla b. Thaʿlaba b. Khālid b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿĀmir b. Bayāḍa al-Khazrajī; Rifāʿa b. Rāfiʿ al-Zurqī, a brother of Khallād b. Rāfiʿ; Rifāʿa b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir b. Zunayr al-Awsī, a brother of Abū Lubāba; Rifāʿa b. ʿAmr b. Zayd al-Khazrajī.

THE LETTER ZĀ' Y.

Al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy, the son of the aunt of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his disciple.

Ziyād b. ʿAmr. Mūsā b. ʿUqba gave his name as Ziyād b. al-Akhras b. ʿAmr al-Juhanī. Al-Wāqidī gave it as Ziyād b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr b. ʿAdī b. Rifāʿa b. Kulayb b. Bardhaʿa b.ʿAdī b. ʿAmr b. al-Zibaʿrā b. Rushdān b. Qays b. Juhayna. Ziyād b. Labīd al-Zurqī; Ziyād b. al-Mazīn b. Qays al-Khazrajī; Zayd b. Aslam b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿAdī b. ʿAjlān b. Ḍubayʿa; Zayd b. Ḥāritha b. Shuraḥbīl, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl, brother of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God bless them both; Zayd b. Sahl b. al-Aswad b. Ḥarām al-Najjārī Abū Ṭalḥa, God be pleased with him.

THE LETTER SĪN.

Sālim b. ʿUmayr al-Awsī; Sālim b. Ghanm b. ʿAwf al-Khazrajī; Sālim b. Maʿqil, freed-man of Abū Ḥudhayfa; al-Sā'ib b. ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn al-Jumaḥī, who was present with his father; Sabīʿ b. Qays b. ʿAysha al-Khazrajī; Sabra b. Fātik, who is mentioned by al-Bukhārī; Surāqa b. ʿAmr al-Najjārī; Surāqa b. Kaʿb, also al-Najjārī; Saʿd b. Khawlā, freed-man of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Lu'ayy, one of the original Emigrants; Saʿd b. Khaythama al-Awsī, martyred that day; Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ al-Khazrajī who was martyred at the Battle of Uḥud; Saʿd b. Zayd b. Mālik al-Awsī: al-Wāqidī gave his name as Saʿd b. Zayd b. al-Fākih al-Khazrajī; Saʿd b. Suhayl b. ʿAbd al-Ashhal al-Najjārī; Saʿd b. ʿUbayd al-Anṣārī; Saʿd b. ʿUthmān b. Khalda al-Khazrajī Abū ʿUbāda. Ibn ʿĀ'idh gave his name as Abū ʿUbayda.

Saʿd b. Muʿādh al-Awsī, and it was he who was entrusted with the Aws banner.

Saʿd b. ʿUbāda b. Dulaym al-Khazrajī: several authorities, including ʿUrwa, al-Bukhārī, Ibn Abū Ḥātim and al-Ṭibrānī include him among those who were present at Badr. In the *ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, there is material substantiating that when the Prophet (ṢAAS) was preparing to meet the Quraysh force, Saʿd b. ʿUbāda said, "O Messenger of God, perhaps you would like us to make ..." But the truth is that it was Saʿd b. Muʿādh who said this.

It is well known that Asʿad b. ʿUbāda was sent back from the road; it is said this was so that he should take charge of Medina. It is also said to have been

because he was bitten by a snake and was not able to proceed to Badr. Al-Suhaylī related this from Ibn Qutayba. But God knows best.

Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, who was Mālik b. Uhayb al-Zuhrī, one of the so-called "ten";[71] Saʿd b. Mālik Abū Sahl: al-Wāqidī stated that he had made preparations to go forth but fell sick and died before he had left.

Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl al-ʿAdawī, nephew of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. It is said that he arrived from Syria after they returned from Badr; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him a share of the spoils.

Sufyān b. Bishr b. ʿAmr al-Khazrajī; Salama b. Aslam b. Ḥuraysh al-Awsī; Salama b. Thābit b. Waqsh b. Zaghba; Salama b. Salāma b. Waqsh b. Zaghba; Salīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Najjārī; Salīm b. ʿAmr al-Sulamī; Salīm b. Qays b. Fahad al-Khazrajī; Salīm b. Milḥān, brother of Ḥarām b. Milḥān al-Najjārī; Simāk b. Aws b. Kharasha Abū Dujāna, also known as Simāk b. Kharasha; Simāk b. Saʿd b. Thaʿlaba al-Khazrajī, who was the brother of Bashīr b. Saʿd referred to above; Sahl b. Ḥunayf al-Awsī; Sahl b. ʿAtīk al-Najjārī; Sahl b. Qays al-Sulamī; Suhayl b. Rāfiʿ al-Najjārī, who had owned the site of the mosque built by the Prophet (ṢAAS) as was related above; Suhayl b. Wahb al-Fihrī who was the son of Bayḍā', his mother; Sinān b. Abū Sinān b. Miḥṣan b. Ḥirthān, a *muhājirī*, an Emigrant, an ally of Banū ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf; Sinān b. Ṣayfī al-Sulamī; Sawwād b. Zurayq b. Zayd al-Anṣārī: al-Umawī gave his name as Sawwād b. Rizām; Sawwād b. Ghaziyya b. Uhayb al-Balawī; Suwaybiṭ b. Saʿd b. Ḥarmala al-ʿAbdarī; Suwayd b. Makhshī Abū Makhshī al-Ṭā'ī, ally of the Banū ʿAbd Shams: his name is said to have been Azyad b. Ḥimyar.

THE LETTER SHĪN.

Shujā' b. Wahb b. Rabīʿa al-Asadī; Asad b. Khuzayma, ally of the Banū ʿAbd Shams, one of the original Emigrants. Shammās b. ʿUthmān al-Makhzūmī: Ibn Hishām said that his name was ʿUthmān b. ʿUthmān, but he was named Shammās for his good looks and his resemblance to a Shammās of the pre-Islamic era; Shaqrān, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS): al-Wāqidī stated, "He was not awarded any share in the spoils. He was in charge of the captives. He was given money by everyone who had control over the prisoners and so he received more than a share of the spoils would otherwise have been."

THE LETTER ṢĀD.

Ṣuhayb b. Sinān al-Rūmī, one of the original Emigrants; Ṣafwān b. Wahb b. Rabīʿa al-Fihrī, brother of Suhayl b. Bayḍā': he was martyred that day; Ṣakhr b. Umayya b. Khansā' al-Sulamī.

71. Ten early converts to Islam reported to be assured places in paradise. See footnote Vol. I, p. 113.

THE LETTER ḌĀḌ.

Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḥāritha b. Zayd al-Sulamī; Ḍaḥḥāk b. ʿAbd ʿAmr al-Najjārī; Ḍamra b. ʿAmr al-Juhanī: Mūsā b. ʿUqba gave his name as Ḍamra b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr, ally of the Helpers, he being the brother of Ziyād b. ʿAmr.

THE LETTER ṬĀʾ.

Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Taymī, one of the "ten": he came from Syria after their return from Badr and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him a share in the spoils; Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf, an Emigrant, and the brother of Ḥuṣayn and ʿUbayda; Ṭufayl b. Mālik b. Khansāʾ al-Sulamī; Ṭufayl b. al-Nuʿmān b. Khansāʾ al-Sulamī, the nephew of the preceding man; Ṭulayb b. ʿUmayr b. Wahb b. Abū Kabīr b. ʿAbd b. Quṣayy: al-Wāqidī mentioned him.

THE LETTER ẒĀʾ.

Ẓuhayr b. Rāfiʿ al-Awsī, mentioned by al-Bukhārī.

THE LETTER ʿAYN.

ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ al-Anṣārī, protected by bees after he was killed at al-Rajīʿ; ʿĀṣim b. ʿAdī b. al-Jidd b. ʿAjlān, sent back by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Rawḥāʾ but awarded by him a share in the spoils; ʿĀṣim b. Qays b. Thābit al-Khazrajī; ʿĀqil b. al-Bukayr, brother of Iyās, Khālid and ʿĀmir; ʿĀmir b. Umayya b. Zayd b. al-Ḥashḥās al-Najjārī; ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥārith al-Fihrī, so referred to by Salama, quoting Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn ʿĀʾidh: Mūsā b. ʿUqba and Ziyād, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, gave his name as ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith; ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa b. Mālik al-ʿAnazī, ally of the Banū ʿAdī, one of the Emigrants; ʿĀmir b. Salama b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Balawī al-Quḍāʿī, an ally of the Banū Sālim b. Mālik b. Sālim b. Ghanm: Ibn Hishām said he was known as ʿUmar b. Salama; ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Jarrāḥ b. Hilāl b. Uhayb b. Ḍabba b. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, one of the "ten", an initial Emigrant; ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra, a "client" of Abū Bakr; ʿĀmir b. Makhlid al-Najjārī; ʿĀʾidh b. Māʿiṣ b. Qays al-Khazrajī; ʿAbbād b. Bishr b. Waqsh al-Awsī; ʿAbbād b. Qays b. ʿĀmir al-Khazrajī; ʿAbbād b. Qays b. ʿAysha al-Khazrajī, brother of Subayʿ referred to above; ʿAbbād b. al-Khashkhāsh al-Quḍāʿī; ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit al-Khazrajī; ʿUbāda b. Qays b. Kaʿb b. Qays; ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya b. ʿUrfuṭa; ʿAbd Allāh b. Thaʿlaba b. Khazama, brother of the Baḥḥāth mentioned above; ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Riʾāb al-Asadī; ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr b. al-Nuʿmān al-Awsī.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Jidd b. Qays al-Sulamī; ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥaqq b. Aws al-Sāʿidī: Mūsā b. ʿUqba, al-Wāqidī and Ibn ʿĀʾidh gave his name as ʿAbd Rabb b. Ḥaqq, while Ibn Hishām gave it as ʿAbd Rabbihī b. Haqq.

'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥumayr, ally of the Banū Harām, he being the brother of Khārija b. al-Ḥumayr of Ashja'; 'Abd Allāh b. al-Rabī' b. Qays al-Khazrajī; 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa al-Khazrajī; 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. 'Abd Rabbihī b. Tha'laba al-Khazrajī who was shown *al-nidā'*, the call to prayer.

'Abd Allāh b. Surāqa al-'Adawī, a name not mentioned by Mūsā b. 'Uqba, al-Wāqidī or Ibn 'Ā'idh, though given by Ibn Isḥāq and others.

'Abd Allāh b. Salama b. Mālik al-'Ajlān, an ally of the Anṣār; 'Abd Allāh b. Sahl b. Rāfi', brother of the Banū Za'ūrā; 'Abd Allāh b. Suhayl b. 'Amr. He came out to battle with his father, on the side of the polytheists, but then he fled from them, joined the Muslims and fought with them. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāriq b. Mālik al-Quḍā'ī, an ally of al-Aws; 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir of Baliyy, mentioned by Ibn Isḥāq.

'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl al-Khazrajī, whose father was the leader of the *al-munāfiqūn*, the "hypocrites". 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Makhzūm Abū Salama, husband of Umm Salama: 'Abd Allāh was killed that day. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Manāf b. al-Nu'mān al-Sulamī; 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abs; 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān b. 'Āmir b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b.Taym b. Murra b. Ka'b Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", God bless him; 'Abd Allāh b. 'Urfaṭa b. 'Adī al-Khazrajī.

'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Ḥarām al-Sulamī Abū Jābir; 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umayr b. 'Adī al-Khazrajī; 'Abd Allāh b. Qays b. Khālid al-Najjārī; 'Abd Allāh b. Qays b. Ṣakhr b. Ḥarām al-Sulamī; 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Mabdhūl b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Māzin b. al-Najjār, whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put in charge of the spoils of Badr, along with 'Adī b. Abū al-Zaghbā'.

'Abd Allāh b. Makhrama b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, one of the initial Emigrants; 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd al-Hudhalī, ally of Banū Zuhra, one of the initial Emigrants; 'Abd Allāh b. Maẓ'ūn al-Jumaḥī, one of the initial Emigrants; 'Abd Allāh b. al-Nu'mān b. Baldama al-Sulamī; 'Abd Allāh b. Unaysa b. al-Nu'mān al-Sulamī; 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jabr b. 'Amr Abū 'Ubays al-Khazrajī; 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Tha'laba, Abū 'Uqayl al-Quḍā'ī al-Balawī.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra b. Kilāb al-Zuhrī, one of the "ten", God be pleased with them all; 'Abs b. 'Āmir b. 'Adī al-Sulamī; 'Ubayd b. al-Tayyihān, brother of Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān: his name is also given as 'Atīk, instead of 'Ubayd.

'Ubayd b. Tha'laba, of the Banū Ghanm b. Mālik; 'Ubayd b. Zayd b. 'Āmir b. 'Amr b. al-'Ajlān b. 'Āmir; 'Ubayd b. Abū 'Ubayd.

'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf, brother of al-Ḥusayn and al-Ṭufayl: he was one of the three champions who first went out to fight at Badr and whose arm (sic)[72] was cut off and who died following the battle. God bless him!

'Utbān b. Mālik b. 'Amr al-Khazrajī; 'Utba b. Rabī'a b. Khālid b. Mu'āwiya al-Bahrānī, an ally of the Banū Umayya b. Lawdhān; 'Utba b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣakhr al-Sulamī; 'Utba b. Ghazwān b. Jābir, one of the initial Emigrants.

72. Elsewhere in the text we learn that it was his leg that he lost.

ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf al-Umawī, (later) the "Commander of the Believers", one of the Four Caliphs, and one of the "ten". He remained behind with his wife Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), nursing her until she died. He was given a full share of the spoils.

ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn al-Jumaḥī Abū al-Sāʾib, a brother of ʿAbd Allāh and Qudāma, one of the initial Emigrants.

ʿAdī b. Abū al-Zaghbāʾ al-Juhanī, who was sent ahead as a scout by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with Basbas b. ʿAmr.

ʿIṣma b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. Wabra b. Khālid b. al-ʿAjlān; ʿUṣayma, an ally of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Siwār of Ashjaʿ: he was also said to be of the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma; ʿAṭiyya b. Nuwayra b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAṭiyya al-Khazrajī; ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir b. Nābī al-Sulamī; ʿUqba b. ʿUthmān b. Khalda al-Khazrajī, brother of Saʿd b. ʿUthmān.

ʿUqba b. ʿAmr Abū Masʿūd al-Badrī: in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī it is stated that he was present at Badr. However, many of the scholars of the military expeditions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) express doubts over this and therefore do not include him.

ʿUqba b. Wahb b. Rabīʿa al-Asadī, the Asad of Khuzayma, an ally of the Banū ʿAbd Shams, he being a brother of Shujāʿ b. Wahb, one of the initial Emigrants; ʿUqba b. Wahb b. Kalda, an ally of the Banū Ghaṭfān.

ʿUkkāsha b. Miḥṣan al-Ghanmī, one of the initial Emigrants, one who will enter paradise without reckoning.

ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib al-Hāshimī, later "Commander of the Believers", one of the Four Caliphs, and one of the three champions who went forth at Badr. God be pleased with him!

ʿAmmār b. Yāsir al-ʿAnasī al-Madhḥijī, one of the initial Emigrants; ʿUmāra b. Ḥazm b. Zayd al-Najjārī. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, later "Commander of the Believers", one of the Four Caliphs, and one of the two sheikhs, learned elders, known as *al-muqtadā bihimā*, "those relied upon", who were viewed as exemplars. God be pleased with them both!

ʿUmar b. ʿAmr b. Iyās of Yemen, an ally of the Banū Lawdhān b. ʿAmr b. Sālim, said to be a brother of Rabīʿ and Waraqa; ʿAmr b. Thaʿlaba b. Wahb b. ʿAdī b. Mālik b. ʿAdī b. ʿĀmir Abū Ḥakīm.

ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhayr b. Abū Shaddād b. Rabīʿa b. Hilāl b. Uhayb b. Ḍabsha b. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr al-Fihrī; ʿAmr b. Surāqa al-ʿAdawī, an Emigrant; ʿAmr b. Abū Ṣarḥ al-Fihrī, an Emigrant. Al-Wāqidī and Ibn ʿĀʾidh give his name as Maʿmar instead of ʿAmr.

ʿAmr b. Ṭalq b. Zayd b. Umayya b. Sinān b. Kaʿb b. Ghanm, of the Banū Ḥarām; ʿAmr b. al-Jumūḥ b. Ḥarām al-Anṣārī; ʿAmr b. Qays b. Zayd b. Sawwād b. Mālik b. Ghanm, mentioned by al-Wāqidī and al-Umawī.

ʿAmr b. Qays b. Mālik b. ʿAdī b. Khansāʾ b. ʿAmr b. Mālik b. ʿAdī b. ʿĀmir, the brother of Khārija: Mūsā b. ʿUqba did not mention him.

'Amr b. 'Āmir b. al-Ḥārith al-Fihrī, mentioned by Mūsā b. 'Uqba; 'Amr b. Ma'bad b. al-Az'ar al-Awsī; 'Amr b. Mu'ādh al-Awsī, brother of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh; 'Umayr b. al-Ḥārith b. Tha'laba, also known as 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Labda b. Tha'laba al-Sulamī; 'Umayr b. Ḥarām b. al-Jumūḥ al-Sulamī, mentioned by Ibn 'Ā'idh and al-Wāqidī.

'Umayr b. al-Ḥumām b. al-Jamūḥ, nephew of the next above, martyred at Badr; 'Umayr b. 'Āmir b. Mālik b. al-Khansā b. Mabdhūl b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Māzin Abū Dā'ūd al-Māzinī.

'Umayr b. 'Awf, freed-man of Suhayl b. 'Amr: his name is given by al-Umawī and others as 'Amr b. 'Awf. It is similarly given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections in the account of the dispatch of Abū 'Ubayda to Baḥrayn.

'Umayr b. Mālik b. Uhayb al-Zuhrī, brother of Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, martyred that day; 'Antara, freed-man of the Banū Sulaym and also said to be a member of that tribe, but God knows best.

'Awf b. al-Ḥārith b. Rifā'a b. al-Ḥārith al-Najjārī, he being the son of 'Afrā', daughter of 'Ubayd b. Tha'laba al-Najjāriyya: he was martyred that day; 'Uwaym b. Sā'ida al-Anṣārī, of the Banū Umayya b. Zayd; 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm al-Fihrī, one of the initial Emigrants. May God be pleased with them all!

THE LETTER GHAYN.

Ghannām b. Aws al-Khazrajī: he was mentioned by al-Wāqidī, though there is no concensus about him.

THE LETTER FĀ'.

Al-Fākih b. Bishr b. al-Fākih al-Khazrajī; Farwa b. 'Amr b. Wadfa al-Khazrajī.

THE LETTER QĀF.

Qatāda b. al-Nu'mān al-Awsī: Qudāma b. Maẓ'ūn al-Jumaḥī, an Emigrant, a brother of 'Uthmān and 'Abd Allāh. Quṭba b. 'Āmir b. Ḥadīda al-Sulamī; Qays b. al-Sakn al-Najjārī; Qays b. Abū Ṣa'ṣa'a 'Amr b. Zayd al-Māzinī, who was in command of the rearguard at Badr. Qays b. Muḥṣin b. Khālid al-Khazrajī; Qays b. Mukhallad b. Tha'laba al-Najjārī.

THE LETTER KĀF.

Ka'b b. Ḥammān, also known as Jammār and b. Jammāz. Ibn Hishām gave it as Ka'b b. Ghubshān. He is also known as Ka'b b. Mālik b. Tha'laba b. Jammāz. Al-Umawī stated his identity to be Ka'b b. Tha'laba b. Ḥabāla b. Ghanm al-Ghassānī, one of the allies of the Banū al-Khazraj b. Sā'ida.

Kaʿb b. Zayd b. Qays al-Najjārī; Kaʿb b. ʿAmr Abū al-Yusr al-Sulamī; Kalāfa b. Thaʿlaba, one of the *bakkāʾūn*[73] mentioned by Mūsā b. ʿUqba; Kannāz b. Ḥuṣayn b. Yarbūʿ Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī, one of the initial Emigrants.

THE LETTER MĪM.

Mālik b. al-Dukhshum, known as Ibn al-Dukhshun (sic) al-Khazrajī; Mālik b. Abū Khawlā al-Juʿfī, an ally of the Banū ʿAdī; Mālik b. Rabīʿa Abū Usayd al-Sāʿidī; Mālik b. Qudāma al-Awsī; Mālik b. ʿAmr, brother of Thaqf b. ʿAmr, both of whom were Emigrants and allies of the Banū Tamīm b. Dūdān b. Asad; Mālik b. Qudāma al-Awsī; Mālik b. Masʿūd al-Khazrajī; Mālik b. Thābit b. Numayla al-Mazanī, an ally of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf; Mubashshir b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir b. Zanbar al-Awsī, a brother of Abū Lubāba and Rifāʿa: he was martyred at Badr; al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyād al-Balawī, an Emigrant; Muḥriz b. ʿĀmir al-Najjārī; Muḥriz b. Naḍla al-Asadī, an ally of the Banū ʿAbd Shams, an Emigrant; Muḥammad b. Maslama, an ally of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal; Mudlij, also known as Midlāj b. ʿAmr, brother of Thaqf b. ʿAmr, an Emigrant; Marthad b. Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī; Miṣṭaḥ b. Uthātha b. ʿAbbād b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf, an initial Emigrant: his name is also given as ʿAwf; Masʿūd b. Aws al-Anṣārī al-Najjārī; Masʿūd b. Khalda al-Khazrajī; Masʿūd b. Rabīʿa al-Qārī, an ally of the Banū Zahra, an Emigrant; Masʿūd b. Saʿd, also known as Ibn ʿAbd Saʿd b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAdī b. Jushm b. Majdaʿa b. Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith; Masʿūd b. Saʿd b. Qays al-Khazrajī; Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr al-ʿAbdarī, an Emigrant who bore the banner that day; Muʿādh b. Jabal al-Khazrajī; Muʿādh b. al-Ḥārith al-Najjārī: this man's mother was ʿAfrāʾ, and he was the brother of ʿAwf and Muʿawwidh; Muʿādh b. ʿAmr b. al-Jumūḥ al-Khazrajī; Muʿādh b. Māʿiṣ al-Khazrajī, brother of ʿĀʾidh; Maʿbad b. ʿAbbād b. Qushayr b. al-Qidhamm b. Sālim b. Ghanm: also known as Maʿbad b. ʿUbāda b. Qays. Al-Wāqidī gave his name as Qashʿar instead of Qushayr. Ibn Hishām gave his name as Qashʿar Abū Khumayṣa.

Maʿbad b. Qays b. Ṣakhr al-Sulamī, brother of ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays; Muʿattib b. ʿUbayd b. Iyās al-Balawī al-Quḍāʿī; Muʿattib b. ʿAwf al-Khuzāʿī, an ally of the Banū Makhzūm, an Emigrant; Muʿattib b. Qushayr al-Awsī; Maʿqil b. al-Mundhir al-Sulamī; Muʿammar b. al-Ḥārith al-Jumaḥī, an Emigrant; Maʿn b. ʿAdī al-Awsī; Muʿawwidh b. al-Ḥārith al-Jumaḥī, his mother being ʿAfrāʾ. And he was a brother of Muʿādh b. ʿAwf. Muʿawwidh b. ʿAmr b. al-Jumūḥ al-Sulamī, probably a brother of Muʿādh b. ʿAmr; al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr al-Bahrānī, he being al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, one of the initial Emigrants; it was he whose statement was praised by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was the son of the man mentioned above and was one of the cavalry at Badr. Mulayl b. Wabra al-Khazrajī; al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr b. Khunays al-Sāʿidī; al-Mundhir b. Qudāma b. ʿArfaja al-Khazrajī; al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿUqba al-Anṣārī of

73. The category of deeply pious Muslim converts who 'wept at', i.e. deeply repented, the tardiness of their conversion or participation in the struggles of the early Islamic community.

the Banū Jaḥjabī; Mihja', the freed-man of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, whose origins were from Yemen: he was the first Muslim killed that day.

THE LETTER NŪN.

Naṣr b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Razāḥ b. Ẓufr b. Ka'b; Nu'mān b. 'Abd 'Amr al-Najjārī, he being the brother of al-Ḍaḥḥāk; Nu'mān b. 'Amr b. Rifā'a al-Najjārī; Nu'mān b. 'Aṣr b. al-Ḥārith, an ally of the Banū 'Awf; Nu'mān b. Mālik b. Tha'laba al-Khazrajī, known as Qawqal; Nu'mān b. Yasār, freed-man of the Banū 'Ubayd, known as Nu'mān b. Sinān; Nawfal b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Naḍla al-Khazrajī.

THE LETTER HĀ'.

Hāni' b. Niyār Abū Burda al-Balawī, uncle of al-Barā' b. 'Āzib.

Hilāl b. Umayya al-Wāqifī: he is included with those at Badr in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, in regard to the story of Ka'b b. Mālik. But none of the authors of the works on the military expeditions include him.

Hilāl b. al-Mu'allā al-Khazrajī, brother of Rāfi' b. al-Mu'allā.

THE LETTER WAW.

Wāqid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī, an ally of the Banū 'Adī, an Emigrant; Wadī'a b. 'Amr b. Jarād al-Juhanī, mentioned by al-Wāqidī and Ibn 'Ā'idh; Waraqa b. Iyās b. 'Amr al-Khazrajī, a brother of Rabī' b. Iyās; Wahb b. Sa'd b. Abū Sarḥ, mentioned by Mūsā b. 'Uqba, Ibn 'Ā'idh and al-Wāqidī among the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. But Ibn Isḥāq did not mention him.

THE LETTER YĀ'.

Yazīd b. al-Akhnas b. Janāb b. Ḥabīb b. Jarra al-Sulamī. Al-Suhaylī stated that he was present along with his father and his son, something unique among the Companions. But Ibn Isḥāq and most of the other authorities do not mention them. They were, however, present with him at the *bay'at al-riḍwān*,[74] the "Pledge of Riḍwān".

Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays al-Khazrajī. It was he who was called Ibn Fusḥum, the latter being his mother. He was martyred at Badr that day; Yazīd b. 'Āmir b. Ḥadīda Abū al-Mundhir al-Sulamī; Yazīd b. al-Mundhir b. Sarḥ al-Sulamī, he being the brother of Ma'qil b. al-Mundhir.

74. The Pledge of Riḍwān, or the Tree, also mentioned in the Qur'ān. It refers to the pledge given by the Companions to the Prophet (ṢAAS) during the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya. See *sūrat al-Fatḥ*; XLVIII, v.18.

THOSE MEN KNOWN BY 'KUNAN', AGNOMENA.

Abū Usayd Mālik b. Rabīʿa is listed above; Abū al-Aʿwar b. al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim al-Najjārī: Ibn Hishām gave Abū al-Aʿwar's real name as al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim, while al-Wāqidī gave it as Kaʿb b. al-Ḥārith b. Jundab b. Ẓālim; Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān, listed above; Abū Ḥabba b. ʿAmr b. Thābit, one of the Banū Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf al-Anṣārī; Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa was an Emigrant and his given name was said to be Mihsham; Abū al-Ḥamrāʾ, freed-man of al-Ḥārith b. Rifāʿa b. ʿAfrāʾ; Abū Khuzayma b. Aws b. Aṣram al-Najjārī; Abū Sabra, freed-man of Abū Ruhm b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, an Emigrant; Abū Sinān b. Miḥṣan b. Hurthān, brother of ʿUkkāsha. With him he had his son Sinān. He was an Emigrant.

Abū al-Ṣiyāḥ b. al-Nuʿmān, said to be ʿUmayr b. Thābit b. al-Nuʿmān b. Umayya b. Imruʾ al-Qays b. Thaʿlaba. He returned while on the way there and was killed at the battle of Khaybar. He came back because of a wound he had from a rock and received a share of the spoils; Abū ʿArfaja, one of the allies of the Banū Jaḥjaba; Abū Kabsha, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); Abū Lubāba Bashīr b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir, listed above; Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī Kannāz b. Ḥuṣayn, listed above; Abū Masʿūd al-Badrī ʿUqba b. ʿAmr, listed above; Abū Mulayl b. al-Azʿar b. Zayd al-Awsī.

DIVISION

The total number of Muslims who were present at Badr was 314, including the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

As al-Bukhārī stated, "ʿAmr b. Khālid related to us, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Abū Isḥāq, 'I heard al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib say, "The Companions, God be pleased with them of Muḥammad, God's peace and blessings be upon him, who had been present at Badr, related to me that they were of the number of the Companions of Ṭalūt who crossed the river with him – that is 310 and a few more." Al-Barāʾ stated, "No, by God, no one crossed the river with him who was not a believer!"'"

Al-Bukhārī then related it through Isrāʾīl and Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ in similar terms.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "This is the concensus of the early authorities, that they were 310 men, and a few more."

He also stated, "Maḥmūd related to us, quoting Wahb, from Shuʿba, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said, 'I and Ibn ʿUmar felt outnumbered at the battle of Badr. The Emigrants totalled only appoximately 60, whereas the Helpers were some 240.'"

This is what is given in this account.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd al-Muḥāribī related to me, quoting Abū Mālik al-Jubanī, from al-Ḥajjāj, he being the son of Arṭāt, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Emigrants at Badr totalled 70

men. The Helpers totalled 236 men. The bearer of the banner of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib. The flag bearer for the Helpers was Saʿd b. ʿUbāda.'"

This determines their total to have been 306 men.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "It is said that they totalled 307 men."

I observe that this latter figure may have included the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); the former may have omitted him. But God knows best.

It was given earlier on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq that the Emigrants totalled 83 men, that of Aws there were 61, while Khazraj consisted of 170 men; and he enumerated them.

This is contrary to what al-Bukhārī reported and to what was related from Ibn ʿAbbās. But God knows best.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* it is reported of Anas that he was asked whether he had been present at Badr. He replied, "And where else would I have been then?"

In the *Sunan* (*The Accepted Norms*) by Abū Dā'ūd, there is an account from Saʿīd b. Manṣūr, from Abū Muʿāwiya, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sufyān Ṭalḥa b. Nāfiʿ, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām, who said, "I was drawing water from the well for my companions at the battle of Badr."

These two men are not mentioned by al-Bukhārī or by al-Ḍiyā'. But God knows best.

Among those included by Ibn Isḥāq in the total figure given of those who received a share of the spoils of Badr were some who were not actually there but who stayed behind for some good reason. These were the eight or nine men whose names follow: ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān who stayed behind with Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), nursing her until she died. He was given a full share of the spoils; Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl who went to Syria but was given a full share; Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, who was also in Syria, was given a full share; Abū Lubāba Bashīr b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir, who was sent back by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-Rawḥā' when news came of the departure of the enemy force from Mecca. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed him in charge of Medina and awarded him a full share; al-Ḥārith b. Ḥāṭib b. ʿUbayd b. Umayya, whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also sent back while *en route*: he received a full share; al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma, who broke his leg at al-Rawḥā' and returned home, received a share. Al-Wāqidī added that he received compensation; Khawwāt b. Jubayr was also not present at the battle but was awarded a full share; Abū al-Ṣiyāḥ b. Thābit, who went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) but had a splinter of rock injure his foot, received a full share; al-Wāqidī stated, "And Saʿd Abū Mālik who readied his equipment for battle but died at al-Rawḥā': he was awarded a full share."

Those Muslims who were martyred that day totalled 14 men. Those who were Emigrants were 6 in number, as follows: ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib, who had his leg cut off and died at al-Ṣafrā', God bless him; ʿUmayr b. Abū Waqqāṣ,

brother of Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ al-Zuhrī, who was killed by al-ʿĀṣ b. Saʿīd, he being a youth of 16. It is said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him to return home because of his youth, but he wept, and was allowed to proceed and so was killed, God bless him: their ally Dhū al-Shimālayn b. ʿAbd ʿAmr al-Khuzāʿī; Ṣafwān b. Bayḍāʾ; ʿĀqil b. al-Bukayr al-Laythī, ally of the Banū ʿAdī; Mihjaʿ, freed-man of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb who was the first of the Muslims killed that day.

Of the Helpers, there were eight men killed, as follows: Ḥāritha b. Surāqa who had an arrow shot at him by Ḥabbān b. al-ʿArqala that hit him in the neck and killed him; Muʿawwidh and ʿAwf, the two sons of ʿAfrāʾ; Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith, known as Ibn Fusḥum; ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥammām; Rāfiʿ b. al-Muʿallā b. Lawdhān; Saʿd b. Khaythama and Mubashshir b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir. May God be pleased with them all.

With the Muslims, as stated above, there were 70 baggage camels.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "They had two men mounted on horses, one al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, the name of the horse being Baʿzaja, also known as Sabḥa. The other was ridden by al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, its name being al-Yaʿsūb.

They had a banner that was carried by Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, and two flags, one carried for the Emigrants by ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, the other for the Helpers by Saʿd b. ʿUbāda.

The leader of the council of the Emigrants was Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", while the leader of the council of the Helpers was Saʿd b. Muʿādh.

As for the polytheists' force, the best that can be said of them is that they totalled between 900 and 1,000. ʿUrwa and Qatāda stated that they numbered 930 men.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "They were 930 men."

This figure requires proof. In some of the accounts given above they are stated to have numbered more than 1,000; perhaps such figures include their attendants. But God knows best.

The authentic account given by al-Bukhārī from al-Barāʾ states that 70 of them were killed and 70 were wounded.

This is the majority view. It was because of this that Kaʿb b. Mālik stated in a poem:

> "He set up 70 of them that stank at the watering hole,
> ʿUtba and al-Aswad among them."

Al-Wāqidī stated that there was unanimity on that. Yet this statement is controversial. Mūsā b. ʿUqba and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr said the opposite, and they are prime authorities on this. No unanimity can be claimed without their agreement, even though their views are superceded by any authentic tradition. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq and others list the names of those killed and taken captive and the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Ḍiyāʾ compiles these effectively in his work, *al-Aḥkām*.

In the course of the narration of the account it is stated which of them was killed first, he being al-Aswad b. ʿAbd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī. The first of them

to take flight was Khālid b. al-Aʿlam al-Khuzāʿī – or al ʿUqaylī – an ally of the Banū Makhzūm. But that did not benefit him since he was captured. It was he who spoke the verse:

> "It is not on our heels that our wounds bleed, but on
> our feet the blood drips down."

He was not truthful in this!

The first prisoners taken were ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayṭ and al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith. They were taken from the rest of the prisoners and killed stoically before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). There are two different versions regarding which of them was killed first.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) released a group of prisoners without charge or ransom. These included Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ al-Umawī, al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥunṭab b. al-Ḥārith al-Makhzūmī and Ṣayfī b. Abū Rifāʿa, as told above, Abū ʿAzza al-Shāʿir, Wahb b. ʿUmayr b. Wahb al-Jumaḥī, as told above. The rest he required to be ransomed, even including his uncle al-ʿAbbās, and he took more from him than from all the rest in order to give him no preferential treatment for being his uncle. He did this even though the Helpers who had captured him asked him to forgo the ransom for him, a request he refused. He insisted, "Don't let him off a single dirham!"

The ransom levied was variable. The least taken was 400 dirhams; for some 40 *awqīya* of gold was taken. Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "400 *awqīya* of gold was taken from al-Abbās."

Some were employed in labour to the value of their ransom; as the Imām Aḥmad stated, quoting ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim, quoting 'Dā'ūd from ʿIkrima, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās, as having said, "Some of the prisoners taken at Badr had no ransom money available, so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had some of them work off their ransom by teaching the children of the Helpers to write. One day a child came in tears to his mother who asked him what was the matter. He replied, 'My teacher hit me!' She commented, 'The lout! He's seeking blood-revenge for Badr! But, by God, he'll never get it!'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this, but it accords with the criteria for traditions. This subject has been fully referenced above; and to God goes all praise and credit.

Chapter: On the excellence of those Muslims who were present at Badr.

Al-Bukhārī stated on this subject, "'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmr, quoting Abū Isḥāq, from Ḥumayd, who said, 'I heard Anas say, "Ḥāritha was struck down at Badr and his mother went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'O Messenger of God, you know how much Ḥāritha meant to me. If he be in heaven, I will be stoic and resigned; but if it be the other place, then tell me what I ought to do.' He replied, 'Woe unto you if you feel bereaved! Is heaven just one garden? It consists of many; he is in the garden of paradise.'"'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth* through this path.

It is related on a different path from accounts of Thābit and Qatāda from Anas, to the effect that Ḥāritha was an observer and that the words used were, "Your son was awarded the highest paradise."

This provides a fine indication of the special status of those present at Badr, even if not engaged in the middle of the battle or the thick of the fray, but one observing it from a distance. Though merely struck by a stray arrow while drinking from the cistern, his position nevertheless won him that paradise that is the highest of all the gardens, in the very centre of heaven. It is from there that those rivers of heaven gush forth for which the law-giving Prophet (ṢAAS) recommended that his nation make their requests to God.

If this be the reward of such a man, what would such be for those who actually faced an enemy three times their own number?

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim both recounted, from Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs, from Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Saʿd b. ʿUbayda, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, the story of Ḥātib b. Abū Baltaʿa and his despatch of the latter to the people of Mecca in the year of the conquest, and how ʿUmar sought the permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to strike off his head for having betrayed God, His Messenger and the believers. He responded, "He was present at Badr; do you realize that God looked down at those who took part at Badr and said, 'Do whatever you wish, for I have forgiven you!'"

Al-Bukhārī's text reads, "Is he not of those at Badr? Perhaps God looked down on those present there and said, 'Do whatever you wish, for I have guaranteed you heaven, and I have forgiven you.' Tears came to the eyes of ʿUmar, and he said, 'God and his Messenger know best.'"

Muslim related from Qutayba, from al-Layth, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that a slave belonging to Ḥāṭib went to complain to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about his master, saying, "O Messenger of God, Ḥāṭib will certainly go to hell!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "You lie; he will not go there! He was present at Badr and at al-Ḥudaybiyya."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Sulaymān b. Dāʾūd related to us, quoting Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh; and al-Aʿmash related to me, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'No man who was present at Badr or al-Ḥudaybiyya will go to hell!'"

Aḥmad was alone in giving this, but it accords with the norms established by Muslim.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from ʿĀṣim b. Abū al-Nujūd, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Hurayra who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as saying, "God looked down at those present at Badr and said, 'Do what you wish, for I have forgiven you.'"

Abū Dāʾūd related it from Aḥmad b. Sinān and Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl, both of them quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn.

Al-Bazzār related in his *musnad*,[75] "Muḥammad b. Marzūq related to us, quoting Abū Ḥudhayfa, quoting ʿIkrima, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "I certainly hope that no one who was present at Badr goes to hell, if God wills it so."'"

Al-Bazzār then commented, "We know of no other line of transmission of this *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra other than this."

I comment that al-Bazzār alone gives this *ḥadīth*, and the other authorities did not cite it. It does accord with the criteria for *ṣaḥīḥ* traditions. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated, in his chapter on the presence of the angels at Badr, "Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Jarīr, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Muʿādh b. Rifāʿa b. Rāfiʿ al-Zurqī, from his father who was present at Badr, who said, 'Gabriel came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and asked him, "How do you view those of you who were present at Badr?" He replied, "As among the very finest Muslims" or he used some such phrase.

"He (Gabriel?) then stated, 'And likewise those of the angels who were present at Badr.'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this *ḥadīth*.

ON THE ARRIVAL OF ZAYNAB, DAUGHTER OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), AS AN EMIGRANT FROM MECCA TO MEDINA A MONTH AFTER THE BATTLE OF BADR IN FULFILLMENT OF THE CONDITION PLACED UPON HER HUSBAND BY THE PROPHET (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When Abū al-ʿĀṣ returned to Mecca, he having been released, as related above, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for Zayd b. Ḥāritha and a Helper and told them, 'Go to the Yaʾjūj valley and stay there until Zaynab passes by, then bring her to me.'

"They left and took up their position, it being at that time approximately one month after the battle of Badr.

"When Abū al-ʿĀṣ reached Mecca he ordered Zaynab to join her father and she went off to equip herself for the journey."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me as follows, 'I was told that Zaynab said, "While I was getting things ready Hind, daughter of ʿUtba, met me and said, 'O daughter of Muḥammad, haven't I heard that you are planning to join your father?' 'It wasn't my idea,' I told her, and she commented, 'Well then, cousin, don't do it; but if you need anything to take on the trip or money to reach your father, I can provide it. Don't be reluctant with me, for women don't let such matters come between them, as men do.' I really thought she would do as she had said, but I was afraid of her and denied I had any such plans."'"

75. A collection of traditions arranged by lines of their transmission.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "So she continued making plans and when she was ready her husband's brother Kināna b. al-Rabīʿ brought a camel which she mounted and he, taking his bow and his quiver, led her away, she riding in a howdah and it being daytime. Some of the Quraysh men discussed this and followed after her, catching up with her at Dhū Ṭuwā. The first man to reach her was Habbār b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā al-Fihrī. He scared her with his spear as she was there in the howdah and because, as they claim, she was pregnant at the time, she suffered a miscarriage. Her brother-in-law then knelt down and took the arrows from his quiver, saying, 'By God, if any man comes near me, I'll put an arrow into him!' The men drew away from him.

"Then Abū Sufyān arrived with some other Quraysh leaders and said, 'Put down your arrows so we can talk with you.' He did so and Abū Sufyān drew near him and said, 'You have not done well. You came forth with a woman openly, going over peoples' heads, even though you're aware of the injury and damage done us by Muḥammad. When you took away his daughter, openly and regardless of anyone else, the people thought this was due to the humiliation we have undergone, and that this reflected our weakness and incapacity. I swear we don't want to keep her from her father and we're not after revenge, but you'd better return with the woman until the talk dies down and everyone says we have brought her back. Then you can secretly take her away to her father.' And so he did."

Ibn Isḥāq related that Hind spoke the following verse criticizing those men who brought Zaynab back to Mecca,

> "In peacetime, they're wild young asses, fearless and
> violent, but in war they're like women having periods!"

"She is also said to have spoken this line to those who returned from Badr after some of their force had been killed."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Zaynab stayed there for some days until the gossip had subsided and then Kināna conducted her away by night and delivered her over to Zayd b. Ḥāritha and his companion. They then took her by night to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī related in the *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), giving a path of transmission through ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from ʿUrwa, quoting ʿĀʾisha, the story of Zaynab's departure from Mecca and being brought back and having a miscarriage. His account relates that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent Zayd b. Ḥāritha off with a ring of his that she could use to arrive to him. Zayd then presented it to a shepherd from Mecca who gave the ring to Zaynab. When she saw it she recognized it and asked him who had given it to him, and he replied that it was someone on the outskirts of Mecca. Zaynab then left Mecca by night and rode behind Zayd who brought her to Medina.

(The account states), "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, 'She was the best of my daughters who suffered on my account.'

"This comment reached ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, who then went to ʿUrwa and asked him, 'What is this *ḥadīth* I hear you have been relating?' ʿUrwa replied, 'By God, I really wouldn't diminish Fāṭima's reputation for all the world, and moreover, I'll never relate that again!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "On that subject, it was either ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa or Abū Khaythama, brother of the Banū Sālim b. ʿAwf" – Ibn Hishām said it was Abū Khaythama – "who spoke the following verses,

'There has reached me unimaginable information about
Zaynab's evil, terrible treatment by them.
But by their expelling her over a battle, there being a
fierce war between us, Muḥammad was not disgraced.
By his alliance with Ḍamḍam and by making war on us,
Abū Sufyān has earned only spite and regret,
We bound his son ʿAmr and the man pledged to him in
strong, well-wrought fetters,
I swore we will never lack forces well-trained and
numerous with which
We will terrify the heathen Quraysh, attacking them
again and again, placing muzzles over their noses and
branding them,
We will expel them up into Najd and Nakhla, and if they
descend we will follow down on horse and foot,
For ever, our forces never going astray; we will make
them follow in the tracks of ʿĀd and Jurhum.
Those who did not obey Muḥammad will regret their
actions and how they will repent indeed!
Tell Abū Sufyān, if you do meet him, "If you do not
accept Islam and bow down sincerely,
Then welcome that disgrace soon coming to you in this
life, and that mantle of tar for ever upon you in hell!"'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The 'man pledged' to Abū Sufyān referred to by the poet was ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥaḍramī." Ibn Hishām stated, "It was really ʿUqba b. ʿAbd al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥaḍramī; ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍramī was killed at Badr."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Bukayr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ashajj, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Abū Isḥāq al-Dawsī, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out a raiding party of which I was one, and told us, "If you capture Habbār b. al-Aswad and the other man who caught up with Zaynab, then burn them in fire!"

"'The next day he sent us a message saying, "I told you to burn those two men if you took them. But then I saw that no one should burn anyone by fire except God, Almighty and Glorious is He; so if you take them, then kill them both."'"

Ibn Isḥāq alone gave this *ḥadīth*, which conforms to criteria of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, though not cited therein.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Qutayba related to us, quoting al-Layth, from Bukayr, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us on a mission and told us, "If you should find so-and-so and so-and-so, then burn them in the fire." Later, as we were about to leave, he told us, "I ordered you to burn them in the fire; but only God punishes by the fire, so if you find them, execute them."'"

Ibn Isḥāq related that Abū al-ʿĀṣ remained an unbeliever in Mecca while Zaynab resided with her father in Medina. This was the situation until, shortly before the conquest (of Mecca) Abū al-ʿĀṣ left on a business trip on behalf of Quraysh. On his way back from Syria a raiding party met and overcame his caravan, and took all they had, though he escaped. He then went by night to his wife Zaynab and asked protection from her, which she gave him.

"When, next morning, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth for the prayer and spoke the words, *Allāhu Akbar*, God is most Great! and the people repeated this, someone cried out from the women's ranks, "O people, I have given protection to Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ!"

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished the prayer, he turned to the worshippers and asked, 'Did you hear what I heard?' 'Yes, we did,' they answered. He then said, 'I swear by Him who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hands, I heard nothing of this until I heard it when you did. And the lowest ranked Muslim may give protection on behalf of all.'

"He then went to his daughter Zaynab and said to her, 'Daughter, treat him with honour; but let him not come close to you, for you are not lawful to him.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent word that what had been taken from him should be returned, and they did so, keeping nothing back.

"Abū al-ʿĀṣ then took it and returned with it to Mecca. There he paid off each person to whom he had a debt, making sure that he had omitted no one. He asked them, 'Quraysh, do I owe any of you money you have not yet received?' They responded, 'No, may God reward you well! We have found you to be fair and honourable.'

"He then said, 'I now bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger. I swear that the only thing that prevented my accepting Islam while I was with him was my concern that you would think that I was doing so only to appropriate your property. God having returned it to you and I being free of it, I now accept Islam.'

"He then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Dāʾūd b. al-Ḥusayn related to me, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned Zaynab to her former marriage without further ceremony."

This *ḥadīth* was related by Imām Aḥmad, Abū Dāʾūd al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah from an account given by Ibn Isḥāq. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "There is nothing wrong with its chain of authorities."

However, we do not know the provenance of this *ḥadīth*. It probably derived from the memory of Dā'ūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn. Al-Suhaylī stated, "As far as I know, none of the legal scholars vouched for it."

In one reading the words used are, "and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned her to him after six years." And in another, "after two years, by the first marriage." Ibn Jarīr related it in this form. Yet another reading states, "he did not effect a marriage."

This *ḥadīth* has caused difficulties for many scholars. Their basic premise is that if a woman is a Muslim while her husband is an unbeliever, and this is the situation before the consummation, then the disunion should occur immediately. If, however, this occurs after the consummation of the marriage, then he ought to wait out the *'idda*[76] period. If he should accept Islam during that period then her marriage to him would continue. If he had not accepted Islam by the time that period had concluded, then her marriage would be dissolved.

Zaynab, God bless her, had become a Muslim when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission, and emigrated one month after Badr. Muslim women were declared forbidden to polytheists in the year of Ḥudaybiyya, 6 AH, while Abū al-'Āṣ accepted Islam before the conquest (of Mecca) in 8 AH.

Therefore those who state that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned her to him after six years, that is from the date of her emigration, are correct. And those who say it was after two years, that is two years after Muslim women were forbidden to polytheists, are also correct.

By any calculation it is obvious that the conclusion of her *'idda* period would have occurred during this period which was at least two years, or thereabouts, following the forbidding of Muslim women to unbelievers, and so the question remains how he could have returned her to him by the first marriage.

Some suggest that it is conceivable that her *'idda* period had not ended, and that this story relates to an oath that must be presumed. Some scholars oppose this *ḥadīth* with the previous one related by Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Mājah, from one of al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭā', from 'Amr b. Shu'ayb, from his father, from his grandfather, which has the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returning his daughter to Abū al-'Āṣ b. al-Rabī' after a new dowry and a new wedding ceremony.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "This *ḥadīth* is weak and unfounded, and al-Ḥajjāj did not hear it from 'Amr b. Shu'ayb, but rather from Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-'Arzamī. And the *aḥadīth* of al-'Arzamī are worthless. The truth is that which related that the Prophet (ṢAAS) affirmed her in her first marriage."

Al-Dārquṭnī maintained the same, saying, "This *ḥadīth* lacks foundation; it is the *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Abbās that is correct, namely, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned her to him by the first marriage."

76. The period of waiting prescribed for a woman in Islamic law between the conclusion of one marriage and the commencement of another.

Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* has a controversial chain of authorities. Scholars therefore maintain that when a woman accepts Islam, and her husband does so later, then he is entitled to reconcile with her during the *ʿidda* period. This is the view of Mālik, al-Awzaʿī, al-Shāfiʿī, Aḥmad and Isḥāq. Others state that it is obvious that her *ʿidda* period was over. And that those who relate his having renewed her marriage are on weak grounds."

Regarding the case of Zaynab and the above circumstances, here is evidence that if a woman accepts Islam and her husband becomes a Muslim later, her *ʿidda* period having expired, then her marriage is not thereby nullified. It becomes a matter of choice whether she wishes to marry someone else or to bide her time and wait for her husband to accept Islam, whenever that might be. And she will still be his wife if she has not remarried.

There is force and good in this from the legal viewpoint. But God knows best.

Testimony in favour of this is given by al-Bukhārī when he states, "Regarding the marriage of non-believing women who become Muslims and the period of their *ʿidda*, Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā related to us, quoting Hishām, from Ibn Jarīḥ, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the polytheists had two different kinds of relationship with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the believers, depending upon whether they were enemies fighting and being fought or those with whom there was a mutual non-aggression pact. If a woman were to leave the declared enemy, she could not become engaged until she had had a period and become cleansed. Once cleansed, marriage to her would be permitted. If her husband were to leave (polytheism) before she remarried, then she could be returned to him. If slaves, whether male or female, should leave polytheism, then they would become free and would have the same rights as other Emigrants."

He then quoted from reliable authorities accounts similar to the *ḥadīth* of Mujāhid.

This is what he stated, to the letter.

His statement, "if a woman were to leave the declared enemy she could not become engaged until she had had a period and had become cleansed" necessitates that she be considered free after one period, not three menses; one group of authorities accepts this view.

And his statement, "if her husband were to leave polytheism before she remarried, then she could be returned to him," necessitates that even if he left after her being considered free, following the *ʿidda* period, that she would be returned to her first husband provided she had not married someone else. This is clearly the case for Zaynab, daughter of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and this is accepted by some scholars. But God knows best.

Section: Verses composed about the glorious battle of Badr.

These include the following given by Ibn Isḥāq quoting Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. Ibn Hishām declared these verses inauthentic:

"Did you not see one of time's great wonders? And to destiny there are causes clear to see.
It was nothing but a people destroying themselves, perishing by advising towards disrespect and disbelief,
One evening they went forth with their forces towards Badr, being fate's pawns destined for its water hole.
We had sought for the caravan, desiring nothing else, but they advanced towards us and destiny made us meet.
And when we clashed we did not wish to retreat but only to strike with well-made blades,
And to strike off heads with their edges, weapons that shone as they made their mark.
We left the evil ʿUtba lying there, and Shayba among the dead who dropped into the pit.
And ʿAmr fell dead among those of their guard who fell, and the clothes of mourning women were rent for ʿAmr,
The clothes of women of Luʾayy b. Ghālib, noble women, shedding tears more abundantly than the Fihr.
Those were people killed in their error, and they abandoned a banner not brought there for victory,
The banner of error, whose forces Satan was leading; he betrayed them – the evil one engages in deception.
He told them, having seen the matter clearly, 'I am quit of you. I have no endurance today.
And I see what you do not; I fear God's punishment, and God has power.'
He led them to doom and they were embroiled, for he had knowledge unknown to them.
On the morning of the battle at the well they were a thousand strong, while we were 300, shining like fine young horses
Among us were God's forces, helping us at that place whose reputation will always be famous.
Gabriel attacked them beneath our banner in that battle where their destiny would come."

Ibn Isḥāq also quoted their reply composed by al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, but we have deliberately omitted this.

ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses, though these are disputed by Ibn Hishām:

"Did you not see that God put His Messenger to the test, as one tests someone well-loved, respected and good,
By which He reduced the unbelievers to humiliation; they encountered the shame of capture and death,
And so the Messenger of God's victory was glorious; God's Messenger was sent with justice.

He brought a *furqān*, clear evidence, from God, its verses clear to all of intelligence,
Some believed in that and were convinced, becoming – praise be to God – fully united,
While others denied and were confused and God on His throne compounded their agitation.
At the battle of Badr He delivered them over to His Messenger, giving him a raging force, their actions superb,
Their hands bearing and wielding fine swords that they had furbished, smoothed and polished.
Many young, brave warriors they have felled, as well as others mature and courageous,
Wakeful the eyes of their women mourning them, their tears flowing fast and slow.
In bereavement they weep for ʿUtba the misguided and for his son, lamenting for Shayba and Abū Jahl.
And for him whose leg was severed,[77] and for Ibn Judʿān, garbed in mourning clothes, dry-mouthed, grieving,
A group of the men dropped into the pit at Badr, men who had been unselfish both in battle and in times of famine.
Falsehood had called to them and they had answered, for falsehood has paths easily travelled.
And so they sacrificed before the house of hell, far removed now from mischief-making and enmity, in its deepest depths."

Ibn Isḥāq also gives their response to these verses, but we have deliberately omitted them here.

Kaʿb b. Mālik stated,

"I was amazed at what God did, and God has power to do what He wills, there being none able to overcome God.
He had decreed that at Badr we would confront a group who had acted in evil; the path of evil leads men to doom.
They had so gathered and assembled their allies that their force was huge,
And they came at us, none else, all of Kaʿb and ʿĀmir united,
While with us was the Messenger of God, with Aws about him, they providing him a strong, victorious fortress,
With the Banū al-Najjār under his banner, advancing in their flexible armour, while the dust flew.
When we clashed with them all our warriors were heroic, stoic and protective of their comrades.

77. The reference is presumably to al-Aswad b. ʿAbd al-Asad, whose leg was cut off at the cistern.

We saw that there is no Lord but God, and that the Messenger of God was making truth plain,
Our light, naked swords were like firebrands that someone wielded before your eyes,
With them we destroyed their force and they scattered, and those who were evil met their doom.
Abū Jahl was cast down dead upon his face and I left ʿUtba staggering.
Shayba and al-Taymī I left dead in the tumult, and all of these had disbelieved in Him of the throne,
And so they became fuel for fire in its abode (hell), and all who disbelieve are moving towards hell.
It will consume them, its fires stoked with molten metal and rock.
The Messenger of God had told them to come forward, but they had turned away, calling him a sorcerer.
All this for a purpose God had willed, that they perish by it; and there is no diverting any command God decreed."

Kaʿb spoke the following verses about the battle of Badr:

"Has it reached Ghassān, in their far-off abode – and the best to tell of matters are those who know them well –
That Maʿadd, cruel in their enmity, their young and mature alike, have attacked us,
Because we worshipped God, hoping for none but Him and for the gardens of paradise, when its leader came to us,
A Prophet, a man with a patrimony of honour and inherited qualities of veracity fed by their roots.
They advanced and so did we, meeting like lions, their roaring impossible to quiet.
We struck them until they fell in our attacks so that the greatest of Luʾayy stank to the nose.
They fled, our sharp swords felling them, and we cared not whether it be their ancilliaries or their core forces."

Kaʿb also spoke the following verses,

"By your father's life, O two sons of Luʾayy, regret your pride and haughtiness,
Now that your horsemen circled at Badr but did not persist when the forces met.
We came to it with God's light illuminating and alleviating from us the obscurity of the shadows,
The Messenger of God leading us with orders from God, the ultimate decision-maker.
Your horsemen did not gain mastery at Badr and did not bring back to you any solution,

So do not rush to Abū Sufyān and watch the finest of horses come up from Kudā',
By God's assistance – with that of the Holy Spirit (Gabriel) and Michael included – Oh, the best of the notables!"

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses, though Ibn Hishām said they are also attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Sahmī:

"A man wearing a fine, light chain-mail as an undergarment led them, a man steady of temperament, effective, no coward he.
I mean the Messenger of the God of creation, who favoured him above all men in his piety and goodness,
You claimed you would protect your valuables and insisted that Badr's waters could not be reached.
Then we did reach it, not heeding your words, and we drank our fill, not stinting ourselves,
Gripping that unbreakable rope of God stretched out and well-made,
With us was the Messenger of God, with us was the truth we will follow until death, and unlimited help,
Trustworthy, effective, a light-giving star, a full moon illuminating all men of valour."

Ḥassān b. Thābit also said,

"Would that the people of Mecca knew how we destroyed the unbelievers in their hour of reckoning,
We killed their leaders on our battlefield and when they retired their backs were broken,
We killed Abū Jahl and ʿUtba before him, along with Shayba falling with hands outstretched for sacrifice.
We killed Suwayd, then ʿUtba after him, and Ṭuʿma too as the dust flew,
How many men we killed of nobility, leadership, respect and good repute among their people,
We left them for yelping animals to attend, later to cook in the hot depths of hell-fire.
I swear, Mālik's horsemen and their attendants were no defence when we clashed at Badr."

ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib spoke the following verses about Badr, concerning the loss of his leg in the competition that he, Ḥamza and ʿAlī fought with ʿUtba, Shayba and al-Walīd b. ʿUtba. Ibn Hishām considered these verses inauthentic:

"A battle will tell the people of Mecca about us, one in which even those far away embarked upon,

About 'Utba as he fled, and Shayba after him, and
'Utba's first-born also had no joy in it.
Though you cut off my leg, I am a Muslim still and by
it will earn a life close to God,
With the houris like statues, set aside at the highest
heaven for those up high,
For that I have exchanged a life the best of which I
have known, and I rushed to it even though losing those
close to me.
The All-Merciful has honoured me by his generosity with
the gown of Islam that covers over my faults,
And to fight them was not distasteful to me on that
morning when men called forth their peers to fight.
When they asked the Prophet, he wanted none but us, we
three, so we answered the call,
We confronted them like lions, flourishing our spears,
fighting for the All-Merciful those who disobeyed.
Our feet did not leave our stand, we three, until they
met their fate."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit also spoke the following verses criticizing al-Ḥārith b. Hishām for fleeing at Badr and abandoning his people and not fighting for them:

'A lovely woman disturbs your heart while you sleep,
reviving you while lying there with cool, smiling lips,
Like musk mixed with rain-water, or fine, vintage wine,
like blood from sacrifice,
Her buttocks high, their cheeks rising, carefree and
not prone to oath-swearing.
Her body is built at the waist as though boneless, when
she sits it becomes like a mortar of marble,
She is seductive as she moves to her bed, her body
gorgeous, her figure superb.
In daytime I never tire of thinking of her, while at
night my dreams of her excite me.
I swore I would forget her and think of her no more
until my bones disappear in the grave.
Could a generous woman reproach for foolishness? I
reject being blamed for my passion.
She came to me early, at dawn when I was newly awake,
life's cares just intruding upon me.
She claimed that a man suffers all his life from a lack
of a plentitude of camels.
If you were lying in what you told me, then may you
avoid the lot of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām.

He left his beloved ones to fight for them, and fled by giving his steed free rein.
It outstripped the fine horses in the desert, with the speed of a rock on a rope descending a well,
Joyfully it sped away with him, while his friends lay prostrate there in a terrible state.
His brothers and people locked in battle in which God was giving his support to the Muslims.
God fulfils His purpose, and so the war, its flames flaring on them, ground them to dust.
If not for God and the horses' racing, they would have left him for the beasts, and for them to tread underfoot.
There were some who were captive and firmly bound, like an eagle defending itself against the spears.
And others who lay prostrate, answering no call, until the highest mountains might cease to exist.
In shame and clear humiliation when he saw the swords' blades driving off all the chiefs,
Swords held by noblemen, great lords whose ancestry lines can be traced and found blemish-free,
Swords that flash like lightning when striking iron in the gloom beneath the rain clouds.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "We have omitted three verses from the ending of the above poem since I found them obscene."

He went on, "He was answered by al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, brother of Abū Jahl ʿAmr b. Hishām, who spoke the following verses:

'The people well know that I did not abandon their battle until they had covered my horse with red foam.
I knew that if I battled on alone I would be killed, yet my martyrdom would not harm my enemy.
And so I left them, my friends among them, intending to bring them punishment some other terrible day.'"

Ḥassān also said,

"O Ḥārith, you acted badly, not like someone to be relied upon, at the battle, at the time for noble valour,
When you rode a swift-footed thoroughbred, fast and long-flanked.
Your people left behind you, you having quit the battle, hoping for escape when it was no time to leave.
Had you not compassion for your brother, lying there pierced with spears and plundered?
The Almighty had hastened to him, destroying his force in base dishonour and terrible punishment."

Ḥassān also spoke the following,

"Quraysh learned at Badr, that day of captive-taking
and terrible fighting,
That we were the war's champions at that battle of Abū
al-Walīd, when the long spears clashed,
We fought both sons of Rabī'a when they came at us
dressed in double suits of chain-mail,
With which Ḥakīm fled on that day when the Banū
al-Najjār wheeled in battle like lions.
Whereupon the Fihr forces ran away, little Ḥārith
giving them up from a distance,
You met humiliation and death that came quickly,
penetrating beneath the jugular.
All the force fled together, caring nothing for their
inherited honour."

Hind, daughter of Uthātha b. 'Ibād b. al-Muṭṭalib, spoke the following elegy for 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib:

"It was 'Ubayda who ensured glory, leadership and a
well-bred gentility full of intelligence and wisdom,
Weep for him, a towering mountain visible from afar, for
guests and for widows bent over dishevelled infants.
Mourn him for the masses every winter when the sky's
horizons turn red with the drought,
Mourn him for the orphans when the storms blow, for
whom he would heat a pot that would boil and foam,
And if the light of its fires died down, he would
relight it with cut sticks,
Mourn him for those who would knock during the night,
or those seeking food, or the travellers he would comfort."

Al-Umawī stated in his work on the *maghāzī*, the early military expeditions, "Sa'īd b. Quṭn related to me as follows: 'Ātika, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib spoke the following verses about the visions she saw, and in commemoration of the battle of Badr:

"Were my visions not true, now that a fugitive fleeing
from the force brings you its interpretation?
He saw and brought you the certainty he had seen with
his own eyes; swords striking do not lie.
You spoke; I did not lie to you, rather it was those
who lied who charged me with lying.
He came back in flight for fear of death, Ḥakīm,
knowing no other way out.
Indian swords were there in front of your heads, along
with spears glinting and victorious,
As though flames of fire on their edges when the raging
lions charged.

I swear by my father, the day of the rendezvous with Muḥammad, when with the help of wars the upper flanks were bitten,

Your souls were drawn forth with whetted swords in fighting as the South winds draw the clouds along.

Many were the covetous who were chilled by his swords, while stable watering-holes were made to shake.

What does it mean for those slain to be in the pit and for their like to be kept captive by my cousin and not to fight,

They being like women? Or did God bring some end to their spirits that took effect, for an end does come.

How did Muḥammad's cousins feel when they met in battle? Warfare certainly brings its trials.

Did he not surprise you with blows that would shock even a coward, making stars appear in full day?

I swear that if they repeat this we will overwhelm them with oceans of death through which the horsemen will race,

As though the light of the sun is the reflection of the edges of their swords, emitting light in conjunction and as a covering."'"

ʿĀtika also spoke the following, according to al-Umawī's account,

"Why could you not persevere against the Prophet Muḥammad at Badr?

Who is able to overcome, with true perseverence, the tumult (of war)?

You did not respond to the thin sword blades sharp in the hands of the believers,

You failed to stand firm against the swords, until you suffered but little at the hands of the Believers.

You fled in haste, yet heroes do not flee from the weapons' impact when they do battle.

He brought you what the prophets before him also brought.

And my nephew, that good and truthful man, is certainly not a poet.

Let it be enough what you have lost from your prophet; instead, the two tribes of ʿAmr and ʿĀmīr are helping him to victory."

Ṭālib b. Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses in praise of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and in mourning for those of his tribe of Quraysh who were dropped into the pit. He was still following his people's old religion at that time:

"My eyes send forth floods of tears, weeping for Kaʿb though seeing them not.

In the battles Kaʿb betrayed one another and fate overwhelmed them, for they had sinned,

And this day ʿĀmir lament their misfortunes; how I would wish to see them at hand!

They are my brothers, their parentage above suspicion, and one under their protection would never be harmed.

Our brothers ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal, may I be your ransom! Do not excite war between us!

Do not become, following love and friendship, mere tales you all fill with complaint.

Do you not know how it was with the war of Dāḥīs, and that of Abū Yaksūm when they filled the defile?

Were it not for the protection of God and Him alone, you would have ended by not defending your people.

We in Quraysh have committed no great sin, but merely protected the best man who ever trod the earth,

A man of trust and a support in troubles, a man noble in repute, neither miserly not evil.

Supplicants resort to him, crowding his door, seeking a river that never fails nor dries up.

By God, my soul will always be sad and ill at ease until you smite Khazraj full well."

Division

Ibn Isḥāq quoted much fine poetry of the polytheists in which they mourn their dead at the battle of Badr.

One poem he gives is that of Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās, a brother of the Banū Muḥārib b. Fihr. He eventually accepted Islam; al-Suhaylī wrote in his work al-*Rawaḍ* (*The Meadows*) about the verses of those poets who later became Muslims:

"I am amazed at the pride of Aws, for tomorrow fate will turn against them, and destiny can be foreseen,

And at that of the Banū al-Najjār, though a group were struck down at Badr, all of whom there being fine men,

Even if some of our men were left there dead, we have others after them yet to be so left.

Our swift horses will carry us in your midst, O Banū al-Aws, until vengeance quiets our spirits.

Amidst the Banū al-Najjār we will charge, panting beneath the mail-clad spearsmen.

We will leave corpses with vultures circling above them and with only their hopes to give them aid.

The women of Yathrib will mourn them who will have passed sleepless nights there.

And that is because our swords will keep hacking at them, dripping with the blood of those they struck.

Even though you are victorious at the battle of Badr,
it was only due to Aḥmad, and that is plain, that you won.
And due to those fine champions who were his supporters
who gave protection in the heat of battle, with death all
around.
Abū Bakr and Ḥamza are counted among them, and ʿAlī
could be named amidst those you remember.
It is those men, not those from whose abodes came the
Aws and the Najjār, whom you should vaunt,
Rather those whose ancestors were Luʾayy b. Ghālib,
Kaʿb and ʿĀmir, if lineage be considered.
It was they, the finest and the most important on the
morning of battle who repelled the cavalry at every fight."

Kaʿb b. Mālik replied to this with his ode given above, which begins:

"I was amazed at what God did, and God has power to do
what He wills, there being none able to overcome God."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Bakr, his full name being Shaddād b. al-Aswad b. Shuʿūb (and here I comment that al-Bukhārī tells that he had a child by the ex-wife of Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', after the latter had divorced her, that being when God had made non-believing women forbidden to Muslims. Her name was Umm Bakr) spoke the verses,

'Umm Bakr greeted me with peace, but now my people are
gone, can I ever have peace?
What of the pit, the pit of Badr, how can there be for
me singers and fine friends with whom to drink?
What of the pit, the pit of Badr, how can there be for
me plates piled high with fine meat?
What of the grave, the grave of Badr, how many grazing
camels and cattle will you enjoy henceforth?
What of the grave, the grave of Badr, and great
ambitions, fine gifts.
What of the friends, of that fine man Abū ʿAlī, my
brother of the generous glass and companionship!
Were you to see Abū ʿAqīl and the fighters at the Naʿam
pass,
Then you would be as distraught as the mother bereft of
a camel newborn,
The messenger informs us that we shall live, but what
life is there for corpses and heads?'"[78]

I would comment that al-Bukhārī quoted some of this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection to demonstrate the poet's state of mind.

78. Guillaume offers an interesting comment on the word *ṣadaʾ*, here translated as "heads" (plural), relating it to an ancient Arabian belief that an owl-like bird, the *sadaʾ* would emerge from the head of a slain man and demand revenge for his death. *Op. cit.* p.353, note 2.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt spoke the following verses expressing his lament for those of Quraysh killed at the battle of Badr:

'Have you not wept over those noble men, sons of nobles, worthy of praise,
Mourning like doves on swaying, pliant branches,
Weeping as they coo softly as they return at night.
The women who mourn are like them, the hired women who wail.
Whoever mourns for them does so in sorrow and whoever praises them speaks true.
What chieftains, what great leaders there were at Badr and al-'Aqanqal,
And at Mudāfi al-Barqayn, and at al-Ḥannān by the side of al-Awāshiḥ,
Mature men and youthful were there, in nights of raiding, and strong men too,
Do you not see what I see, plain for all who look on?
The Mecca valley has changed, its plains now deserted,
By every prince and prince's son, pure in friendship, confident,
Frequent visitors at the gates of kings, eminent men defeating the deserts.
Men of broad necks, tall and well-built, influential and successful,
Men who say, do and order all things proper,
Who serve rich meat piled high above the bread,
Men who pass around dish after dish after dish big as pools,
Not mere nothings for those who are guests, plates not merely flat,
Serving guest after guest after guest from huge platters,
Men who give as gifts hundreds of the pregnant camels they own to hundreds of friends,
Driving the herds of camels over to the others coming forth from Balādiḥ,
Their men of nobility having qualities outweighing other nobles on the scale.
Like the weights on a scale being held down by the measurer,
One group deserted them while they were busy protecting things open to shame,
Men who struck blows against the vanguard with their Indian-made broadswords,
Their voices hurt me as they cried out, some for water, others in pain.

May God reward all the tribes of ʿAlī, whether widowed
or married,
If they do not attack so fiercely that all the barking
dogs slink home.
On horses trained for journeys short or long, their
heads held high and accompanying the unsubmissive ones.
Brave men on fine horses as though attacking fierce,
scowling lions.
Each combatant meets his foe as though merely walking
to shake his hand,
About a thousand or a thousand more, some lancers, some
in chain-mail.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "We have omitted from this poetry two lines that impugn the Companions of the Messenger of God, may God be pleased with them."

I would comment that this is the poetry of a man who is feeble-minded and degenerate, a man whose ignorance and limited intelligence led him to praise the polytheists and to damn the believers.

He expressed affection in Mecca for Abū Jahl b. Hishām and other accursed unbelievers and ignorant and insignificant persons, but felt none for God's servant, Messenger and true friend, the pride of mankind, none for him whose face was more luminous than the moon, a man possessed of perfect knowledge, complete intelligence, none for God's trustworthy Companion who is ready to give trust, a man eager for good works and honourable deeds, a man willing to spend thousands and hundreds more in obedience to the Lord of the earth and of the heavens.

And similar praise can be given to the rest of his noble and eminent Companions who emigrated from the abode of disbelief and ignorance to that of knowledge and Islam. May God be pleased with them all as long as light and dark intermingle, and as long as the days and the nights follow one another in succession.

We have omitted many poems quoted by Ibn Isḥāq, God bless him, due to our fear of being long-winded and tiresome. There is enough in the poetry we have given. And to God is all praise and credit.

Al-Umawī has stated in his work on the military expeditions, as follows, "I heard my father say, and Sulaymān b. Arqam related to us, from Ibn Sīrīn, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) expressed forgiveness for the poetry before Islam. Sulaymān said, "Al-Zuhrī reported that, saying, 'He forgave it all except for two odes; one was the words of Umayya in which he recalled those fallen at Badr, and the poem of al-Aʿshā in which he made reference to a man with sunken eyes.'"

This is a strange *ḥadīth*. And this Sulaymān b. Arqam is to be disregarded. But God knows best.

Section: On the expedition against the Banū Sulaym in the second year after the emigration of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished with Badr by the end of Ramaḍān or in Shawwāl.

"He remained only seven nights in Medina before he himself conducted an expedition against the Banū Sulaym."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭa al-Ghifārī, or Ibn Umm Maktūm, the blind, in charge of Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "He reached one of their wells at a place called al-Kadr, where he stayed for three days before returning to Medina without engaging in battle. He remained there for the rest of Shawwāl and Dhū al-Qa'da and it was while he stayed there that he accepted ransom for the majority of the Quraysh captives."

Section: On the expedition against al-Sawīq in Dhū al-Ḥijja that year, it also being known as the expedition to Qarqarat al-Kadr.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "The word *al-qarqara* means 'smooth ground'. The word *al-kadr* refers to a bird whose colours are dingy."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "According to what I was told by Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr and Yazīd b. Rūmān, as well as by others whose word I do not doubt, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik, one of the most knowledgeable of the Helpers, that when Abū Sufyān and later the captives of Quraysh returned to Mecca, he swore that he would abstain from intercourse until he had carried out an attack against Muḥammad.

"He therefore went forth with 200 mounted warriors of Quraysh to fulfil his oath. He travelled along the Nejd road and stopped at the head of a water-course into the mountain called Nayb which is approximately one postal stage from Medina.

"From there he went on by night to the Banū al-Naḍīr and called at the home of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab. He knocked on the door, but he refused to open up, being afraid. So Abū Sufyān went on to Sallām b. Mishkam, who was at that time the chief of the Banū al-Naḍīr and the custodian of their treasure. He asked to go in and was invited to do so; he was treated as a guest and given wine and food.

"When the night was over he left and returned to his companions, sending some men of Quraysh ahead. They then went on to a place in that vicinity called al-'Urayḍ, where they burnt some young date-palms. They came across one of the Helpers and a man allied to him in a garden there, killed them both and then left again.

"People were warned about them, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left in pursuit."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He left Abū Lubāba Bashīr b. 'Abd al-Mundhir in command of Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Qarqarat al-Kadr, but then headed back since Abū Sufyān and his companions had eluded him.

"The men with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) found substantial supplies that the polytheists had discarded to lighten their load. Most of what they left behind was known as *al-sawīq*[79] and this name is therefore associated with this expedition.

"The Muslims asked him whether this would be credited to them as a military expedition, and he said that it would.

"Abū Sufyān composed the following verses about these actions of his and in praise of Sallām b. Mishkam, the Jew:

> 'I chose one man in Medina to ally with, and I did not regret it, though I stayed only briefly.
> Sallām b. Mishkam gave me refreshment with good wine, though I was hurried.
> When my force turned away I told him, to alleviate his concern, "Take pleasure in glory and in booty.
> Take thought, for these men are the best, pure-bred of Luʾayy, not of some Jurhum mixed-breed.
> What happened here was merely that a rider stayed a while, one who was hungry but not needy or poor."'"

Section: On the marriage of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him, to his wife Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

This took place in 2 AH, following the battle of Badr, according to the account given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim through al-Zuhrī, from ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, from his father al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, "I had a camel as my share of the spoils of the battle of Badr, the Prophet (ṢAAS) having given me one as my fifth share of what God had provided that day. When I wanted to marry Fāṭima, daughter of the Prophet (ṢAAS), I made an arrangement with a jeweller of the Banū Qaynuqāʿ to travel with me and to get some sweet-smelling rushes. I wanted to sell this to the jewellers and use the proceeds for a wedding feast for my bride. I gathered green fodder, sacks and ropes, having left my two camels tied down beside the house of one of the Helpers. When I had finished gathering things together, I found to my surprise that their humps had been sliced open, their flanks cut and their livers removed. I could scarcely believe my eyes at this sight. I asked who had done this and was told that it might well have been Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who was there in that house drinking with some of the Helpers, accompanied by his songstress and some friends. She was singing,

'O Ḥamza who cuts down the camels.'

79. This word refers to a mush-like dish made of wheat and barley.

"On hearing this, Ḥamza had jumped up for his sword, sliced open their humps, cut open their sides and removed their livers."

'Alī went on, "So I went off to see the Prophet (ṢAAS) who was with Zayd b. Ḥāritha. He knew something had happened to me and asked what was wrong. I replied by telling him what Ḥamza had done and where he was drinking.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called for his cloak, put it on and walked away with myself and Zayd b. Ḥāritha following him. When he reached the house where Ḥamza was, he asked permission to enter and it was given. He set about upbraiding Ḥamza for what he had done, with Ḥamza before him drunk and red-eyed. Ḥamza stared towards the Prophet (ṢAAS) raising his eyes up to his knees, then to his face, whereupon he commented, 'What are you but slaves to my father!'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) realized he was drunk and so turned on his heels and left, with us following him."

This is the wording of al-Bukhārī in the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (*The Book of Military Expeditions*). He also gives the account in several other places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection in various versions.

In this there is proof of the information we have given above that the spoils taken at Badr were divided into fives, contrary to what is claimed by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Salām in his book *al-Amwāl* (*Monies*). Therein he states that the revelation concerning division into fives only came thereafter. A number of authorities have disagreed with him in that, including al-Bukhārī and Ibn Jarīr. We have made clear his mistake regarding this in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) and in our previous comments. But God knows best.

This behaviour of Ḥamza and his companions, God be pleased with them, occurred before wine was prohibited. Indeed, Ḥamza was killed at Uḥud, as will be related, and that event preceded the prohibition of wine. But God knows best.

This *ḥadīth* may be cited as evidence by those who maintain that anything expressed by someone drunk is of no account and without effect in such cases as divorce or the giving of testimony, or such matters, as some scholars have maintained and as is established in the *Kitāb al-Aḥkām* (*The Book of Statutes*).

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Sufyān related to us, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from his father, from a man who heard 'Alī say, 'I wanted to seek from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) my betrothal to his daughter but recognized that I owned nothing. But then I remembered his compassion and his relationship (to me) and so I did ask him to agree to my engagement to her.

"'He replied, "Do you own anything?" "No," I replied. "Where is your Ḥuṭamī chain-mail I gave you on such-and-such an occasion?" he asked. I replied, "At my place." "Well then," he said, "give me that for her." And so I did.'"

Aḥmad relates this similarly in his *ḥadīth* collection, though in his chain of transmission there is one link who is dubious.

Abū Dāʾūd stated, "Isḥāq b. Ismāʿīl al-Ṭāliqānī related to us, quoting ʿAbda, quoting Saʿīd, from Ayyūb, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'When ʿAlī married Fāṭima, God bless them both, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "Give her something." He replied, "I have nothing." "Where is your Ḥuṭamī chain-mail?" he was asked.'"

Al-Nasāʾī related this from Hārūn b. Isḥāq, from ʿAbda b. Sulaymān, from Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba, from an account of Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī.

Abū Dāʾūd stated, "Kathīr b. ʿUbayd al-Ḥimṣī related to us, quoting Abū Ḥaywa, from Shuʿayb b. Abū Ḥamza; Ghaylān b. Anas related to me, from the people of Ḥimṣ; and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Thawbān related to me, from one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) that when ʿAlī married Fāṭima and wanted to consummate the marriage, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prevented him from doing so until he gave her something. ʿAlī replied, 'O Messenger of God, I have nothing.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Give her your chain-mail.' He did so and then went in to her."

Al-Bayhaqī stated in *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Isḥāq, that ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related, from Mujāhid, from ʿAlī, who said, 'I did ask the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to become engaged to Fāṭima. A freed-woman of mine asked, "Did you know that someone has asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for permission to become engaged to Fāṭima?" "No," I replied. "Well," she went on, "she has been asked for; but what prevents you from going to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and having him marry you?" I asked her, "Do I own anything with which to get married?" She replied, "If you go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he will marry you."

"'She kept on encouraging me until I did go in to him. When I sat down before him, I was struck dumb, I swear, and could not speak I was so much in awe.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked me, "What brought you here? Is there something I can do for you?" I remained silent but he said, "Have you perhaps come to become engaged to Fāṭima?" "Yes, I have," I replied. "Do you have something to give her in marriage?" he asked. "No, O Messenger of God, I don't," I replied. He then enquired, "What did you do with the chain-mail I provided for you?"

"'Now I swear by Him who holds ʿAlī's soul in His hand, it was just a Ḥuṭamī chain-mail, not worth four dirhams. I replied, "Yes, I have it." "Then I marry her to you for it; send it to her as her marriage payment," he said. This, then became the dowry paid for Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Fāṭima bore to ʿAlī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Muḥsin – the last of whom died young – Umm Kulthūm and Zaynab."

Al-Bayhaqī then related through ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib, from his father, from ʿAlī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to Fāṭima as her trousseau a soft gown, a water-skin, and a leather pillow stuffed with sweet-smelling rushes."

Al-Bayhaqī quoted from the *Kitāb al-Ma'rifa* (*The Book of Knowledge*) of Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Munaddah, that 'Alī became engaged to Fāṭima one year after the hegira and that he consummated the marriage with her one year thereafter.

I would comment that by that account the consummation took place early in the third year of the hegira. However, it is obvious that the anecdote relating to the two camels must involve the period shortly after the battle of Badr, that is, as we have related, at the end of the year 2 AH. But God knows best.

Section: Reference to a variety of events that occurred in the year 2 AH.

We have given details above about the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to 'Ā'isha, mother of the believers, God bless her, and have already referred to the famous engagements that had occurred; these accounts include information on the deaths of famous men, both Muslim and polytheist.

Among those who died that year were the martyrs of the battle of Badr. These numbered 14 including both Emigrants and Helpers. Their names have been given above, as well as those of the chiefs of the Quraysh polytheists who numbered 70, as is widely known. Shortly after the battle, Abū Lahab 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, God damn him, died. As is told above.

When the good news was brought to the Muslims of Medina by Zayd b. Ḥāritha and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa concerning how God had afflicted the polytheists and given victory to the believers, they found Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had died and they were levelling the soil on her grave.

Her husband 'Uthmān b. 'Affān had stayed behind to nurse her, on the orders of the Prophet (ṢAAS). This is why he was given a share of the spoils of Badr and also assured his reward from God at Judgement Day.

'Uthmān thereafter married her sister Umm Kulthūm, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); this is why he was known as *dhū al-nūrayn*,"he of the two lights". It is said that no man but him was married consecutively to two daughters of a prophet. May God be pleased with him and make him content.

That year the direction of prayer was changed, as we have related above. And there was an addition made to the prayer performed when in residence, as explained above.

That year fasting was prescribed, that of Ramaḍān, as related. The *zakāt dhāt al-nuṣab* and the *zakat al-fiṭr*[80] were imposed at that time.

That year the polytheists and Jews of Medina, among the Banū Qaynuqā', the Banū al-Naḍīr and the Banū Qurayẓa who lived there, along with the Jews of the Banū Ḥāritha, pretended co-operation with the Muslims. A large number of the

80. The *zakāt dhāt al-nusab* (plural of a singular noun *nisab*) is a tax payable on certain categories of possessions, provided the tax-payer possessed a defined minimum (*nisāb*) value of these. The *zakāt al-fiṭr* is an obligatory payment of provisions by all Muslims of means to the poor at the end of the fasting month of Ramaḍān.

polytheists and Jews professed Islam while secretly being hypocrites. Some did remain as they had been, while others were totally indecisive, tending first this way then the other, as God has depicted them in His Book.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "In that year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote his *al-maʿāqil*[81] which were kept attached to his sword."

Ibn Jarīr stated, "It is said that al-Ḥasan, ʿAlī's son was born that year."

He went on, "Al-Wāqidī, however, claimed that Ibn Abū Sabra related to him, from Isḥāq b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū Jaʿfar, that ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib consummated his marriage with Fāṭima in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijja that year.

"And if that account is true, then the former one is inaccurate."

81. The word refers to arrangements concerning the payment of the bloodwit in the case of murder or manslaughter.

GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS AND NAME-RELATED TERMS

Abū means father. According to Arabic grammatical rules, this word changes to Abī when governed by a preceding word. While, therefore, Abū Ṭālib would mean Ṭālib's father, when the word Ibn, son, is prefixed to the name, the form changes to Abī, and so Ibn Abī Ṭālib, would mean 'the son of Ṭālib's father'. To avoid confusion in this text, however, the term is left here universally as Abū.

The letters 'al-' before a noun represent in Arabic the definite article, 'the'.

The letter b. when part of a name represents a shortened form of the word 'Ibn', 'son'. Thus, the name 'Yaʿqūb b. 'Utba' means 'Yaʿqūb, son of ʿUtba'. In a composite name, as are often given in this text, such as 'Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas' the names of Yaʿqūb's father, grandfather, and great grand-father are given.

The letters bt. a shortened form of the Arabic *bint*, indicates 'girl' or 'daughter'. Thus the name ʿĀʾisha bt. Abū Bakr refers to ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

The letters ṢAAS are inserted after mention of the Prophet Muḥammad. These letters stand for the Arabic words *ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa sallam*; this invocation, recited by Muslims after every reference to the Prophet, whether by name or inference, is normally translated as 'May God's peace and blessings be upon him'.

GLOSSARY ITEMS

Words defined in footnotes associated with the text are not generally included in this glossary.

afkhādh: plural of *fakhdh* (q.v.).

aḥādīth: plural of *ḥadīth* (q.v.).

agnatic: related through descent on the father's side.

ʿālim (pl. *ʿulamāʾ*): scholars or theologians of Islam.

anṣār: the plural of *nāṣir*, helper, or victor. Most commonly met, in this text, in the plural form, it refers to the early Medinan allies of the Prophet who

officially fraternized with the *muhājirīn*, those Muslims who had initially gone into exile from Mecca to Medina in their support for Islam.

ʿarab al-ʿāriba: the original Arabs, who are assumed to have spoken the language of Yaʿrub b. Qaḥṭān.

ʿarab al-mustaʿriba: 'the arabized Arabs', initially referring to those who spoke the Arabic of Ishmael, the dialects of the Ḥijāz, that is. The term is also applied to those not descended from the Arabs of Arabia, but who have been assimilated into Arab culture and who speak Arabic as their native tongue.

ʿArafāt (also ʿArafa): a plain some 13 miles east of Mecca. Essential parts of the *ḥajj* pilgrimage ceremonies occur there, centered on a small granite hill, also known by the same name.

ʿashīra (pl. *ʿashāʾir*): an agnatic group. The word is commonly translated as tribe. An *ʿashīra* is composed of several *afkhādh* (q.v.), while several *ʿashāʾir* form a single qabīla (q.v.).

badana: an animal, commonly a camel, to be offered for sacrifice by a pilgrim at the *ḥajj* (q.v.).

baraka: blessing, in particular that divine force that enables prosperity and happiness. Persons of great piety or holiness are believe suffused with *baraka*, which radiates from them to those around them.

Bakka: an ancient alternative or original name for Mecca. In legend, the name comes from the Arabic verb *bakā*, he wept, applied to Adam's sadness at descending to the barren environment of Arabia after his expulsion from paradise.

baṭn (pl. *buṭūn*): an agnatic group smaller than a *qabīla* (q.v.) but larger than a *fakhdh* (q.v.).

dafʿ: the word used to denote the act of departure from ʿArafāt during the pilgrimage rites.

fakhdh (pl. *afkhādh*): a group of several families claiming descent from the same ancestor.

al-fajr: the dawn; also the superogatory prayer, recommended but not required, performed immediately after dawn. It consists of two *rakʿāt* (q.v.) to be recited audibly.

faṣīla (pl. *faṣā'il*): an agnatic group consisting of the nearest members of one's *'ashīra* (q.v.).

ghazwa (pl. *ghazawāt*): armed engagements in which the Prophet Muḥammad participated personally. Those he initiated but without his own direct participation are known as *sarāyā* (pl. of *sariyya*).

ḥadīth (pl. *aḥādīth*): a saying, reported action or anecdote relating the words or deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad. An *isnād* (q.v.) precedes the *ḥadīth* and lists the persons by whom the reported material was transmitted.

ḥadīth marfū': a *ḥadīth* related by one of the Companions of the Prophet (see *ṣāḥib*) and quoted directly from the latter.

ḥāfiẓ (pl. *ḥufāẓ*): a person who has memorized the entire *Qur'ān*. Also one of the sacred attributes – the Guardian, the Protector – by which God is known.

ḥajj: the pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca set annually to take place in the first half of the month of *Dhū al-Ḥijja*.

ḥanīf: 1) a devout pre-Islamic monotheist. 2) a person sincerely searching for the ancient religion practised by Abraham, with whom the word is particularly associated.

ḥanīfiyya: the religion of Abraham and the *ḥanīfs*.

ḥaram (or *ḥarām*): a term denoting what is sacred, forbidden or inviolable.

ḥijāba: the office of the custodian of the *ka'ba*; he is known as the *ḥājib*.

ḥijra (or hegira): the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad and his supporters from Mecca into exile in Medina. The date of this event was later adopted as the commencement of the Muslim era, calculated as 622 AD.

ijāza: 1) rendering something legal or permissible. 2) the act of transmitting a *ḥadīth* and attributing the same to an authority without actually having heard that person recite it.

ifāḍa: the movement or departure of pilgrims from 'Arafāt following their performance of the *wuqūf*, 'the standing'.

iḥrām: 1) the rendering sacred or inviolate. 2) the name given to the clothing donned by Muslims entering the *iḥrām* state prior to their participation in the pilgrimage.

isnād: the prefatory material to a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) that lists the sequence of scholars or witnesses who transmitted the account from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad up to the time when it was written down.

izār: the cloth that covers the pilgrim from waist to knees when he commits himself to the sacred state of *iḥrām*.

jāhiliyya: denoting childlike foolishness or ignorance, the word is commonly applied to the period prior to the advent of Islam.

jamra (pl. *jamrāt*): ancient stone pillars symbolizing Satan at Minā. These are pelted with pebbles during the pilgrimage rites, the stones being known as *jamrāt*.

kaʿba: the ancient cube-like structure within the great mosque in Mecca positioned some feet from the sacred spring *zamzam* (q.v.). It is towards this site that Muslims direct their prayers (see *qibla*).

al-Khalīl: 1) a town, also known as Hebron, some 32 miles south of Jerusalem and the site of the Tomb of the Patriarchs, sacred both to Jews and to Muslims. 2) a name or attribute implying close friend or confidant; the word is particularly associated with Abraham.

liwāʾ: 1) a flag, banner or signpost. 2) the issuance of this to those making the pilgrimage to the *kaʿba*.

maqām Ibrāhīm: the 'station' of Abraham. A sanctuary positioned a few feet from the *kaʿba* where Abraham and his co-religionaries would stand for prayer during the summer months.

maghrib: the west or direction in which the sun sets. Also, the fourth canonical Islamic prayer performed at dusk. It consists of three *rakʿāt*; at the first two of these the prayers are spoken audibly, the third in silence.

masjid: the place where the Muslim prostrates in prayer, usually a mosque.

Minā: a location some four miles east of Mecca on the road to ʿArafāt.

ḥadīth mursal: a *ḥadīth* which is considered by scholars to have a fault or inconsistency in the chain of its transmission.

al-Muzdalifa: a location some half way between Minā and ʿArafāt. It is there that pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt spend the night.

nadwa: the act of presiding over assemblies of pilgrims at the *kaʿba*.

parasang: a Persian term for a unit of length, also known as a *farsakh*. One *parasang* equals approximately one league, some three miles, that is.

qabīla (pl. *qabāʾil*): a large agnatic group whose members trace descent from a single ancestor. Often translated as tribe. A *qabīla* is larger than an *ʿashīra* (q.v.) but smaller than a *shaʿb* (q.v.).

qāḍī: a judge appointed by a Muslim community to administer and adjudicate issues of Islamic law.

qibla: the direction to which a Muslim faces when praying. Initially towards Jerusalem but later changed by the Prophet Muḥammad so that Muslims would face Mecca and the *kaʿba* there.

rakʿa (pl. *rakʿāt*): a unit of prayer consisting of a variety of gestures and postures. These *rakʿāt* total 17 each day, divided between the five canonical prayer periods.

al-raḥīm: The All-Compassionate; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

al-raḥmān: the All-Merciful; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

Ramaḍān: the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar. The month of fasting, it was during *Ramaḍān* that divine revelation first came to the Prophet Muḥammad, and it is therefore particularly venerated.

ridāʾ: a length of unsewn cloth that is draped over the left shoulder and around the torso of the pilgrim. This garb is donned by the pilgrim when he enters the *iḥrām* state.

rifāda: the provision of pilgrims with wheat and raisins by certain members of Quraysh of Mecca.

al-saʿy: the ritual rapid walk or jog performed during the pilgrimage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

sabaʾ: the community and kingdom ruling South-West Arabia for centuries prior to the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad.

ṣāḥib (pl. *aṣḥāb, ṣaḥāba*): companion; that community of men who knew and supported the Prophet Muḥammad during his mission.

ṣaḥīḥ: a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) the chain of transmission of which is considered by Muslim scholars to be reliable beyond any reasonable doubt; also, a collection comprised only of such *aḥādīth*.

samʿan: the receipt of a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) from a scholar by listening to him or her recite it and then repeating it back. This method of transmitting and receiving a *ḥadīth* was considered the most trustworthy of all.

shaʿb (pl. *shuʿūb*): a tribal group larger than a *qabīla* (q.v.); a nation, race or people.

shahāda: the profession of faith in Islam by reciting in Arabic the words: 'There is no God but God and Muḥammad is His Messenger'.

shaykh (pl. *shuyūkh*): an elderly man; a tribal or spiritual leader; a distinguished and devout scholar.

shīʿa: the doctrine and its adherent, a *shīʿī*, that considers ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭālib and husband of the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima, was the legitimate spiritual and political heir to the Caliphate of Islam.

sunna: the body of recorded words, actions, gestures and practices of the Prophet Muḥammad. This material constitutes the second foundation of Islam and its legal system, the holy Qurʾān being the first and prime source. In the plural form, *sunan*, reference is made to the compilation, by various authorities of the reported words and actions of the Prophet.

tafsīr: exegesis and commentary, particularly applied to the Qurʾān.

tasmiyya: the enunciation by a Muslim of the formula: 'In the name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate' prior to any act or activity in which he or she might engage.

ṭawāf: ritual circumambulation of a religious site, normally the *kaʿba*.

tubbaʿ (pl. *tabābiʿa*): the title applied to the kings of pre-Islamic Yemen.

wudūʾ: the ritual ablution necessarily practiced by Muslims prior to their performance of prayer.

zamzam: the sacred well positioned close to the *kaʿba* (q.v.) within the *ḥarām al-sharīf*, the sacred enclosure encompassing the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims believe the well to have been miraculously opened through the agency of Gabriel to provide water for Abraham's wife Hagar and their son Ishmael.

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The Life of the Prophet Muḥammad

VOLUME III

Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya

Ibn Kathīr

Translated by Professor Trevor Le Gassick

Reviewed by Dr Muneer Fareed

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INTRODUCTION

THE work at hand in its original Arabic is, in a sense, the product of two minds: the author himself, Abū al-Fidāʾ ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar b. Kathīr,[1] and, to a lesser extent, its editor, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. In his introduction to the Arabic, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid points out that this work is in fact the culmination of a search for a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad to which Ibn Kathīr makes reference in his celebrated exegesis of the Qurʾān. There is, however, no extant copy of any such independent biographical study traceable to Ibn Kathīr. That such a study did exist is questionable, notwithstanding Ibn Kathīr's own allusion thereto. Given the unavailability of this particular work, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid offers the theory that the biography in question is none other than that which appears in Ibn Kathīr's chief work, his opus on history, the *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*.[2] He argues that the *sīra* section of the latter work is so comprehensive in its analysis of the life and times of the Prophet Muḥammad as to almost obviate the need for any independent study of the same topic. The biography at hand, therefore, is the same as found in the *al-Bidāya*. Nevertheless, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid must be commended for the not inconsiderable task of editing and publishing this particular section as an independent unit, and appropriately titling it *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya li Ibn Kathīr*.

Ibn Kathīr, whose ancestors are said to have been from Iraq, was himself born around the year 1313 CE/700 AH in the Boesra district of eastern Damascus. He died 74 years later, shortly after suffering a total loss of vision. He counts as his tutors such illustrious personages as the eminent historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, the Mālikī jurist Abū Mūsā al-Qarāfī, and the celebrated Damascene polemicist and jurist Ibn Taymiyya al-Ḥarrānī.

Ibn Kathīr's was an era of the great political and social upheavals that posed many challenges to the Muslim world at large, and in particular, to its scholars. What with the scourge of the Tartars threatening the very existence of Islam as a socio-political entity from the outside and the sectarian and ethnic strife created by the Mamluk revolution doing much the same from within, Ibn Kathīr and his

1. According to R. Y. Curtis, *Authoritative Interpretation of Classical Islamic Tafsīr: Critical Analysis of Ibn Kathīr's Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓīm*. Unpublished dissertation. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1989) (21), classical bibliographers have cited Ibn Kathīr's name in more than one way. Al-Dhahabī for instance, in the supplement to his bibliography, *Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Huffāẓ*, gives Ibn Kathīr's name as Ismāʿīl b. Umar b. Kathīr b. Ḍaw b. Kathīr b. Zarʿ. Other versions have been given, however, such as appears in al-Ziriklī's *al-Aʿlām* (1: 320) and ʾUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla's *Muʿjam al-Muʾallifīn* (1: 28).

2. According to C. Brockelman in his *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* ii. 49, this historical work of Ibn Kathīr is itself based on al-Birzāli's chronicle. For more information see also, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina* (Cod. Vienna, no. 1172).

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The text itself suffers from a singular lack of the literary cadence that makes the historical works of al-Ṭabarī, for instance, more of a pleasure to read. This seems to result from Ibn Kathīr's efforts to present an authentic description of the life and times of the Prophet of Islam, and to submit such data as is found in the popular biographical works to the scrutiny of *ḥadīth* literature. The flow of his text is, without question, a casualty of this exercise. But, as has been pointed out by a scholar of the Bible, "If we read biblical narrative (or in this case the *sīra* material) as a story, we abandon its historical truth. If we read it as literature, we will often find literary art in it, but this art takes us further from truth."[6] Not that the method of Ibn Kathīr is altogether without its redeeming features: it certainly provides useful information to scholars, particularly those of the traditional schools, who would prefer to have the classical sources for *sīra* studies close at hand.

The contents of works such as Ibn Kathīr's *sīra* are today regarded by many scholars of Islam as largely proto-historical, focusing, that is, on an era whose source documentation falls short of contemporary historiographical standards. It is, some say, the stuff of myth and legend, entwined in places with real historical data. For modern historians of Islam and the Middle East such as Maxime Rodinson, Patricia Crone et al., *sīra* material contains, in the first instance, virtually "nothing of which we can say for certain that it incontestably dates back to the time of the Prophet".[7] And so, "when doing research about the life and work of the Prophet Muḥammad", Rudi Paret warns, "we on principle distrust the traditional statement and explanation of facts given by later generations, in so far as they cannot be verified by internal evidence or in some other way."[8]

In addition, the work at hand may be seen by some to be no more than the product of one who had a variety of interests in the topic: one who was, at one and the same time, a historian, a scribe of "sacred biography", and also a devotee; the results of an endeavour such as Ibn Kathīr's, therefore, risk being perceived as less than the product of dispassionate scholarship.[9]

This critical approach to Islamic historiography emerged gradually in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was, understandably, only a matter of time before Albert Schweitzer's "quest of the historical Christ" would be appropriated by

6. See Robin L. Fox, *The Unauthorized Version: Truth and Fiction in the Bible* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

7. This particular statement appears in the introduction to Maxime Rodinson's own biography of the Prophet. See Maxime Rodinson, *Mohammed*. Trans. Anne Carter (London, 1971).

8. For the full text of this article see R. Paret, "Recent European Research on the Life and Work of *Prophet Muhammad, Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi, 1958.

9. See in this regard G. D. Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad* (Columbia: University of Southern California Press, 1989).

scholars of Islamic history in their search of the demythologized Muḥammad; after all, this kind of appropriation of the analytical tools indigenous to studies of Christianity for the unravelling of the Islamic historical experience has become almost a convention in Islamic and Middle Eastern studies. Yet the entire process is, I believe, fraught with questionable hypotheses, broad generalizations and a certain disregard for the spatio-temporal factors that shape ostensibly similar events. The application of New Testament heuristic tools such as Form and Redaction criticism to the corpus of information pertaining to the *sīra* seems to betray a casual disregard for the *Sitz im Leben* of that very corpus. The life and work of Jesus is clearly different from that of Muḥammad; the former's mission – if it can be described as such – is, for example, singularly devoid of the political and socio-economic objectives that informed that of the latter. It is, therefore, hardly surprising, as F. E. Peters in his recent article "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad" points out, that "even though a great deal of effort has been invested in research into the life and times of Muḥammad, the results do not seem at all comparable to those achieved in research on Jesus, and the reasons are not at all clear."[10]

Ever since Gustav Weil presented his *Mohammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre* in 1843, scholars have endeavoured to unravel the historical Muḥammad using a variety of tools and strategems. Initially the material offered by Muslim historians such as Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Hishām and more, importantly, al-Ṭabarī was used almost unquestioningly by Christian scholars who, as Holt characterizes them, belonged mainly to "holy orders".[11] Their primary purpose, it would seem, was to provide a spirited defence of Christian theology and dogma against the claims of Islam and its adherents. The polemics that ensued were, in the main, reflective of the attitude that there was "not any rational inducement in all (that Muslims) believe or practice; insomuch that common sense must be discarded in order to embrace their system."[12] As for Muḥammad, he was for many in that era "so coarse and barbarous an imposter, that there is not a man, who does not or cannot perceive plainly his cheating and corruption."[13] Humphrey Prideaux, the 17th-century lecturer in Hebrew at Oxford, captured rather succinctly the disposition of scholars *vis-à-vis* the study of Muḥammad, in the rather long-winded title of his work, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annex'd*

10. F. E. Peters, "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad", in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (1991), 291–315.

11. See P. M. Holt, "The Treatment of Arab Historians by Prideaux, Ockley, and Sale," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 290–302.

12. Ibid., 300.

13. Ibid., 300.

for the vindication of Christianity from this charge. Offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present age.[14] Later Simon Ockley, the somewhat less acerbic and brusque vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, authored *The History of the Saracens*, a "much more solid contribution to historical knowledge" as Holt puts it, but one that nonetheless did "not fail to follow common form by stigmatizing Muḥammad in his first line, as 'the great Imposter' and then describing the Arab conquests as 'that grievous calamity'."[15] The liberalism that swept across Europe in the 18th century helped create a relatively less hostile attitude among European scholars towards Islam and its leader. We thus find during that era scholars such as Henri de Boulainvillier emerging. Boulainvillier, his theological affinities notwithstanding, assumed a decidedly more conciliatory tone in his biography of Muḥammad, *La vie de Mahomet*. For him, Christianity is undoubtedly superior to Islam but he is, none the less, quite charitable in his evaluation of his subject, and says: "With respect to the essential doctrines of religion, all that (Muḥammad) has laid down is true; but he has not laid down all that is true; and that is the whole difference between our religion and his."[16]

The quest itself began in earnest in the writings of the Belgian Jesuit, Henri Lammens. Whereas Theodor Noeldeke, prior to him, had largely failed in his attempts to unravel "the historical person of Muhammad", Lammens plodded on, and succeeded to some extent, in demonstrating "the possibility of the critical analysis of the *sīra*". Lammens' efforts, however, were directed, not at a biographical study of Muḥammad *per se*, but rather on the search for the secret of his personal appeal and the rapid expansion of his message. "Muhammad to him, was a historical problem as well as a symbol of Islam's obstinacy and insensitiveness to the missionary influence."[17]

Lammens also happened to be among the first to argue, with some conviction, that the *ḥadīth* traditions as well as the *sīra* material on the Prophet are, on the whole, fictitious. This inaugurated a new perspective on Islamic history: the emphasis shifted from a critique of the actors in that history to the questioning of the source material itself.

In the 19th century, the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher concluded that much of the *ḥadīth* material was but a "pious fraud . . . invoked by every group (in early Islam) for every idea it evolved; . . . through solid chains (*isnād*) of tradition, all such matters acquired an unbroken tie to the 'Companions' who had heard those pronouncements and statutes from the Prophet or had seen him act

14. Ibid., 291.
15. Ibid., 311.
16. P. M. Holt, *The Treatment of Arab History*, 300.
17. K. S. Salibi, "Islam and Syria in the Writings of Henri Lammens", in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 330–342.

in pertinent ways."[18] Later Professor J. Schacht further explored the foregoing hypotheses by subjecting the *isnād* of a few legal traditions to an exhaustive scrutiny. He concluded that "hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic; they were put into circulation . . . from the first half of the second century onwards."[19] From this others were quick to extrapolate that even the biographical material is fraudulent. Crone thus states: "that the bulk of the *sīra* . . . consists of second century *ḥadīths* has not been disputed by any historian, and this point may be taken as conceded."[20]

Not all Western scholars, however were as eager to jettison the classical material. W. M. Watt, writing in his *Muhammad at Mecca*, is clearly more reluctant than Crone, for example, to reject out of hand all such material, simply on the strength of Schacht's conclusion. He thus maintains that "In the legal sphere there may have been some sheer invention of traditions, it would seem. But in the historical sphere, in so far as the two may be separated, and apart from some exceptional cases, the nearest to such invention in the best early historians appears to be a 'tendential shaping' of the material . . ."[21]

It must be remembered, however, that traditional Muslim scholars display little awareness of the foregoing conundrum. The classical methodology of *ḥadīth* criticism as practised by early Muslim scholars, with its close scrutiny of the *isnād* and the *mutūn* of prophetic traditions, has, in the main, not been discredited, or even questioned, by Muslim scholars. If anything, that methodology has today been given a new lease of life by scholars such as Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, who, for example, regard the re-evaluation of the early sources as integral to what they call the Islamic renaissance (*al-Nahḍa al-Islamiyya*). Such a renaissance, Albānī argues, will fall far short of its goals, without a thoroughgoing purge of what remains of the spurious material that had crept into *ḥadīth* and *sīra* works during the turbulent epoch of early Islamic history.[22] He thus set himself the task of appraising scholars and the Muslim laity alike to those traditions that were deemed spurious by the regimen of classical *ḥadīth* studies. His findings, which were first published under the title "al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍa'īfah wa al-Mawdū'ah" in a weekly column in the magazine *al-Tamaddun al-Islamī*, now comprise a multi-volume work, appropriately titled *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍa'īfah wa al-Mawdū'ah*.[23]

18. See Goldziher's chapter on the development of the law in Islam in *Introduction to Islamic Law and Theology*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

19. J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford University Press, 1959).

20. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 14–15.

21. W. G. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford Univesity Press, 1953), xiii.

22. M. N. Al-Albani, *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍa'īfah wa al-Mawdū'ah*. Vol. i. Damascus?: Manshurāt al-Maktab al-Islami, 1376 h.

23. Ibid., 6.

Clearly not all contemporary scholars are as eager as Schacht et al. to ring the death knell on *ḥadīth* literature as a tool for unravelling early Islamic history. Azami for one, in his studies on early *ḥadīth* literature has attempted to show that *ḥadīth* literature is indeed the richest source for the investigation of that era, for it provides, among other things, material for the understanding of the legal, cultural and religious ideas of those early centuries. He maintains that the theories of Margoliouth, Goldziher and more recently, Schacht can no longer be incontestably accepted given the recent discoveries of manuscripts or research. According to him:

> "In the period referred to, works on the biography of the Prophet and on other historical topics were in a very advanced stage. We find that work on the biography of the Prophet was begun by the Companions. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ recorded many historical events. It is possible still to trace his work in the *aḥādīth* narrated by ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb (d. 118 AH) as he utilized his great grandfather ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr's books. ʿUrwah (d. 93 AH) in his biography of the Prophet names his authority and most probably he had obtained the information in writing. There are works mentioned here and there on a single topic of the Sirah, e.g. *Memorandum on the Servants of the Prophet*, a book on the ambassadors of the Prophet to different rulers and chieftains with their negotiations. There are references to the collections of the Prophet's letters in a very early period."[24]

But it is, in fact, these very sources that Azami cites that have, through the use of contemporary literary and hermeneutical tools, been relegated to no more than "the rubble of early Muslim history". For Patricia Crone therefore, the "inertia" of material such as appears heretofore "comes across very strongly in modern scholarship on the first two centuries of Islam."[25] "The bulk of it", she argues, "has an alarming tendency to degenerate into mere rearrangements of the same old canon – Muslim chronicles in modern languages and graced with modern titles."[26]

Others, such as Juynboll, have strived to arrive at the inevitable *solution intermédiaire*, "a conceivable position that could be taken between the two points of view represented respectively by Muslim and Western scholarship."[27] For him therefore, the *ḥadīth* traditions "taken as a whole" do provide a fairly reliable rendition of early Islamic history, and "a judiciously and cautiously formulated overall view of what all those early reports . . . collectively point to, may in all likelihood be taken to be not very far from the truth of 'what really happened'."[28]

24. Azami, *Early Hadith*, 7–8.

25. See in this regard the introduction to her work, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*. (Cambridge University Press, 1980).

26. Ibid., 13.

27. See G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early hadith*. (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

28. Ibid., 7.

Finally, the true value of this particular work probably resides outside the context of the foregoing academic debate, for as Gadamer explains in *Truth and Method*,[29] "The meaning of a literary work is never exhausted by the intentions of its author; as the work passes from one cultural or historical context to another, new meanings may be culled from it which were perhaps never anticipated by its author or contemporary audience."[30]

Muneer Fareed
Reviewer of Volumes II–IV

29. H. G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London, 1975).

30. This is in fact an interpretation of Gadamer's thoughts as espoused by T. Eagleton in his study, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 71.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

As has often been observed, translation is impossible, since the associations and emotive content of words in one language and culture differ from those of all others. Attempts at translation, therefore, inevitably represent strivings for compromise. While accuracy and precision are prime objectives, the ultimately necessary requirements for clarity and comprehension in the host language may require simplification or even omission from the original text. The dilemmas inherent in these conflicting objectives are at times irreconcilable, and this is particularly true when one is dealing, as here, with languages and cultures so far removed as ancient Arabic and modern English. This translation, composed in everyday, contemporary English, gives no impression of the ubiquitous rarities, oddities and archaisms of vocabulary and syntax that make the original extremely challenging to comprehend. It is hoped, of course, that the innumerable compromises that this translation represents will be accepted as good-faith attempts to convey the spirit and purpose of the original in a form that readers of English will not find impossibly daunting.

In some instances Ibn Kathīr repeats anecdotal *aḥādīth* with differing chains of authority that are almost identical in content; often, as will be seen, the accounts differ in only very few of their words and these are typically vocabulary rarities. While such variations between accounts may seem of scant interest to the Western reader, they have nevertheless been left complete and intact in this translation. Including them in full, as in the original work, gives a strong impression of the care with which these anecdotes have been handed down and the impression of their likely authenticity is therefore enhanced. This seems especially the case where the discrepancies involve vocabulary rarities that are synonymous. It seems that it would be just such words that would have been subjected to dispute, change or loss from memory.

Ibn Kathīr's objective was to appear authoritative and discriminating in his choices of inclusion and discussion of specific *aḥādīth*; to him the listing of all the names of his authorities and his comments on their reputations was an essential component of this lectures. The give-and-take of oral lecturing – of which this work is essentially a record – would have enabled immediate verbal clarification. Our English text, in contrast, has to stand by itself, and to present an inherent and visible logic and clarity; it must also give some impression of the reliability of the Arabic text that is indicated by its complexity, and by the care with which the names of quoted sources are given and at times evaluated.

A perpetual challenge in presenting this text has therefore been to leave the essential narratives clear and succinct while including yet simplifying the lines of authority on which their authenticity is based. The names of authorities quoted

have been included in full, since their identities were of prime importance for the initial 'readership' of this work as well as to students and researchers today. However, the exact nature and relative value of the means of transmission from authority to authority and the suggestions implied of Ibn Kathīr's preference for certain sources over others, have not been conveyed with exactitude, since common English vocabulary is unable to convey some of the subtleties of the Arabic technical terms employed for this purpose. The essential completeness of the original text in this translation does, however, enable serious students of early Islamic materials to bring their own differentiation to bear by their knowledge of the reputations of the persons quoted.

Certain words common in this text – such as *Abū* and *sūrat* – change in their form in Arabic to accord with basic grammatical rules. Here, however, to avoid confusion for those readers who do not know Arabic, they have been left in the form in which they are most commonly met. Initial *hamza*, moreover, has been omitted. Since early Arabic manuscripts, like the Arabic printed version of this text, are devoid of quotation marks, the identity of the narrator is sometimes unclear. Similarly, it is occasionally difficult to discern whether comments at the end of an account are those of the transmitting authority or of Ibn Kathīr himself. Footnotes referring to these and similar textual difficulties have been kept to a minimum, while brief parenthetical explanatory comments have sometimes been inserted to aid the general reader.

Discriminating and knowledgeable readers and reviewers will no doubt find discrepancies and perhaps inaccuracies in this lengthy and demanding text, especially in the extensive poems quoted. For these the translator – and his reviewers, text editors and typesetters – apologize. But since this work offers intimate details not elsewhere available in English about Arabian history and the inspiration and leadership of Islam in its earliest formative period, it would seem unsatisfactory to leave it in a language and form accessible only to a small coterie of scholars. The evident religious historical and philosophical interest of this text suggests that all those associated with its production may properly take refuge and find consolation from criticism in the knowledge that 'to err is human'. To attempt the impossible, moreover, while perhaps foolhardy, is surely more laudable than to make no attempt at all.

Trevor Le Gassick
Ann Arbor, 2000

VOLUME III

THE YEAR 3 AH.

Early that year the Najd expedition, known as the raid on Dhū ʿAmarr, took place.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from the expedition to al-Sawīq, he remained for roughly the remainder of Dhū al-Ḥijja and then attacked Najd, seeking out Ghaṭafān; this expedition is known as that of Dhū ʿAmarr."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He left ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān in command of Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He remained for all, or almost all, of Ṣafar in Najd and then returned without being ambushed."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "News reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that a force of Ghaṭafān fighters, from Banū Thaʿlaba, Ibn Muḥārib, had gathered at Dhū ʿAmarr intending to attack him. He therefore left Medina on Thursday, 12th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal in 3 AH, placing ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān in command of Medina. He was away for 11 days, and was accompanied by 450 men.

"The bedouin fled from him away into the mountains. He travelled on until he reached a well known as Dhū ʿAmarr, where he made camp. Much rain fell and the clothes of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were soaked. He dismounted beneath a tree there and hung out his clothes to dry, in full sight of the polytheists, who were keeping to themselves.

"The polytheists then sent out one of their warriors, a man named Ghawrith b. al-Ḥārith, or Duʿthūr b. al-Ḥārith, telling him, 'God has enabled you to kill Muḥammad!'

"That man then went forth armed with a well-polished sword and reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He stood before him, his sword drawn, and asked, 'Muḥammad, who will protect you from me now?' 'God will,' he replied. Then Gabriel gave the man a push in the chest and the sword fell from his hand.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) picked it up and said, 'And who will protect you from me?' 'No one', the man replied, 'and I testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is God's messenger! I swear, I'll never gather a force to attack you.'

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him back his sword.

"When the man rejoined his men, they criticized him and asked what had happened. He explained, 'I saw a tall man who pushed me in the chest and made me fall over on to my back. I knew him to be an angel. I then testified that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God and that I would not gather a force against him.' He then began inviting his people to accept Islam.

"It was about this incident that God Almighty stated, 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when a force had prepared to stretch out their hands against you, but He held back their hands away from you'" (*sūrat al-Mā'ida*; V, v.11).

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "A similar account will be given about the expedition of Dhāt al-Riqāʿ; there may be two different incidents."

I comment that if the above account is correct, then the other is definitely not. Because in that case – the man's name also being Ghawrith b. al-Ḥārith – he did not accept Islam but retained his old faith, and he did not vow to the Prophet (ṢAAS) that he would not attack him thereafter. But God knows best.

THE ATTACK ON AL-FURŪʿ OF BUḤRĀN.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "He remained for almost all of Rabīʿ al-Awwal in Medina, but then mounted an expedition against Quraysh."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He continued on to Buḥrān, a mine in Ḥijāz over towards al-Furūʿ."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was absent from Medina only for ten days." But God knows best.

An Account of the Jews of Banū Qaynuqāʿ who dwelt in Medina.

Al-Wāqidī claimed that this relates to a Saturday (during the first) half of Shawwāl in 2 AH. But God knows best.

It is to them that reference is made in the words of the Almighty: "Like those shortly prior to them; they experienced the ugly consequences of what they did, and they shall have painful punishment" (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.15).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It was at the time of these raids made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that the affair of the Banū Qaynuqāʿ arose.

"People say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assembled them in their market and addressed them, saying: 'O Jews, beware of God afflicting you as He did Quraysh. And so accept Islam. You well know that I am a prophet sent with a mission; you find that to be so in your Book and in God's pact with you.'

"They responded, 'Muḥammad, do you think we are your people? Don't delude yourself, just because you did battle with those who lacked knowledge of warfare, and so you could take advantage of them. If you fight against us, you'll find us to be real men!'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "A freed-man of Zayd b. Thābit related to me, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, and from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The following

verse was revealed specifically concerning them. "Tell those who disbelieve: 'You shall be defeated and herded into hell, a terrible abode. A proof of this came to you when two forces clashed.'" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.11). This refers to the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to those who participated at Badr, and to Quraysh. (Along with:) "One side fights for God's cause, while the other is unbelieving, whom they see with their own eyes to be twice their like. And God aids with His help whomsoever He wishes. There is surely a lesson in this for those who have sight."'" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.12).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that the Banū Qaynuqāʿ were the first of the Jews who broke their pact and fought in the period between the battles of Badr and Uḥud."

Ibn Hishām stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. al-Miswar b. Makhrama related, from Abū ʿAwn, 'The problem with Banū Qaynuqāʿ arose as follows. An Arab woman took an ornament of hers and sold it in the market of Banū Qaynuqāʿ. She sat there with one of their goldsmiths and the men present began pestering her to uncover her face. She refused, but the goldsmith managed to attach the hem of her dress to her back. When she got up, she was exposed, and they all laughed at her. She screamed and one of the Muslim men attacked and killed the goldsmith, who was a Jew. The Jews then seized the Muslim and killed him. The Muslim's family called for help from the other Muslims against the Jews. The Muslims were enraged, and so enmity arose between them and Banū Qaynuqāʿ.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me, 'And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), besieged them until they surrendered to him.

"'ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Sallūl went to him after God had given him power over them and said, "Muḥammad, treat my allies kindly!" They were allies of Banū al-Khazraj. He turned away from him, however, and so ʿAbd Allāh put his hand inside the pocket of the chain-mail of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

Ibn Hishām stated that this pocket was known as the *dhāt al-fuḍūl*, "the bounteous".

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told him 'Let go of me!' His face darkening in rage, he repeated, 'Let go of me, I say!'

"'ʿAbd Allāh replied, 'No; I'll not do so until you agree to treat my allies well. Four hundred men without armour and three hundred with chain-mail have protected me from all and sundry, and you would mow them down in one morning! I'm a man who is afraid of turns of fate.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to him, 'They are yours!'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed Abū Lubāba Bashīr b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir in charge (of Medina) during his siege of them, which lasted for 15 days."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "My father related to me, quoting ʿUbāda b. al-Walīd, from ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, who said, 'When Banū Qaynuqāʿ opposed the Messenger

of God (ṢAAS) ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy remained allied with them and protected them, while ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, who had the same alliance with them as did ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and gave them over to him, renouncing his pact with them in favour of God and His Messenger. ʿUbāda told him, "O Messenger of God, I ally myself with God, His messenger and the believers, and I renounce my association and alliance with these unbelievers."'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "It was about him and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy that the following verses were revealed, 'O you who believe, do not ally yourselves with the Jews and the Christians; they are allied with one another'" (*sūrat al-Māʾida*; V, v.50). This referred to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy. And "... those who ally themselves with God and His messenger and those who believe; they are the party of God who will triumph" (*sūrat al-Māʾida*; V, v.56). This referred to ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit. We have discussed this in our *Tafsīr*.

THE ATTACK MADE BY ZAYD B. ḤĀRITHA AGAINST THE QURAYSH CARAVAN WHICH WAS ALSO ACCOMPANIED BY ABŪ SUFYĀN AS WELL AS, IT IS SAID, BY ṢAFWĀN.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Isḥāq as follows, "This occurred six months after the battle of Badr."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The account of it related that Quraysh became insecure about the route they usually followed to Syria, after the events of Badr, and so they took the Iraq route. Some of their merchants, including Abū Sufyān, who was bearing a large quantity of silver which was the greater part of their merchandise, left, having hired as a guide for that route a man of Banū Bakr b. Wāʾil named Furāt b. Ḥāyyān, that is al-Ḥjlī, who were allied to Banū Sahm.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth Zayd b. Ḥāritha who met up with them at a well called al-Qarda. He seized the caravan, and all it contained, but its men escaped. He returned with the spoils to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses about this:

'Say farewell to the rivulets of Syria, for in the way
are swords like the mouths of pregnant camels hurting
from eating *arāk* leaves
In the hands of men who have moved off towards their
Lord and to His helpers in truth, and in angels' hands.
If they proceed to the lowlands from the sand valley,
then tell them, "the route is not there!"'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "This *qaṣīda* is included in the verses by Ḥassān; Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith composed a response to them."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "This foray by Zayd b. Ḥāritha occurred at the start of Jumādā al-Uwlā, some 28 months after the Hijra. Ṣafwān b. Umayya was the leader of this caravan.

"The reason he sent out Zayd b. Ḥāritha was that it was Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd, then still a follower of his own people's religion, who had come to Medina with news of this caravan. This Nu'aym had met with Kināna b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, along with some of Banū al-Naḍīr, among whom was Sulayṭ b. al-Nu'mān, of Aslam. They had been drinking, this being before the prohibition of wine. Nu'aym had talked of the departure of the caravan with Ṣafwān b. Umayya, and of the valuables it carried. Sulayṭ had immediately left and informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who had promptly despatched Zayd b. Ḥāritha. His force met and seized the caravan, but the men accompanying it escaped. They did capture a man or two, then took command of the caravan and brought it in. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided it up into five portions, each of which amounted to 20,000 dirhams. He apportioned four-fifths of it to the expedition. Among those captured was the guide, Furāt b. Ḥayyān. He accepted Islam, may God be pleased with him."

Ibn Jarīr stated, "Al-Wāqidī asserted that in the spring of that year 'Uthmān b. 'Affān married Umm Kulthūm, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and that she was brought to him in Jumādā al-Ākhira."

THE KILLING OF KA'B B. AL-ASHRAF, THE JEW.

He was of the Ṭā'ī tribe, part of Banū Nabhān; but his mother was of Banū al-Naḍīr.

Ibn Isḥāq related it thus, before the withdrawal of the Banū al-Naḍīr. Al-Bukhārī and al-Bayhaqī, however, noted it following their accounts of the Banū al-Naḍīr affair. Ibn Isḥāq was correct in relating it as he did, as will be clear from what follows, namely that the Banū al-Naḍīr matter occurred after the battle of Uḥud. It was in the siege of the enemy then that wine was prohibited, as we will later explain, if God wills it.

In his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, al-Bukhārī stated, in a section entitled, "The killing of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf", that 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, that 'Amr stated, "I heard Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Who will deal with Ka'b b. al-Ashraf? He has sought to harm God and His Messenger." Muḥammad b. Maslama arose and replied, "O Messenger of God, do you wish that I kill him?" "Yes," he answered. "Then please permit me to say something." "Do so," he was told.

"'Muḥammad b. Maslama then approached him (Ka'b) and said, "This fellow (i.e. the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), asked us for charity, but he has become a nuisance to us. I've come to you to ask you to give us a loan."

"'He responded, "So, by God, you too are tired of him!"

"'Muḥammad b. Maslama responded. "Having followed him, we don't want to abandon him until we see how it turns out for him. We'd just like you to make us a loan."

"'All right; give me some security.' 'What would you like?'

"'Pledge me your womenfolk!'

"They objected, 'How could we pledge you our women, you being the most handsome of the Arabs!'[1]

"'Then pledge me your sons', he asked.

"'How could we pledge you our sons?' they demanded, 'and have them insulted by being told they are only worth the value of a *wasq* or two! That would be shameful for us. But we will pledge you our *laʾma*.' Sufyān said that by this he meant their weapons.

"Muḥammad b. Maslama then made a night rendezvous with him and did go to him one night, accompanied by Abū Nāʾila, who was Kaʿb's foster-brother. Kaʿb invited them into his castle and came down to them. His wife asked him, "Where are you going at this late hour?" (According to another account, one not from ʿAmr, she commented, "I hear a voice dripping blood!")

"He replied, 'It's only my brother Muḥammad b. Maslama and my foster-brother Abū Nāʾila. A man of honour, if invited to a stabbing at night, would still accept!'

"Muḥammad b. Maslama went in accompanied by two men. He told them, 'When he comes, I'll lean over towards his hair to smell it. When you see me seize his head, then you come on over and strike him.' He went on, 'I'll do it once, then let you smell.'

"When Kaʿb came down, he was wearing a loose sash and was redolent with perfume. Muḥammad b. Maslama commented, 'I never smelled a finer scent than today!'" (According to the other tradition, he (Kaʿb) commented, "I have the best-perfumed and best-looking women of all the Arabs!")

ʿAmr went on, "He then asked, 'Would you permit me to smell your head?' 'Certainly,' Kaʿb replied.

"He then smelled it and had his companions do the same. He then asked, 'Do you permit me?' 'Yes,' Kaʿb replied. And then he (Muḥammad b. Maslama) seized him, calling out, 'Get him!' And they killed him. They then went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and informed him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf was of the Ṭāʾī tribe, of the sub-tribe of Banū Nabhān, though his mother was of Banū al-Naḍīr. He received news of the deaths of those at Badr after the arrival of Zayd b. al-Ḥāritha and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. He commented, 'By God, if Muḥammad has really struck down those people, then better be inside the earth than upon it!'

"When this enemy of God was sure of this news, he left for Mecca, where he visited al-Muṭṭalib b. Abū Wadāʿa b. Dubayrat al-Sahmī, whose wife was ʿĀtika, daughter of Abū al-ʿĪṣ b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf. She accommodated him graciously and he began instigating an attack upon the

1. The Arabic of this comment, curious since it is being made to a Jew, reads, *wa anta ajmalu al-ʿarab*.

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) speaking verses and mourning the deaths of those polytheists killed at Badr."

Here Ibn Isḥāq gave his poem which begins with the verse,

> "The Badr millstone ground to death those killed there,
> and for the like of Badr one speaks and weeps."

He also gave the response to this poem by Ḥassān b. Thābit, may God be pleased with him, as well as verse by others.

He went on, "Kaʿb then returned to Medina where he composed verses that were suggestive about the Muslim women and critical of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his followers."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf was of Banū al-Naḍīr, or associated with them; he harmed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by ridiculing him in verse and he rode in to Quraysh to incite them further. Abū Sufyān, in Mecca, asked him, 'In your view, I pray you tell me, which religion is more favoured by God, that of Muḥammad and his friends, or our own? Which of us, do you think, is more correct and appropriate? We slaughter our meat generously, give milk-topped water to drink, providing food for all and sundry who come.'

"Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf replied, 'You are better-guided in your path than they are.'"

Mūsā went on, "And so God revealed to His Messenger the verses, 'Have you not considered those given a part of the Book who believe in enchantment and devils, and who say to those who disbelieve, "These are better guided on the path than those who believe (in God)." They are indeed cursed by God; those whom God curses you shall find to be without succour'" (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*; IV, v.51, 2).

Both Mūsā and Ibn Isḥāq stated further, "He went to Medina where he proclaimed his enmity and incited people to go to war. He had not left Mecca before he had united them to fight the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he then began composing amatory verse about Umm al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥārith and other Muslim women."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, as ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughīth b. Abu Burda related to me, 'Who will take care of Ibn al-Ashraf?'

"Muḥammad b. Maslama, a brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, responded, 'I'll take care of him for you, Messenger of God. I will kill him!'

"'Do so then, if you can,' he told him."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Muḥammad b. Maslama then returned and stayed three days and nights eating and drinking nothing except what was essential. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was informed of this and he summoned him and asked, 'Why have you given up food and drink?' He replied, 'O Messenger of God, I promised you something that I don't know whether I can fulfil or not.' He was told, 'You only have to try.'

"He replied, 'O Messenger of God, we'll have to say certain things.'

"'Say whatever you think fit; you will be free of blame for doing so.'

"Muḥammad b. Maslama then set about killing Kaʿb with Salkān b. Salāma b. Waqsh, who was known as Abū Nāʾila. He was of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal. He was, moreover, the foster-brother of Kaʿb b. Ashraf. Also with them were ʿAbbād b. Bishr b. Waqsh, of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, along with al-Ḥārith b. Aws b. Muʿādh, of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, and Abū ʿAbs b. Jabr, a brother of Banū Ḥāritha."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "They then dispatched to Kaʿb, that enemy of God, Salkān b. Salāma Abū Nāʾila. When the latter was with him, he talked with Kaʿb and they recited poetry to one another; Abū Nāʾila was a poetry reciter. He then told Kaʿb, 'I'm so sorry, Ibn al-Ashraf, but I've come to you about something I want to discuss, and for you to keep confidential.' 'I'll do that,' he said.

"Muḥammad b. Maslama went on, 'This man's arrival among us was a disaster! The Arabs became hostile to us, and united against us. They have cut off our routes, so that our young are deprived and scared. We and our families are suffering greatly.'

"Kaʿb commented, 'I'm al-Ashraf's son! Didn't I tell you, Ibn Salāma, that things would turn out this way?'

"Salkān then told Kaʿb, 'What I wanted was for you to sell us some food for which we would give you a surety and keep trust with you; you'll do well by that.'

"He asked, 'Will you give me your sons as surety?'

"'You want to disgrace us? I have companions who share my views, and I wanted to bring them to you for you to sell to us, by which you would do well, and we would give you an equivalent pledge in weapons.'

"Salkān wanted him not to refuse to have weapons present when they brought them. Kaʿb agreed, saying, 'Weapons would be good security.'

"Salkān then returned to his companions and informed them what had transpired. He told them to get their weapons and to set off, and to meet up with him. They then assembled with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Thawr b. Zayd related to me, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) travelled with them as far as Baqiʿ al-Gharqad, and there he dispatched them, saying, "Go in God's name! O God, give them help!" He then returned home. It was a moonlit night, and the men set off and reached Kaʿb's castle.

"'Abū Nāʾila called up to him. Kaʿb had recently taken a new wife, and he jumped up wrapped in a coverlet. His wife took hold of its hem and said, "But you're a man engaged in combat! Warriors don't go down at such a time as this!" Kaʿb replied, "But it's Abū Nāʾila. He'd not have woken me if I had been asleep." She commented, "I swear I sense evil in his voice!" Kaʿb replied, "If a man of honour were invited to a stabbing, he'd still accept!"

"'He then went down and engaged them in conversation. Eventually they asked him, "Ibn al-Ashraf, would you like to take a walk with us to Shiʿb

al-ʿAjūz, where we can spend the rest of the night talking?" "If you wish," he replied. And so they left and walked for a while.

"'Eventually Abū Nā'ila touched the hair at Kaʿb's temple with his hand, which he then sniffed, saying, "I swear, I've never before this night smelled anything so fine!" He then walked further, then did the same, to make Kaʿb feel secure. Having gone yet further, he then took hold of Kaʿb's hair at both temples and said, "Strike down the enemy of God!" Their swords rained blows upon him, but to no effect.'

"Muḥammad b. Maslama continued, 'I then remembered a poignard I had with my sword and drew it, Kaʿb meanwhile making such a din that all the forts thereabouts had lit up. I stabbed my dagger into his lower stomach and bore down on it till it reached his scrotum. The enemy of God then collapsed. Meanwhile al-Ḥārith b. Aws had suffered a wound from one of our swords in his leg or on his hand.

"'Thereafter we left, our path taking us past Banū Umayya b. Zayd, then Banū Qurayẓa and then Buʿāth. After that we went on up the stony tract of al-ʿArīḍ. On account of the blood he was losing, our companion al-Ḥārith b. Aws was lagging behind and so we halted for a while. When he came up, following our tracks, we carried him and so arrived at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as the night was ending and he was engaged in prayer. We greeted him and he came out to us. We told him of the execution of God's enemy. He then spat upon our companion's wound and we went on to our families. By next morning the Jews were in shock at our attack upon God's enemy; every Jew feared for his safety.'"

Al-Wāqidī claimed that they had brought the head of Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Kaʿb b. Mālik spoke the following verses about this affair:

'Kaʿb having been left lying stretched out, after his
demise al-Naḍīr were humiliated.
As he lay prostrate on his hands, our men with drawn
swords having overcome him
Upon Muḥammad's order, when he told Kaʿb's brother to
slip by night secretly to Kaʿb.
And he tricked him, bringing him down by deceit, yet
praiseworthy is he, worthy of trust and brave.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "These verses are from an ode he composed about the battle with Banū al-Naḍīr that will be quoted hereafter."

I note that the death of Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf at the hands of Aws came after the battle of Badr. Khazraj killed Abū Rāfiʿ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq after the battle of Uḥud, as will be explained hereafter, if God, in whom is all trust, so wills it.

Ibn Isḥāq also gave the following verses by Ḥassān b. Thābit:

"How fine a party of men you met, O Ibn al-Ḥuqayq, and
you too, Ibn al-Ashraf

Men who travelled by night to bring their light swords
to you, as cheerful as lions prowling in their lairs.
They came to you in your own territory, making you
taste death with their swift-killing blades
Foreseeing the victory of the religion of their
prophet, minimizing every matter of danger."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Kill whatever Jew you may conquer!'

"Muḥayyiṣa b. Masʿūd of Aws thereupon attacked and killed Ibn Sunayna, a Jewish merchant who used to associate with them and do business with them. His brother Ḥuwayyiṣa b. Masʿūd was older than Muḥayyiṣa and had not yet accepted Islam. When the latter killed the Jew, Ḥuwayyiṣa began hitting his brother and shouting, 'You enemy of God, you! Have you really killed him? Yet much of the fat in your belly is from his money!'

"Muḥayyiṣa replied, 'I was ordered to kill him by someone who, if he ordered me to kill you, I would strike your neck!' He also said that this was the start of Ḥuwayyiṣa's acceptance of Islam.

"Ḥuwayyiṣa asked, 'Do you really mean that if Muḥammad told you to kill me, you would do it?'

"Muḥayyiṣa reiterated, 'Yes, by God! If he were to order me to strike your neck, I would do so.'

"'By God, any religion that would so affect you is truly wonderful,' said Ḥuwayyiṣa, and he accepted Islam."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "A freed-man of Banū Ḥāritha related this to me, from Muḥayyiṣa's daughter, from her father.

"Muḥayyiṣa spoke the following verses about this:

"A mother's son complains that if I were ordered to
kill him, I would strike him with my sharp sword at the
nape of his head.
Its blade salt-like in colour, it is so well burnished;
when I aim it, it never deceives.
It would not have pleased me to kill you voluntarily,
even if we owned all between Buṣrā and Maʾrib.'"

Ibn Hishām recounted, from Abū ʿUbayda, from Abū ʿAmr al-Madanī, that this story relates to the time following the battle with Banū Qurayẓa, and that the man killed was Kaʿb b. Yahūdhā. He stated that when Muḥayyiṣa executed him on the orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day of the battle with Banū Qurayẓa, his brother Ḥuwayyiṣa said what he did and Muḥayyiṣa replied as above. And so that day Ḥuwayyiṣa accepted Islam. But God knows best.

Note: al-Bayhaqī and al-Bukhārī related the Banū al-Naḍīr affair before the battle of Uḥud, but what is correct would be to refer to it thereafter, as did Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and other authorities on the early military engagements.

The proof of this is that wine was prohibited on the nights when Banū al-Naḍīr were being besieged. It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that some of those who died as martyrs at Uḥud had been drinking that morning. This indicates that wine was permitted at that time and was only prohibited later. And so it is clear that the Banū al-Naḍīr affair came after the battle of Uḥud. But God knows best.

A further note: the affair relating to the Jews of Banū Qaynuqā' came after the battle of Badr, as told above. The same applies to the killing of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, the Jew, at the hands of Aws.

The Banū al-Naḍīr affair came after the battle of Uḥud, as will be told hereafter. The same is true of the death of Abū Rāfi', the merchant Jew from Ḥijāz who was killed by Khazraj.

The account relating to the Jews of Banū Qurayẓa will be given after the report of the battle of the *aḥzāb* – "the clans" – and after that of al-khandaq, "the trench".

THE BATTLE OF UḤUD, IN SHAWWĀL, 3 AH.

A supplementary note from the author on the naming of Uḥud: Uḥud was so named because of its unique[2] distinction among these mountains.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection it states, "Uḥud is a mountain that loves us and that we love. It is said that its name refers to its inhabitants. It is also said that it is so named to affirm the closeness of one's family on one's return from a trip, as does a lover. It is also said to mean, *'alā ẓāhirihī*, i.e. 'in a concrete and literal interpretation', as in God's words, 'some of them tumble down in fear of God'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.74).

In a *ḥadīth* from Abū 'Abbās b. Jabr, it states, "Uḥud loves us and we it; it stands at the gate of paradise. And it is (like a) wild ass that loathes us as we it. It stands at one of the gates of hell."

Al-Suhaylī commented, in substantiation of this *ḥadīth*: "It is well established that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'A man is with whomever he loves.'"

Al-Suhaylī's comment is strange. For this *ḥadīth* relates to people and a mountain could not be referred to as human.

This battle took place in Shawwāl, 3 AH. This is stated by al-Zuhrī, Qatāda, Mūsā b. 'Uqba, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and Mālik.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It occurred in the middle of Shawwāl." Qatāda said, "It took place on Saturday, the 11th of Shawwāl."

Mālik stated, "The battle took place early in the day, and it is commonly agreed that the reference is to it in the words of the Almighty: '... when you went forth from your family in the morning to set the believers in their positions for the battle; and God is All-Hearing, All-Knowing. When two groups from

2. The Arabic root *aḥad* implies the number one and singularity or uniqueness.

among you were inclined to being cowardly, even though God was their ally. It is in God that believers should trust. And God did aid you at Badr when you were weak. Be pious in God, that you may give thanks. (Remember) when you said to the believers, "Is it not enough for you that your Lord give you the aid of 3,000 angels He has sent down? Yes indeed! If you remain fast and pious and they charge straight down upon you, your Lord will send down 5,000 of the angels to cause havoc ..." and so on to the words, "... and God is not one to leave the believers in circumstances such as yours without differentiating evil from good. Yet God is not one to reveal to you the unknown"'" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.120–124 and v.178).

We have sufficiently discussed details relating to all this in our *Tafsīr*. And all praise and reliance is for God.

We will relate herewith the essentials of the battle as in the accounts given by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, God be pleased with him, and other scholars expert in this field.

(Ibn Ishaq stated) "Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabbān, ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. Muʿādh and others of our scholars related to me various aspects of the battle of Uḥud. What follows is a composite of all their accounts.

"When those polytheists of Quraysh suffered their fate of burial in the pit, the remnants of their force returned to Mecca, as did Abū Sufyān with his caravan. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Rabīʿa, ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl and Ṣafwān b. Umayya gathered with others of Quraysh whose fathers, sons or brothers had been struck down at Badr. They talked with Abū Sufyān and with others of the Meccan merchants who had been with that caravan, as follows: 'O Quraysh, Muḥammad has done you great harm and has killed your élite. Give us your assistance with this wealth to make war on him and to take revenge on him.' They agreed."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It was about them, so I have been told by certain scholars, that Almighty God revealed the words, 'Those who disbelieve are spending their wealth to block off God's path. And they shall spend it and then they shall suffer regret and be defeated. Those who disbelieve will be herded together into hell' (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.36).

"And so Quraysh gathered to go to war against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when Abū Sufyān and the caravan owners did this, assembling their Abyssinian mercenaries and those of the tribes of Kināna and the lowlands who accepted their authority.

"Abū ʿAzza ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jumaḥī had been treated kindly by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Badr. He was a poor man with children and responsibilities and had been taken captive. Ṣafwān b. Umayya now asked him, 'Abū ʿAzza, you are a poet. Help us with your voice and go forth with us,' He replied, 'But Muḥammad was kind to me, and I don't want to oppose him.' Ṣafwān persisted, 'Yes indeed, so help us with your mind; I swear that if you

return safe, I will make you wealthy. If you are killed, I swear I'll treat your daughters just like my own. Whatever happens to my children, good or bad, will be their lot too.'

"So Abū ʿAzza went off into the lowlands calling upon Banū Kināna and reciting,

'O Banū ʿAbd Manāt, brave men, you are fine warriors,
as were your fathers too.
Let not your help be promised a year from now; do not
let me down, for letting me down[3] is not right.'

"And Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Wahb b. Hudhayfa b. Jumaḥ went out to Banū Mālik b. Kināna haranguing them and saying,

'O māl(ik), *māl* (possessed of) prominent repute, I
appeal to ties and to covenants
Whether to relatives or to those not related, by the
alliance amidst the holy city,
At the venerated wall of the *kaʿba*.'

"Jubayr b. Muṭʿim summoned an Abyssinian warrior slave of his, named Waḥshī, who could toss a spear in the Abyssinian manner, rarely missing, and told him, 'Go forth with our men; and if you should kill Ḥamza, the uncle of Muḥammad, in revenge for my uncle Ṭuʿayma b. ʿAdī, then you are a free man.'"

"And so Quraysh went forth fully armed and accoutred and with their Abyssinian mercenaries and clients from Banū Kināna and the lowlands. They also took with them their womenfolk in *howdahs* (camel litter, sedan chairs) to keep their spirits high and so that they would not take flight.

"Abū Sufyān, Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb, he being their commander, went forth too, accompanied by his wife Hind, daughter of ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa.

"ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl also went out with his wife, his cousin Umm Ḥakīm, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra. His uncle al-Ḥārith b. Hishām also went, accompanied by his wife Fāṭima, daughter of al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra.

"Ṣafwān b. Umayya was accompanied by Barza, daughter of Masʿūd b. ʿAmr b. ʿUmayr, a lady of Thaqīf; ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ had with him Rayṭa, daughter of Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj, she being the mother of his son ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr."

Ibn Isḥāq also mentioned other Quraysh men who were accompanied by their womenfolk.

He went on, "And whenever Waḥshī passed by Hind, daughter of ʿUtba or she passed by him, she would say, 'Go to it, Abū Dasma,[4] avenge us and help yourself too!' That is, she urged him on to kill Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

"They advanced and made a halt at ʿAynayn, on a mountain at the Sakhba valley of Qanāt, on the edge of the *wādī* facing Medina.

3. The poet uses the word *islām*, here connoting "abandonment".
4. That is, "father of blackness", a reference to his black Abyssinian colouring.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard of this, he told the Muslims, 'I swear by God, I had a favourable vision! I saw a cow being slaughtered and noticed a nick on the tip of my sword blade. Then I saw I had thrust my hand through a strong coat of mail. This I interpreted to be Medina.'"

This *ḥadīth* was related by both al-Bukhārī and Muslim from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Usāma, from Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Burda, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) whom they quoted as follows, "I saw in a dream that I was leaving Mecca for some land where there were palm trees. I thought that it was either al-Yamāma or Hajar, but then I realized that it was the city of Yathrib (Medina). In that vision, I saw myself wielding a sword, the middle of which broke. And that was what happened to the believers at the battle of Uḥud. I then wielded it again and it became better than ever. And that was what happened when God gave victory and united the believers. In the vision, I also saw a cow. And, by God, this was good, for it represented the band of believers at the battle of Uḥud. And the good was what God brought forth from the good, and the reward of the truth that came to us after the battle of Badr."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, as did al-Aṣamm, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and Ibn Wahb, while Ibn Abū Zinād informed me from his father, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took possession of his sword *Dhū al-Fiqār* at Badr. And it was about that sword that he saw the vision on the day of the battle of Uḥud.

"'When the polytheists came at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Uḥud, it was his view that he should remain in Medina and fight them there. But people who had not witnessed Badr told him, "Let's go out, Messenger of God, to them and fight them at Uḥud." They hoped to attain some of the credit that had accrued to those at Badr. They kept on at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until he put on his chain-mail. Then they repented and told him, "O Messenger of God, stay here. Your view must prevail."

"'He told them, "It is not proper for a prophet to take off his armour after dressing in it until God decides between him and his enemy."

"'Before putting on my armour that day,' he had been telling them, 'I had a vision of myself in stout armour – which I interpreted to be Medinā – and that I made the (squadron) leader ride behind me; this I interpreted as the leader of the squadron. I also saw that my sword, *Dhū al-Fiqār*, had been notched; this I interpreted as a weakness in you. Then I saw a cow being slaughtered, its stomach open. I swear by God, it was good.'"

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah related this from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from his father.

Al-Bayhaqī related this *ḥadīth marfūʿan*, through Ḥammād b. Salama, from ʿAlī b. Zayd, from Anas, back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said, "I had a vision as if I had made the (squadron) leader ride second saddle. And the blade

of my sword seemed to have been damaged. This I interpreted as meaning that I would kill the enemy's leader. I interpreted the damage to my sword's blade as being the death of a man from my own family."

And Ḥamza was killed, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) killed Ṭalḥa, who was in charge of their banner.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "When Quraysh returned (from Badr) they brought in all the Arab polytheists whom they controlled. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb then went forth with a Quraysh force, it being in Shawwāl of the year following the battle of Badr. They halted in the middle of the *wādī* across from Uḥud. There were some Muslims who had not been present at Badr and who regretted the distinction that they had lost. They were eager to meet the enemy to attain what their brethren had achieved at the battle of Badr.

"When Abū Sufyān and the polytheists halted at the base of Uḥud, the Muslims who had not attended Badr were delighted at the enemy's approach to them. They told one another that God had fulfilled their dreams.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received a vision on the Friday night. When he arose next morning a group of his Companions came to him and he told them, 'Last night in my sleep I saw a cow being slaughtered, and by God, it was good. And I also saw that my sword, *Dhū al-Fiqār*, had been notched on its blade.' (Or he said, 'And it had notches in it, and I hated this. These were two disasters.') 'And I saw myself in stout armour and that I was making a (squadron) leader ride second saddle.'

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them of his visions, they asked, 'O Messenger of God, what interpretation do you give your visions?' He replied, 'I interpreted the cow I saw as one among us and among the enemy; I disliked what I saw happen to my sword.'

"Some men say that what he saw in his sword was what was to strike his face, for the enemy did wound him in the face that day; they broke one of his front teeth and tore his lip. They claim that it was ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqās who threw it. The cow represented those of the Muslims who were killed at that battle.

"(The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said) 'I interpret the *kabsh*, to be the (squadron) leader of the enemy, God damn them, and the stout armour to be Medina. So remain here, drawing the families into the citadels. When the enemy attacks us through the alleys, we'll fight them and fire down at them from on top of the houses.' The Muslims had lined the alleys of Medina with fortifications so that they had become like fortresses.

"Those Muslims who had not been present at Badr said, 'We had been looking forward to this day, and praying to God for it. God has brought it to us, and made the outcome close at hand.'

"One of the *anṣār* asked, 'When will we do battle with them, O Messenger of God, if not right here in our area?'

"Others asked, 'What about our people; what will we be able to defend, if we can't defend ourselves in war because of fear?'

"Others made statements agreeing with him or going even further. One of these men was Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who said, 'By Him who revealed the Book to you, we shall take issue with them!'

"Nuʿaym b. Mālik b. Thaʿlaba, he being of Banū Sālim, said, 'O Prophet of God, do not deprive us of paradise! By Him who holds my soul in His hands, I shall enter it!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, 'By what?' 'By my loving God and His Messenger, and I will not run away on the day of war.' 'You have spoken the truth,' commented the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And the man did die a martyr on that day.

"Many of the Muslims insisted on going forth to battle, refusing to accept the words and views of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). If they had been content with what he had told them, it would have turned out so. But fate and destiny were to triumph.

"Most of those advising him to go forth were men who had not been present at Badr; they were aware of the credit that had earlier accrued to those who were present at it.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made the Friday prayer, he preached to the congregation and enjoined them to fight hard and well. Having finished his address and his prayer, he called for his armour and dressed in it. He then made announcement to the people that they were to go forth to battle.

"Aware of all this, some men of good sense observed, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered us to remain in Medina and he knows best about God and what He wants; revelation comes to him from heaven.'

"They addressed him, 'O Messenger of God, remain here, as you told us to do.' He replied, 'It is not fitting for a prophet who has put on armour for war and given the order to proceed to battle the enemy to return without fighting. I did call upon you to do that, but you insisted on going out to battle. You must fear God and remain firm in the violence when you meet the enemy. Look for what it is God has ordered you, and do it.'"

The account continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left with the Muslims. They took the route through al-Badāʾīʿ and numbered 1,000 men. There were 3,000 in the polytheist force. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on till he reached Uḥud.

"Then ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl went back with 300 men, there remaining 700 with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This is what is widely known among scholars of early military affairs – namely, that their force remained at 700 fighting men."

Al-Zuhrī, however, was of the opinion that they had 400 fighting men left.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān related it thus from Uṣbugh, from Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī; but by this chain of authorities the number was also given as 700. God knows best.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "The polytheists' cavalry was under the command of Khālid b. al-Walīd. They had with them 100 horses. Their banner was in the charge of 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa. The Muslim force did not have a single horse." He then related the battle, as will now be done in detail, if God wills it.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had related his visions to his Companions, he told them, 'If you agree to remain in Medina and leave them where they have halted, that spot will turn out bad for them, while if they come in after us, we will fight them in the town.'

"'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl agreed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that they should not go forth to meet the enemy.

"Some Muslims, however, including some whom God granted martyrdom at Uḥud and others who had not attended at Badr, said, 'Messenger of God, lead us forth to our enemies so that they won't consider us to be scared of them, or too weak.'

"'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy stated, 'Messenger of God, don't go out to attack them. Whenever we have left the town to do battle with an enemy, we have been beaten, whereas whenever they came in we beat them.'

"People kept on badgering the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until he went in and dressed in his armour. That was on Friday, after he had finished the prayer. A man from Banū al-Najjār named Mālik b. 'Amr had died that day. He said prayers for him and then went out to his men. They were now repenting their attitude and saying, 'We made him do what he did not wish, and we had no right to do that.'

"When he came out to them, they told him, 'Stay here if you wish, Messenger of God.' He replied, 'It would not be fitting for a prophet who put on armour to take it off before he did battle.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went forth with 1,000 of his men."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He left Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "He went on as far as al-Shawṭ, between Medina and Uḥud, and there 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy withdrew back with one-third of the men. He said, 'He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) agreed with them, but not with me. We don't know why we should kill ourselves out here, men!'

"He returned home with those of his tribe who were hypocrites and doubters. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām al-Sulamī, the father of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, went after them, saying, 'People, I enjoin you by God not to abandon your people and your Prophet when their enemy is at hand!' They replied, 'If we knew that you would do battle, we would not surrender you; but we don't believe there will be any fighting.'

"When they disobeyed ʿAbd Allāh and refused to change their decision to retreat, he commented, 'May God banish you, you enemies of God; His Prophet (ṢAAS) will do without you!'"

I comment that these people are those to whom reference is being made in the words of the Almighty, "And so that He would know the hypocrites who were told, 'Come fight in God's cause, or defend yourselves.' They replied, 'If we knew there would be fighting, we would have followed you.' On that day they were closer to disbelief than to faith. They spoke with their mouths what was not in their hearts. But God knows well what they conceal" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.166).

This meant that they were lying in their statements, "If we knew there would be fighting, we would have followed you." This is because the occurrence of the fighting was completely clear and evident, not something unknown or in doubt.

About them God also revealed, "What ails you then, that you have become two parties about the hypocrites; God had subverted them because of what they had earned" (*sūrat al-Nisāʾi'*; IV, v.88). This is because one group had said, "We shall fight them!" while others said, "We will not fight them!" This is made clear and is well-established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Al-Zuhrī stated that on that day the Companions asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for permission to enlist the aid of their Jewish allies in Medina, but that he replied, "We have no need of them."

ʿUrwa b. Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that when ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubbay and his men withdrew, Banū Salama and Banū Ḥāritha were about to lose courage, so God Almighty gave them strength. He therefore revealed, "When two of your parties were about to lose courage, yet God was the protector of them both, and it is upon God that believers rely" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.123).

Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh stated, as is established about him in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, "I would not have liked it if it had not been revealed, for '... God was the protector of them both.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on, passing through the stony tract of Banū Ḥāritha. A horse swished its tail and caught against the hilt of a sword and jerked it out. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told the man whose sword it was, 'Sheathe your sword; I can see swords are to be drawn today.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then asked his Companions, 'Who can take us close to the enemy by a path that will not take us past them?' Abū Khaythama, brother of Banū Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith replied, 'I will, Messenger of God.' He then led them out into the territory of Banū Ḥāritha, passing through their properties. Eventually Abū Khaythama led him into the farm of Mirbaʿ b. Qayẓī. This man was a hypocrite and also blind. When he heard the sound of the Messenger of

God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims with him passing by, he began tossing dirt into their faces, saying, 'If you are the Messenger of God, then I do not permit you to enter my garden!'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "It was told to me that he then took up a handful of dirt, saying, 'By God, if I knew I'd strike no one but you, Muḥammad, I'd hit you in the face with this!' The Muslims charged at him to kill him, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Don't kill him! This sightless fellow is blind both in his heart and in his eyes!' But Saʿd b. Zayd, brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, had already charged at him before the command of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and had hit him with his bow in his head and split it open.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded ahead and came down the defile from Mt. Uḥud, at the head of the valley, at the mountain. He positioned his camels and his men towards Uḥud and said, 'Let no one begin fighting before I give the order to attack.'

"Quraysh had released their camels and horses in the fields at al-Ṣamgha, part of Qanāt that was Muslim territory. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the order not to attack, one of the Companions asked, 'Are the fields of Banū Qayla to be grazed without us going to battle?'

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made ready for battle. His force consisted of 700 men; he appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr, brother of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, in charge of the archers. He stood out by being dressed in white clothing; the archers totalled 50 men. He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said 'Fend off the cavalry from us with your arrows, so that they don't come at us from the rear. Whether the battle goes for or against us, hold your position so that we can't be attacked from your direction.'"

This statement will receive testimony in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, if God wills it.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out wearing two sets of armour; that is, he wore one suit of chain-mail above another. He gave charge of the banner to Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Dār."

I comment that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent back a group of young men from the battle of Uḥud, not permitting them to be present at the fighting because of their youthfulness. These included ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, as is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. He stated, "I was offered to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for the battle of Uḥud, but he would not allow me. I was later presented to him for the battle of al-khandaq, 'the trench', at a time when I was 15, and he then did permit me to participate."

On that occasion he also rejected Usāma b. Zayd, Zayd b. Thābit, al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, Usayd b. Dhahīr and ʿArāba b. Aws b. Qayẓī. Ibn Qutayba related this and al-Suhaylī also gave it. It is of the last-mentioned that al-Shammākh stated:

> "If a banner be raised for glory, then ʿArāba will take
> it in his right hand."

Ibn Saʿd b. Khaythama was also one of these. Al-Suhaylī mentioned him too. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) allowed all of these to participate at the battle of al-khandaq.

He had sent back from Uḥud Samura b. Jundub and Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj, both of these being 15 years of age. But someone told him that Rāfiʿ was an archer, and so he let him stay. Then someone told him that Samura could wrestle Rāfiʿ down, and so he let him stay too.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Quraysh positioned their forces. They numbered 3,000. They had brought 200 horses with them which they positioned on the flanks, with Khālid b. al-Walīd in charge of the right flank of the cavalry and ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl b. Hishām in command of its left."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Who will take this sword, along with its rights?'

"Various men arose, but he refrained from giving it to them. Then Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharsha, brother of the Banū Sāʿida, came to him and asked, 'What are its rights, Messenger of God?'

"'For you to strike the enemy with it until it bends.'

"'I will take it, Messenger of God, along with its rights,' he agreed, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave it to him."

Ibn Isḥāq related this anecdote thus, *munqaṭiʿan*.[5]

The Imām Aḥmad stated, "Both Yazīd and ʿAffān related to us as follows, 'Ḥammād, he being Ibn Salama, related to us, and Thābit informed us, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) that at Uḥud he picked up a sword and asked, "Who will take this sword?" Some men began examining it and he then asked, "Who will take it along with its rights?" The men withdrew, but Abū Dujāna Simāk responded, "I will take it with its rights." And he did take it and cleaved a path with it through the middle of the polytheists.'"

Muslim related this from Abū Bakr, from ʿAffān.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Dujāna was a brave man who engaged in bravado when he went into battle. He had a red headband he would put on to set himself apart in battle and it would be known that he was preparing to fight."

He went on, "When he took the sword from the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he took out the red headband and put it on. He then began strutting about between the two lines.

"Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aslam, the freed-man of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb related to me, from one of the *anṣār* of the Banū Salama, who related to me as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, when he saw Abū Dujāna strutting, "That is a way of walking that God dislikes except in circumstances like this!"'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Abū Sufyān had told those of Banū ʿAbd al-Dār who were in charge of the banner, inciting them to battle, 'Banū ʿAbd al-Dār, you were in

5. This word indicates a *ḥādīth* of which the line of transmission is incomplete.

charge of our banner at the battle of Badr, and you saw what happened to us. Men will only fight for their flags; if once they are lost, they withdraw. Either take care of our banner for us, or give it over to us and we will relieve you of it.'

"They were angered at this and threatened him, saying, 'We give over our banner to you? You will learn tomorrow, when we meet in battle, how we will behave!' That was the response that Abū Sufyān wanted.

"When the forces met and drew close to one another, Hind, daughter of ʿUtba, arose amidst the women accompanying her, and they took up tambourines and began beating them, positioning themselves behind the men and urging them on to battle. Hind spoke the following verses:

'Go to it, ʿAbd al-Dār, go to it protectors of the rear!
Strike with your sharp weapons!'

"She also said,

'If you advance we will embrace and spread out cushions;
But retreat and we'll leave and love not!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that Abū ʿĀmir ʿAbdu ʿAmr b. Ṣayfī b. Mālik b. al-Nuʿmān, one of Banū Ḍubayʿa, had left for Mecca, having disagreed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he was accompanied by 50 young men of Aws, though some say they were 15 in number. He had been promising Quraysh that if he were to meet up with his people, no two men of them would quarrel with him.

"When the sides clashed, the first to meet them was Abū ʿĀmir with the Abyssinians and the slaves owned by the Meccans. Abū ʿĀmir shouted out, 'Aws, I am Abū ʿĀmir!' They responded, 'May God grant you no ease, you sinner!'

"Before Islam, Abu ʿAmir had been known as 'the monk'; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had renamed him 'the sinner'.

"When Abū ʿĀmir heard their reply, he shouted, 'So, evil has befallen my people since I left!' He then engaged them in fierce battle, eventually casting stones at them."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The sides advanced until the warfare grew intense and Abū Dujāna progressed deep into the enemy's force."

Ibn Hishām stated, "More than one scholar related to me that al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām said, 'I was offended when I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for the sword and he refused it me and gave it to Abū Dujāna. I told myself, "I'm the son of his aunt Ṣafiyya, and of Quraysh. Also, I went up and asked him for it before he did, yet he gave it to Abū Dujāna, rejecting me. By God, I'll watch what he does!"

"'So I followed him. He took out a red headband and put it on his head. The *anṣār* then said, "Abū Dujāna has put on the death headband!" This is what they

would say to him whenever he did this. He then went forth to battle, reciting the words,

> "I am one with whom my companion made a pact, when we
> were there on the hillside amidst the palm trees
> I'll never remain at the rear; I'll strike hard with
> the sword of God and His messenger."'"

Al-Umawī stated, "Abū ʿUbayd related to me, quoting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said that a man had approached him while he was battling with it and he had asked him, 'If I give it to you, you'll probably fight at the rear.' 'No, I won't,' the man replied. So he gave the man the sword, who then recited the words,

> 'I am one with whom my companion made a pact;
> I'll never remain at the rear!'"

This is a *ḥadīth* that is related from Shuʿba. Isrāʾīl also related it, both of them quoting Ibn Isḥāq, from Hind, daughter of Khālid; others also give it, attributing it directly to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

The word used in the above *ḥadīth* interpreted as "the rear" is the noun *al-kayyūl,* a word I have not encountered elsewhere. It is said by some scholars to mean "the ranks at the back".

Ibn Hishām(s text) stated, "Every man he met, Abū Dujāna killed. Among the polytheists there was one man who executed every man he wounded. This man and Abū Dujāna came ever closer to one another, and I prayed to God to bring them together. And they did meet. They exchanged a couple of blows. The polytheist then struck at Abū Dujāna, who fended off the blow with his shield which trapped the man's sword. Then Abū Dujāna struck and killed him. I next saw Abū Dujāna aiming at the centre of the head of Hind, daughter of ʿUtba. But he turned his sword aside, and I commented, 'God and his messenger know best!'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this *ḥadīth* in *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), quoting Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, who gave it.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Dujāna said, 'I saw one man who was giving great encouragement to his side, so I headed for him. When I attacked him with my sword, he let out a scream and I saw it was a woman! I respected the sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by refraining from striking a woman with it.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), refused ʿUmar's request when he made it for the sword and when next al-Zubayr sought it he rejected him too. This troubled them both. When he offered it a third time and Abū Dujāna asked for it, he gave it to him, and he did give the sword its rights.

He went on, "People claim that Kaʿb b. Mālik said, 'I was among those Muslims who went forth to the battle. When I saw that the dead on both the Muslim and polytheist sides were similar, I moved forward to participate. I then

saw that one polytheist, heavily armoured, was striking the Muslims hard and saying, "Come on then, you sheep gathering for the slaughter!" But then I saw one Muslim, fully armoured, waiting for him and I went on over behind him and began comparing the Muslim with the polytheist. The latter was better in equipment and in form. I kept on waiting until they met. The Muslim then struck the unbeliever a blow with his sword on his shoulder artery. The sword came right down through to his thigh, cutting him into two. Then the Muslim uncovered his face and said, "What about that, Kaʿb! I'm Abū Dujāna!"'"

THE DEATH OF ḤAMZA, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib fought on until he killed Arṭāt b. ʿAbd Shuraḥbīl b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf b. ʿAbd al-Dār, who was one of those bearing the banner. He also killed ʿUthmān b. Abū Ṭalḥa while he was carrying the flag and reciting,

> 'It is the duty of those who bear the flag to keep up
> tall or to be struck down low.'

"Ḥamza then attacked and killed him.

"After that Sibāʿ b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā al-Ghubshānī, who was commonly known as 'Abū Niyār', passed him by and Ḥamza called out to him, 'Come on over here, you son of a female who does circumcisions!' The man's mother was Umm Anmār, a freed-woman of Sharīq b. ʿAmr b. Wahb al-Thaqafī; she was circumcisor (of women) in Mecca. When the two men met, Ḥamza struck and killed him.

"Waḥshī, the slave of Jubayr b. Muṭʿim stated, 'I swear, I watched while Ḥamza struck out at everyone with his sword, letting none escape; he was like some gigantic camel. Sibāʿ got to him before me, then Ḥamza said, "Come on over here, you son of a woman who does circumcisions!" He then struck him so fast that he seemed to have missed his head. So I readied my spear until sure it was well aimed, then I let it fly at him. It hit him beneath his navel and came out between his legs. He advanced towards me, but collapsed. I left him till he died, then I went, retrieved my spear and returned to the camp; my only business was with him.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl b. ʿAyyāsh b. Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith related to me, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Jaʿfar b. ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī, who said, 'I and ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAdī b. al-Khiyār, one of Banū Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf, went out on a military expedition during the reign of Muʾāwiya. Having served with the others, we passed by Ḥimṣ, where Waḥshī, the freed-man of Jubayr, had taken up residence. When we got there, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAdī asked, "Should we go to see Waḥshī and ask him about the death of Ḥamza, and how he killed him?" "If you would like," I responded.

"'So we went off and enquired about him in Ḥimṣ. When we asked a man about him, he told us, "You will find him in the courtyard of his house. He has become addicted to wine; if you should find him sober, you'll find him to be a true Arab man and you'll get what you want from him and he'll tell you whatever you ask him about. But if you find him under the influence, you'd better just leave him alone."'

"He continued, 'So we went off to visit him and found him in the courtyard of his house on a rug. He was a large old man who looked like a *bughāth*, a blackish bird.[6] He was sober and in good health and we greeted him when we reached him.

"'He raised his sight to ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAdī and asked, "Are you the son of ʿAdī b. al-Khiyār?" "Yes, I am," he replied. Waḥshī commented, "Well, I swear, I've not seen you since I handed you to your mother, al-Saʿdīya, who was suckling you, at Dhū Ṭūwā. I lifted you up to her as she sat on her camel. She took hold of you around the waist and your feet shone as I handed you up to her. I swear, I therefore recognized your feet as soon as you stood before me!"'

"He went on, 'So we sat down with him and told him, "We have come to you to ask you about the death of Ḥamza; how did you kill him?"

"'He replied, "Shall I tell it to you just as I did to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he asked me about it? I was a slave of Jubayr b. Muṭʿim, whose uncle was Tuʿayma b. ʿAdī, who was struck down at Badr. When Quraysh went forth to Uḥud, Jubayr told me, 'If you kill Ḥamza, Muḥammad's uncle, in retaliation for my uncle's death, then you will be a free man.'

"'"So I went out with the warriors. I was an Abyssinian and could throw the spear like my countrymen; I rarely missed with it. When the forces met in battle, I went forth looking for Ḥamza to lie in wait for him. I found him right amidst the fray, like an enormous camel, striking out viciously at our men with his sword, nothing withstanding him. I made use of bushes and rocks to get close to him, but Sibāʿ b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā got to him before me. When Ḥamza saw him, he said, 'Come over here, you son of a woman who does circumcisions!' He then struck him a blow so quickly that it appeared to have missed his head. I aimed my spear carefully, and when sure of it, I hurled it at him. It struck him below his navel and emerged between his legs. He tried to move towards me, but was overcome. I left him with the spear until he died. Then I went over to him, retrieved my spear and returned to camp, where I stayed. I had no business with anyone other than him. I only killed him to gain my freedom.

"'"When I reached Mecca, I was manumitted and remained there until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Mecca. I then fled to Ṭāʾif, where I stayed. When the Ṭāʾif delegation left to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and to accept Islam, I didn't know what to do. I told people, 'I'll go to Syria or Yemen or some other country!' I was in this state of indecision and anxiety when

6. Ibn Hishām adds the comment to Ibn Isḥāq's account that the word stands for "a kind of bird inclining to black in colour". See Guillaume, *op. cit.* p.753.

someone told me, 'Come on now! I swear, he'll not kill anyone who has adopted his religion and testified to the truth.'

"'"When he told me that, I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina, surprising him by standing before him and speaking the testimony of the truth.

"'"When he saw me, he asked, 'Are you Waḥshī?' I replied, 'Yes, O Messenger of God.' He then said, 'Sit down and relate to me how you killed Ḥamza.'

"'"So I related it as I did to you both. When I finished my account, he said, 'Remove your face from me; I'll not see you!'

"'"So I used to avoid the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wherever he might be so that he would not see me, and eventually God, Almighty and Glorious is He, took him to Himself.'

"'"When the Muslim force went to war against that liar Musaylima,[7] who controlled Yemen, I accompanied them, taking the spear with which I killed Ḥamza. When the forces met, I saw Musaylima standing sword in hand, though I didn't then know for sure the man was him. I prepared to attack him, as did another Muslim, an *anṣārī*, coming from the other side. Each of us was heading for him. I steadied my spear until I felt good about it and then let it loose at him. It pierced him. The *anṣārī* then attacked him with his sword. So God alone knows which of us killed him. If it was I who killed him, then I killed the best of men after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and also killed the worst of them!"'"

I note that the *anṣārī* was Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharasha.

Al-Waqidī stated in his account of *al-ridda*, "the apostasy wars", as follows: "He was ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. ʿĀṣim al-Māzinī. Sayf b. ʿAmr stated, 'He was ʿAdī b. Sahl. And it was he who spoke the verses,

> "Do you not know that it was I and their Waḥshī, who
> killed Musaylima, who sowed dissension.
> People ask me about his death and I reply, 'I struck
> and he pierced!"'"

What is well known is that it was Waḥshī who struck him when he attacked and that Abū Dujāna finished him off when wounded. This is because of what Ibn Isḥāq related, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "I heard someone shout out at the battle of Yamāma, 'It was the black slave who killed him!'"

Al-Bukhārī related the story of the killing of Ḥamza through ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Salāma al-Mājishawn, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Jaʿfar b. ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī. He said, "I went forth to battle with ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAdī b. al-Khiyār." And he then related the incident as given above. He recalled that ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAdī was wearing a

7. A self-styled prophet of Yemen whose Banū Ḥanīfa forces were defeated by the Caliph Abū Bakr's army under Khālid b. al-Walīd at 'Aqrabā' in 12 AH.

turban, and that all Waḥshī could see of him was his eyes and his feet. And he related as above from his knowledge of him.

This was a great piece of detection, comparable to Mujazziz al-Mudlijī's noticing a similarity in the feet of Zayd to those of his son Usāma despite the difference in their complexions.

He (al-Bukhārī) quoted Waḥshī as saying, "When the men were lined up for battle, Sibā went out and said, 'Will someone accept my challenge?' Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib came forward and answered, 'So Sibā, it's you, son of Umm Anmar, the woman who does circumcisions! Do you challenge God and His messenger?' He then attacked him and it was all over for Sibā."

Waḥshī continued, "I was lying in wait for Ḥamza beneath a rock. When he came close to me I hurled my spear at him and it hit him beneath the navel and emerged between his thighs. And that was the end of him."

His account continued until he said, "And when God took the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) unto Himself and the pretender Musaylima appeared, I said, 'I'll go out after Musaylima in hopes of killing him to atone for Ḥamza.' So I did go forth with our force and the warfare progressed. Then I saw a man standing in a gap in a wall, looking like an enormous camel, rearing its head. I hurled my spear at him; it struck him in the middle of the chest and emerged between his shoulders. Then one of the Helpers charged at him and struck him with his sword on the top of his head."

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl stated, "Sulaymān b. Yasār related to me that he heard ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar say, 'A girl at the back of the house screamed, "The Commander of the Faithful! The black slave killed him!"'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "I have heard that Waḥshī continued being punished for abuse of wine until he was eventually removed from the pension list. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to say, 'I always said God would not leave Ḥamza's killer unpunished!'"

I note that Waḥshī b. Ḥarb, Abū Dasma, known as Abū Ḥarb, died in Ḥimṣ; he was the first person to wear his clothes *madlūka*, rubbed clean and hand-pressed.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr fought on, protecting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until he was killed. It was Ibn Qamīʾa al-Laythī who killed him, thinking that Muṣʿab was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He went back to Quraysh and announced, 'I have killed Muḥammad!'"

I note that Mūsā b. ʿUqba recounted in his work on the military expeditions, quoting Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, to the effect that the man who killed Muṣʿab was Ubayy b. Khalaf. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr was killed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the banner into the charge of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib."

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, "The banner was first with ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw that ʿAbd al-Dār had

charge of the polytheists' banner, he said, 'We have a greater right to their allegiance than they do!' He then took the banner away from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and gave it to Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr. When Mus.ʿab was killed, he awarded the banner again to ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "And ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and Muslim warriors fought the enemy."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Maslama b. ʿAlqama al-Māzinī related to me, 'When the fighting grew fierce at the battle of Uḥud, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat beneath the standard of the *anṣār* and sent a message to ʿAlī, saying, "Bring the banner forward!" ʿAlī went forward, shouting, "I am Abū al-Qaṣm!" Abū Saʿd b. Abū Ṭalḥa, he being the standard bearer of the polytheists, called back, "Will you accept single combat, Abū al-Qaṣm?" "Yes," he replied. So they both went forth between the opposing sides and exchanged two blows. Then ʿAlī struck him down, but left without killing him off.

"'Some of the men asked him, "Why didn't you finish him off?" He replied, "He exposed his private parts to me and I had pity on him because of our ties of kinship. And I knew that God had condemned him to death."'"

ʿAlī himself, may God be pleased with him, did this at the battle of Ṣiffīn. When Busr b. Abū Arṭāt came up to kill him, he exposed himself to him and Busr withdrew from him.

ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ acted similarly when ʿAlī came over to kill him in one of the battles at Ṣiffīn; he exposed himself and ʿAlī withdrew. On this subject al-Ḥārith b. al-Naḍr spoke the following verses:

> "Is there at every battle a knight not yet expired,
> with his private parts visible amidst the dust?
> Because of this ʿAlī holds back his spearhead, and
> Muʾāwiya secretly scoffs at this!"

Yūnus related, from Ibn Isḥāq, that Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa al-ʿAbdarī, standard bearer of the polytheists that day, made a challenge for single combat, but the men held back from him. Then al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām went out to him and leapt up on to his camel with him. He then hurled him down from it on to the ground and killed him with his sword. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) praised him, saying, "Every prophet has his disciple, and my disciple is al-Zubayr."

He then said, "If he had not gone out to fight him, I would have done so myself, having seen how everyone held back!"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ killed Abū Saʿd b. Abū Ṭalḥa.

"ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ fought and killed Nāfiʿ b. Abū Ṭalḥa and his brother al-Ḥallās with arrows. One went to their mother Sulāfa and laid his head in her lap. She asked, 'Who was it shot you, son?' He replied, 'As he shot me, I heard a man say, "Take that; I'm Ibn Abū al-Aqlaḥ!"' She then swore that if God gave her ʿĀṣim's head, she would drink wine from it."

ʿĀṣim had sworn to God that he would never touch a polytheist or have one touch him. That is why God protected him at the battle of al-Rajīʿ, as will be related hereafter.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥanẓala b. Abū ʿĀmir met in battle with Abū Sufyān Sakhr b. Ḥarb. Ḥanẓala was known as ʿAmr; he was also known as ʿAbd ʿAmr b. Ṣayfī. His father, Abū ʿĀmir, was known in the *jāhiliyya*, as 'the monk', because he prayed so much. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed him 'the sinner' since he opposed the truth and those believing in it and fled from Medina abandoning Islam and in opposition to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ḥanẓala was also known as *al-ghasīl*, 'the washed one', since he was washed by the angels, as will be related.

"When Ḥanẓala bested Abū Sufyān, Shaddād b. al-Aws, known as Ibn Shaʿūb, saw this and struck Ḥanẓala down, killing him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Your friend is being washed by the angels in heaven; ask his family about his circumstances.'

"So they did ask his wife. According to al-Wāqidī, she was Jamīla, daughter of Ubayy b. Sallūl; she had become his bride that night."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "She replied, 'When he went forth on hearing the call to arms, he was in a state of ritual impurity.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'And so the angels washed him.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that his father struck him in the chest with his foot and said, "Two sins you committed. I forbad you this fate of yours. And, by God, now you've achieved mercy, thanks to your father!"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ibn Shaʿūb recited on this subject,

> 'I guard my companion and myself with a thrust like a flash of sunlight.'"

Ibn Shaʿūb spoke the verse,

> "Were it not for my defence, Ibn Ḥarb, and my presence,
> you would have been unresponsive at the mountain-slope battle.
> And had I not brought the colt back to the hilltop,
> hyenas or jackals would have devoured it."

Abū Sufyān spoke the verses,

> "Had I wished, my red-black swift-footed horse would
> have saved me and I would bear no debt of thanks to Ibn Shaʿūb.
> And my colt would have stayed a safe distance from
> them, that morning and on till dusk,
> While I fought them, crying, 'Hail to the victor!'
> fending them off with a stout arm.
> Weep on, caring not for how others rebuke you, nor tire
> of your tears and sighs,

For your father and his brothers who have passed away;
their fate deserves tears.
I am relieved of my earlier pain, now that I have
killed all the great chiefs of Banū al-Najjār,
And a fine leader of Hāshim, and Muṣ'ab too, a man who
was never timid in the fray.
Had I not relieved my mind by killing them, my heart
would have been hurt and scarred.
They withdrew, their *jalābīb*[8] now dead, their wounds
gaping and oozing blood,
Struck down by men not equal to them either in descent
or in rank."

Ḥassān b. Thābit answered him with the verses,

"You mention the fine leaders of Banū Hāshim, and here
you are stating no lie.
Are you pleased at having struck down Ḥamza, a great
chief, as you yourself said,
And did they not kill 'Amr, and 'Utba and his son,
along with Shayba, al-Ḥajjāj and Ibn Ḥabīb,
That morning when al-'Āṣī challenged 'Alī and he scared
him with the blow of a blood-stained sword?"

DIVISION.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Then God sent down victory for the Muslims, fulfilling his promise to them. They massacred them with swords, ultimately cutting them off from their camp. The enemy's defeat was indisputable.

"Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father 'Abbād, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from al-Zubayr, who said, 'I swear, I remember seeing the legs of Hind, daughter of 'Utba and her companions, their clothing tucked up as they fled. Almost nothing prevented them being captured when the archers turned away to the camp after we had blocked the enemy from reaching it. But this meant we had left our rear open to the cavalry, and they came at us from behind. Someone yelled, "Muḥammad has been killed!" So we turned back, the enemy reeling back on us too, after we had killed their standard bearers, preventing any of them from approaching it.

"'And a scholar in the traditions told me that their standard remained down until 'Amra, daughter of 'Alqama, the Ḥārith woman, raised it again for Quraysh, and so they rallied back around it. The banner had been in the charge of Sawāb, an Abyssinian slave of Banū Abū Ṭalḥa. He was the last of them to take it; he fought on with it until his hands were cut off. He then crouched down

8. Guillaume offers an interesting discussion of this word. Normally meaning "leather smock", it seems here to have a pejorative sense of "vagabond" or "tramp". See *op. cit.* p.378.

over it, holding the banner between his neck and chest. He was killed right over it, and as he died, he said, "O God, have I *ʾazartu*" (for *ʾadhartu*, improperly pronouncing the dh sound) that is, 'Am I absolved?"'

"Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on this:

'You were proud of your flag, yet poor pride it was to
give it over to Ṣawāb
You entrusted your pride in it to a slave, grovelling
in the dust on the ground
You thought – and a fool too has thoughts – though
rarely does he get them straight
That fighting us would be as when we would meet in
Mecca, with you selling us red leather bags.
It pleased us well when his hands turned red, though it
was not dye that made them so.'

"Ḥassān also spoke the verses that follow regarding how it was ʿAmra, daughter of ʿAlqama, who raised their banner for them:

'When the ʿAdl were led to us, like gazelles of Shirk,
their eyebrows prominent,
We set at them, thrusting at them from all sides,
destroying, punishing and aggrieving them,
Were it not for the woman of al-Ḥārith having taken
their banner, they would have been sold in the markets
like slaves.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Muslim ranks broke and the enemy gained advantage over them. It was a day of trial and testing in which God honoured some with martyrdom. At last the enemy broke through to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he was hit with a rock and fell on his side, breaking his front teeth, slashing his face and splitting his lip. The man who struck him was ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqāṣ.

"Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl related to me, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'The front tooth of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was broken at the battle of Uḥud, and he was slashed in the face. Wiping off the blood, he said, "How could any people prosper who would bloody the face of their prophet while he invites them to come to God?" And so God sent down the verse: "You have no say in the matter; He may indeed forgive them or punish them (though) they are wrongdoers"'" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.127).

Ibn Jarīr stated in his history, "Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn related to us, as did Aḥmad b. al-Faḍl, as did Asbāṭ, from al-Suddī, who said, 'Ibn Qamiʾa al-Ḥārithī came up and cast a rock at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) which broke his nose and his front teeth, gashed his face and knocked him over. His Companions then scattered away from him, some going back to Medina and others climbing up the mountain to al-Ṣakhra. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began calling out to

everyone, "Come to me, servants of God! Come to me, servants of God!" Thirty men did gather around him, then began moving out ahead of him, only Ṭalḥa and Sahl b. Ḥanīf staying. Ṭalḥa shielded him and was struck by an arrow in his hand that became paralysed. Ubayy b. Khalaf al-Jumaḥī then approached; he had sworn to kill the Prophet (ṢAAS). He said, "I really will kill him!" He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, "You liar! Where will you hide?" Ubayy then attacked, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) pierced him through the chain-mail over his chest and Ubayy was slightly injured. He fell, bellowing like a steer and they carried him off, telling him, "You've not been badly wounded; what is upsetting you so?" He replied, "Didn't he say, "I shall certainly kill you!" If all Rabī'a and Muḍar had assembled, he would have killed them!" And it was only a day or so thereafter that Ubayy did die of that wound.

"'Word spread that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been killed. Some of those up at al-Ṣakhra said, "We'd better send an envoy to 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy and have him get us a truce from Abū Sufyān. People! Muḥammad has been killed! Go back home before they get to you and kill you!"

"'Anas b. al-Naḍr responded, "People; even if Muḥammad has been killed, Muḥammad's God has not. Fight on for what Muḥammad (ṢAAS) strived for. O God, I apologize to You and seek Your forgiveness for what these people have said." He then gripped his sword and fought valiantly until he was killed.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) hurried off to summon his men and reached those at al-Ṣakhra. When they saw him coming, one of them put an arrow to his bow to shoot, but he called out, "I'm the Messenger of God!" They were overjoyed to see him and he too was delighted to have found some of his men to protect him. When they gathered around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) their depression lifted, and they advanced, talking of victory, how it had escaped them and making mention of their comrades who had been killed.

"'And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed the following verse about these men who had said, "Muḥammad is dead! So go back to your people!" It was: "Muḥammad is only a messenger, and messengers have passed away before him" (*sūrat Āl 'Imrān*; III, v.144).

"'Abū Sufyān then advanced and took a position where he could look down upon them. When the men looked up at him, they forgot their enthusiasm and Abū Sufyān became their sole concern. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the words, "It must not be that they overcome us: O God, if this group of men are killed, then You will not be worshipped on earth." His Companions then repented and hurled rocks at the enemy until they forced them down.

"'Abū Sufyān said on that day, "Raise up Hubal! Ḥanẓala for Ḥanẓala! The battle of Uḥud for the battle of Badr!"'"

He then went on to relate the rest of the story. This account is very strange and objectionable in part.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Rubayḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Saʿīd claimed, quoting his father, from Abū Saʿīd, that it was ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqāṣ who shot at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), breaking his lower right incisor and damaging his lower lip. He stated further that ʿAbd Allāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī wounded his forehead, and that ʿAbd Allāh b. Qamiʾa cut open his cheek, making two rings of his chain-mail helmet pierce it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then fell into one of the pits Abū ʿĀmir had prepared for the Muslims. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib took him by the hand and Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh raised him up till he could stand straight. Mālik b. Sinān, the father of Abū Saʿīd, sucked the blood from the cheek of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and swallowed it. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Whoever has had his own blood touch mine will not be touched by hell-fire.'"

I comment here that Qatāda related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lost consciousness when he fell on his side. He stated that Sālim, freed-man of Abū Ḥudhayfa, went over to him, sat him down and wiped the blood from his face. As he came to, he said, "How could any people succeed who have done this to their prophet while he invited them to come to God?" And so God revealed, "It is not your business" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.127).

Ibn Jarīr gave this tradition, incomplete in its line of transmission; discussion of this will come later, separately.

I would comment that early in the day the Muslims had the upper hand over the unbelievers. As God Almighty stated, "God certainly made good to you His promise when you killed them by His leave, until you failed and disputed about what to do and were disobedient after He had demonstrated to you what you liked. Some among you desire this world, while others of you desire the next. He then put you to flight before them, to test you all. And He has now forgiven you; God is generous to believers. Remember when you went rushing up the hill, while the Messenger called you from your rear. And so He exchanged for you one sorrow for another" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.151, 2).

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Sulaymān b. Dāʾūd related to us, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Zinād informed us, from his father, from ʿUbayd Allāh, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, 'God never had a victory anywhere as He did at Uḥud.'

"He (ʿUbayd Allāh) said, 'We contradicted this', and Ibn ʿAbbās responded, 'The Book of God stands between me and anyone contradicting that. God states about Uḥud, 'God certainly made good to you His promise when you killed them by His leave.'" Ibn ʿAbbās then said, 'In this text the word *al-ḥass* means "killing". The text continues, "... until you failed" and so on till the words, "... and He has forgiven you; God is generous to believers." By this he was referring to the archers. This is because the Prophet (ṢAAS) placed them in a position and said, "Protect our backs. If you see us being killed, don't come to our aid. And if you see us winning, don't join us."'

"But when the Prophet (ṢAAS) was winning and laid open the polytheists' camp, all the archers lost control of themselves and went in for plunder; the ranks of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then met up with them and intermingled with them in confusion.

"When the archers left the position they had had, the enemy cavalry attacked the men of the Prophet (ṢAAS) from that spot. The forces engaged in a general confused mêlée, and many of the Muslims were killed. The battle had gone to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) early in the day, to the point where seven or nine of the standard-bearers of the polytheists had been killed. The Muslims went on, making a circuit towards the mountain; they did not reach the place where people say is the cave, which was beneath the large hollowed-out rock.

"Then Satan shouted, 'Muḥammad has been killed!' It was not doubted that this was true. And we went on believing that this was so until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appeared amidst a group of men of Banū Sa'd; we recognized him from the distinctive way he walked. We were so overjoyed that it was as if we had not suffered what we had. As he approached us, he was saying, 'God will be extremely angry with a people who have bloodied the face of the Messenger of God!' He also said, 'O God, it must not be that they overcome us!'

"Eventually he reached us and stayed awhile. Then Abū Sufyān lower down on the mountain began shouting, 'Raise up Hubal! Raise up Hubal!' His reference was to his god. (He also shouted), 'And where is Abū Kabsha's son? And where is Abū Quḥāfa's son? Where is al-Khaṭṭāb's son?'

"At this, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) 'Shouldn't I answer him back?' 'You should,' the latter replied. And so when Abū Sufyān next said, 'Raise up Hubal!' 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb responded, 'God is far higher and more Glorious!' Abū Sufyān then said, 'Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the war has favoured us. Give it up!'

"He then said, 'And where is the son of Abū Kabsha? Where is Abū Quḥāfa's son? And where is Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb?' 'Umar responded, 'This, here, is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); this, here, is Abū Bakr. And here am I, 'Umar.'

"Abū Sufyān then said, 'A battle for that of Badr. Battles move in cycles. Warfare has its ups and downs.' 'Umar replied, 'They're not equivalent. Our dead are in heaven, yours in hell!'

"He responded, 'That's what you claim! If that were indeed so, then it is we who have failed and lost!' Abū Sufyān went on to say, 'Regarding your discovery of some mutilated bodies among your dead, this was not from a decision of our leadership.' But then his pagan fanaticism got the better of him, and he said, 'However, if we had deliberated the matter, we might well not have decided against it!'"

Ibn Abū Ḥātim related this, as did al-Ḥākim in his compendium. Al-Bayhaqī related it in his *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*), from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd al-Hāshimī.

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb*, "unilateral". It is one of the incomplete traditions ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās. A variety of authorities testify to it, and we will quote those we can, if God wills it. And in Him is all trust, upon Him all reliance. It is He to whom one goes for help.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to him, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said, "It was on that day that we met the enemy in battle. The Prophet (ṢAAS) positioned a contingent of archers, placing ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr in charge of them, and telling them, 'Don't leave here; if you see us defeat them, don't leave. And if you see them defeat us, don't come to our aid.'

"When we met the enemy in battle, they fled in such disorder that I saw their women scurrying up into the mountains raising their legs and exposing their ankles. Our troops began calling for plunder, but ʿAbd Allāh replied, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) charged me not to let you leave.' But they rejected this and no sooner had they done so than they became completely confused.

"70 men were killed and then there was Abū Sufyān looking down on us and asking, 'Is Muḥammad there among the men?' He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) told us not to respond. Abū Sufyān then demanded, 'And is the son of Abū Quḥāfa among you?' Again he told us not to reply. Now Abū Sufyān asked, 'Is Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb there?' He then commented, 'Well, these men have been killed; if they were alive, they would have responded.'

"ʿUmar could no longer contain himself. He shouted, 'You lie, you enemy of God! May God give you lasting torment!'

"Abū Sufyān now said, 'Raise up Hubal!' The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'Now give him an answer!' 'What should we say?' the men asked. He replied, 'Say: God is far higher and more Glorious!'

"Abū Sufyān responded, 'Consolation is ours; you have none.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) told them, 'Answer him back!' 'What should we say?' they asked. He replied, 'Say; "God is our master, but you have no master."'

"Abū Sufyān then said, 'A battle for the battle of Badr. Warfare goes in cycles. And you will find some bodies mutilated. We did not order that, but it doesn't bother me.'"

And this is one of the traditions that al-Bukhārī includes, but Muslim does not.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Mūsā related to him, as did Zuhayr and Abū Isḥāq, that al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr over the archers, who were 50 men in all, at the battle of Uḥud. He positioned them in a particular site and told them, 'If you see the vultures flying off with us don't leave until I send you a message. If you see us victorious over the enemy and trampling them underfoot, don't leave until I send you a message.'

"Our forces defeated them and, I swear by God, I saw their women scurrying up the mountain, their ankles and legs exposed as they raised their garments.

"The men under 'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr asked, 'The plunder! Let's go for the booty, men! Your troops have won, so what do you think?'

"'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr replied, 'Have you forgotten what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said?' They replied, 'By God, we should go and join our forces and get some of the booty.'

"And when they did join them, everyone became confused and they suffered a defeat and went on ahead, while the Messenger (ṢAAS) called at them from behind.

"Only 12 men were left with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 70 of our men were struck down; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his forces had taken out 140 of the enemy at Badr, 70 being killed and 70 being taken prisoner.

"Abū Sufyān then asked, 'Is Muḥammad among the men?' He said this three times, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them not to respond.

"Then he said, 'Is the son of Abū Quḥāfa among the men? Is Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb there?' He then went forward to his own force and said, 'Those people have been killed; you have requited them.'

"'Umar could not restrain himself from saying, 'You lie, you enemy of God. Those you enumerated are all alive. And the living will bring your harm!'

"Abū Sufyān commented, 'A battle for the battle of Badr! Warfare goes in cycles. And you will find some bodies mutilated. We did not order that, but it doesn't bother me.'

"He then began chanting, 'Raise up, Hubal! Raise up, Hubal!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked his men, 'Aren't you going to respond to him?' 'But Messenger of God,' they asked, 'what should we respond?' He told them, 'Say: "God is far higher and more Glorious!"'

"Abū Sufyān then commented, 'We have consolation, not you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them, 'Won't you respond to him?' They asked, 'What should we respond, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'Say: "God is our master and you have no master."'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in abbreviated form from a *ḥadīth* of Zuhayr, he being Mu'āwiyya's son, in abbreviated form. His version has been related above through Isrā'īl, from Abū Isḥāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Affān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting Thābit and 'Alī b. Zayd, from Anas b. Mālik, who said that when the polytheists overwhelmed the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was in the company of seven of the *anṣār* and one man of Quraysh, he said, "Whoever will repel them from us will be my companion in paradise!" At this, one of the *anṣār* came up and did battle until he was killed.

The account goes on that when they next overwhelmed him, he again said, "Whoever will repel them will be my companion in paradise!" And eventually all seven were killed.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Our forces have not treated us fairly."

Muslim related this from Hudba b. Khālid, from an account of Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Bayhaqī stated in his work *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*), giving his chain of transmission from ʿUmāra b. Ghaziyya, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, "The men fled in defeat away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the battle of Uḥud. Eleven of the *anṣār* and Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh remained with him as he climbed on up the mountain, but the polytheists caught up with them. The Prophet (ṢAAS), asked, 'Will no one take care of these?' Ṭalḥa replied, 'I will, Messenger of God!' 'You stay where you are,' he told him. One of the *anṣār* then said, 'I will, Messenger of God!' and he fought hard in defence of him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) climbed up higher, along with those men remaining with him. Then the *anṣārī* was killed and the enemy again caught up with them. Again the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Will no one take care of these?' Ṭalḥa responded as before and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said as before. Another of the *anṣār* then said, 'I will, Messenger of God!' And he fought on while his companions went on up. Eventually he was killed, and the polytheists caught up with them.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kept on saying as he had the first time, with Ṭalḥa always volunteering, but being restrained, and another of the *anṣār* asking permission to do battle. He would be permitted to do so and would fight on as had those before him.

"Eventually only Ṭalḥa was left with him. The enemy was again attacking them, so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked once more, 'Will no one take care of these?' Ṭalḥa responded that he would and he fought on as had all those before him. He was injured in his fingertips and called out in pain. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'If you had called out the words, 'In God's name!' the angels would have raised you up while everyone looked on at you, until they carried you right on up into the air of heaven.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then climbed up to join his men who were gathered there."

Al-Bukhārī related, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Shayba, from Wakīʿ, from Ismāʿīl, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, who stated, "I saw Ṭalḥa's hand to be a stump, and with it he defended the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the battle of Uḥud."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl, from Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān, from his father, from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī, who said, "During some of those days when he engaged in battle, no one remained with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), except Ṭalḥa and Saʿd, according to their accounts."

Al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafa stated that it was related to him by Marwān b. Muʾāwiyya, from Hāshim b. Hāshim al-Saʿdī, who said, "I heard Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab say, 'I heard Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ state, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), took the arrows out of his quiver for me at the battle of Uḥud and said, 'Shoot, may my father and mother be your ransom!'"'"

Al-Bukhārī derived this *ḥadīth* from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, from Marwān.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, there is a *ḥadīth* traced from ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaddād who quoted ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib as follows, "I never heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) swear by both his parents to anyone except Saʿd b. Mālik. At Uḥud I heard him say, 'Saʿd, shoot, may my father and my mother be your ransom!'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that it was related to him by a member of Saʿd's family, Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from Saʿd b. Abū Waqqās., that at Uḥud he shot his arrows from directly in front of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Saʿd said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'Shoot, may my father and my mother be your ransom!' He even handed me arrows without points, saying, 'Shoot with this!'"

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, from his father, from his grandfather, that Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ said, "At the battle of Uḥud I saw to the right and to the left of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) two men dressed in white who were fighting fiercely; I never saw them before that, and I never saw them thereafter." He was referring to Gabriel and to Michael, peace be upon them both.

Aḥmad stated, "ʿAffān related to us and Thābit recounted to us, from Anas, that at the battle of Uḥud Abū Ṭalḥa was shooting from directly in front of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was shielding himself behind him. As he shot, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would raise himself up to see where the arrows would strike. At this Abū Ṭalḥa would say, as he brought his chest up to its full height, 'Let it be so, may my father and my mother be your ransom, Messenger of God; no arrow will hit you. My chest will be in the way of yours.' Abū Ṭalḥa would position himself directly before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and say, 'I am sturdy, Messenger of God. Direct me according to your needs and order me to do whatever you want.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Maʿmar – ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr al-ʿAqdī, that is – related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārith, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (b. Suhayb), from Anas, who said, "When the battle of Uḥud occurred the men fled in defeat away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Meanwhile Abū Ṭalḥa was directly in front of him, protecting him with a leather shield he had. Abū Ṭalḥa was a marksman and a very vigorous man who broke two or three bows that day. As the man with the leather bag of arrows would pass, he (the Prophet) would say, 'Hand them over to Abū Ṭalḥa.'"

He went on, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) would rise up to observe the enemy and Abū Ṭalḥa would say, 'May my father and mother be your ransom! Don't stand up! An enemy arrow may strike you. My body shields yours.' And I saw ʿĀ'isha, daughter of Abū Bakr, and Umm Sulaym with their garments tucked up so that I could see their anklets, carrying water containers on their backs that they would empty into the mouths of the troops, return to refill them and empty them as before. The sword fell from the hands of Abū Ṭalḥa twice or thrice."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Khalīfa told me, 'Yazīd b. Zarīʿ related to us, quoting Saʿīd, from Qatāda, from Anas, from Abū Ṭalḥa, who said, "I was one of those

overcome by lassitude at the battle of Uḥud, so that my sword kept falling from my hands. It would fall and I would pick it up once more."'"

Al-Bukhārī reported it thus, along with an affirmative commentary. In testimonial of this there are the words of God Almighty, "Then He sent down upon you, after sorrow, a sense of security, a lassitude overcoming a group of you. Another group had been made anxious by themselves; they have incorrect thoughts about God, thoughts of ignorance, saying, 'Does the matter affect us at all?' Say: 'The entire matter is in God's hands.' They conceal within their souls what they would not reveal to you. They say, 'Had we had any hand in this, we would not have been killed here.' Say: 'Even if you had stayed at home, those destined for being killed would still have gone forth to the places where they died. And so that God would test what was in your hearts and that He might purge what was in your hearts. And God knows what is inside one's heart. Those of you who retreated on the day the two forces met were merely induced by Satan who made them slip on account of some things they had done. God, however, has pardoned them, for God is Forgiving, Merciful" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān;* III, v.153, 4).

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbdān – ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān al-Marwazī – related to him, quoting Abū Ḥamza, from ʿUthmān b. Mawhab, who said, "A man arrived to make the pilgrimage to the *kaʿba*. He saw a group seated and asked, 'Who are those people seated?' He (ʿUthmān b. Mawhab) replied, 'They are men of Quraysh' The man then asked, 'And who is the sheikh, the elder?' 'He's Ibn ʿUmar,' they told him. The man then went over to him and said, 'I'd like to have you respond to something I ask you. Please, I charge you by the sanctity of this place, do you know if ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān fled from the battle of Uḥud?' 'Yes,' the sheikh replied. The man asked, 'And do you know him to have been absent from Badr, and not to have witnessed it?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'And do you know that he missed the *bayʿat al-riḍwān*, "the pledge of willingness", and did not witness it?' 'Yes,' he replied again. The man then, in satisfaction, affirmed the greatness of God.

"Ibn ʿUmar then said, 'Come on over so I can tell you more, and explain more about what you asked me. Regarding his fleeing at Uḥud, I bear witness that God forgave him. Regarding his absence from Badr, his wife was the daughter of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and she was ill. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'You will receive the same full share of the spoils as a man who was present at Badr.'

"Regarding his absence from the *bayʿat al-riḍwān*, if there had been anyone more respected in the valley of Mecca than ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, he would have sent him in his place. The *bayʿat al-riḍwān* took place after ʿUthmān had gone to Mecca. And the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, referring to his right hand, 'This is ʿUthmān's hand.' He then clasped it to his other hand, saying, 'This is for ʿUthmān.'

"'Now take this information away with you,' Ibn ʿUmar told him."

Al-Bukhārī also related this in another place. Al-Tirmidhī's *ḥadīth* has a chain of authorities from Abū 'Awāna, from 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mawhab.

Al-Umawī, in his military chronicle, quoted Ibn Isḥāq as saying, "Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād related to me, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, on the occasion when his men had fled in defeat away from him, some of them going as far as the sandy hillock below al-A'was, while 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and Sa'd b. 'Uthmān, one of the *anṣār*, had fled and reached al-Jal'ab, a mountain near Medina, adjoining al-A'was. They stayed three nights there, then returned. They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'You went there by chance.'"

All this shows that at Uḥud some of the same things happened as at Badr. One such is the occurrence of the *nu'ās*, the lassitude, amidst the warfare. This is an indication of their security of mind in God's help, and the totality of their reliance upon their Creator and Exculpator.

Comment has been previously made concerning the words of God Almighty concerning the expedition to Badr: "When He made lassitude overcome you as a security from Him" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.11). Regarding Uḥud, He stated, "Then He sent down upon you, after sorrow, a sense of security, a lassitude overcoming a group of you" (*sūrat Āl-'Imrān*; III, v.153). The reference here is to the perfect Muslims. As Ibn Mas'ūd and others of the early authorities stated, "Lassitude in war stems from faith, while lassitude in prayer stems from hypocrisy. This is why God stated thereafter, 'another group had been made anxious by themselves'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.11). And another similarity is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appealed for help at Uḥud as he had at Badr, saying, "If it is Your wish, You will no longer be worshipped on earth."

As Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Abd al-Ṣamad and 'Affān both related to us, as follows, 'Ḥammād related to us, quoting Thābit, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at the battle of Uḥud, "O God, if it is Your wish, You will no longer be worshipped on earth."'"

Muslim related it from Ḥajjāj b. al-Shā'ir, from 'Abd al-Ṣamad, from Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Sufyān, from 'Amr, who heard Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh say, "At the battle of Uḥud a man said to the Prophet (ṢAAS) 'If I am killed, where will I then be?' 'In heaven,' he replied. Thereupon the man threw the dates out of his hand and fought until he was killed."

Muslim and al-Nasā'ī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna.

And this is similar to the story of 'Umayr b. al-Humām, which is given above relating to the expedition to Badr. May God be pleased with both these authorities.

Section: Concerning the treatment received that day by the Prophet (ṢAAS) from the polytheists, God damn them!

Al-Bukhārī gives a section entitled: "On the injuries done to the Prophet (ṢAAS) at the battle of Uḥud."

He went on, "Isḥāq b. Naṣr related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Hammām b. Munabbih, who heard Abū Hurayra say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "The wrath of God is great towards those who did this" (pointing to his lower teeth) "to His prophet. Great is God's wrath towards a man whom the Messenger of God kills in God's cause!"'"

Muslim related this through ʿAbd al-Razzāq. Makhlad b. Mālik related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawī, quoting Ibn Jurayj from ʿAmr b. Dinār, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Great was the wrath of God against those whom the Prophet (ṢAAS) killed in God's cause. Great was the wrath of God against a people who bloodied the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

(Imām) Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Thābit, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at the battle of Uḥud as he wiped the blood from his face, "How could any people prosper who struck their prophet and broke his front teeth while he called people to God?" And God sent down, "It is not your business whether He forgives them or punishes them; they are wrong-doers" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.127).

Muslim related this from al-Qaʿnabī, from Ḥammād b. Salama.

Imām Aḥmad related it from Hushaym and Yazīd b. Hārūn, from Ḥumayd, from Anas, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had his front teeth broken and was struck in the face so that his blood flowed, and that he said, "How could a people prosper who did this to their prophet while he was calling them to their Lord?" And so God Almighty sent down, "It is not your business" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.127).

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Yaʿqūb, from Abū Ḥāzim, who heard Sahl b. Saʿd being asked about the injuries suffered by the Prophet (ṢAAS). He said, "I swear by God, I certainly do know who it was who washed the wounds of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who poured the water and with what he was treated. Fāṭima, his daughter washed him, and ʿAlī poured the water from a shield. When Fāṭima saw that the water was only increasing the blood flow, she took a piece of matting, set fire to it, then attached it to the wound; the blood ceased flowing. And his front tooth was broken that day, his face was wounded, and his helmet was crushed on to his head."

Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālisī stated in his *Musnad ḥadith* collection, that Ibn al-Mubārak related to him, from Isḥāq, from Yaḥyā b. Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh quoting ʿIsā b. Ṭalḥa from ʿĀʾisha, *umm al-muʾminīn*, the "mother of the believers", as having stated, "Abū Bakr would say, regarding Uḥud, 'All credit that day was due to Ṭalḥa!' He then would relate as follows, 'I was the first one to return. I saw a man fighting hard in front of him in God's cause. I saw him shout, "To the defence!"

I responded, "(Let it) be Ṭalḥa!" having lost track of things. Then I told myself, "I hope he is someone from my own people." Between myself and the polytheists there was a man I did not know. I was closer to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than he was, but he walked faster than I did. Then I saw him to be Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. When we reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) his front teeth had been broken and his face had been gashed. Two links from the chain-mail of his helmet had pierced his cheek. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Both of you, take care of your companion!" meaning Ṭalḥa. He was bleeding profusely, but we disregarded his words.'"

He went on, "'I went over to pull it out of his face, but he (Abū ʿUbayda) said, "I insist on my right of you letting me do it." I left him to do it, but he was reluctant to take it in his hand and so hurt the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). So he put his mouth over it and drew out a link, one of the front teeth falling with it. I then went over to do as he had, but he said again, "I insist on my right of you letting me do it." He then did as he had before and the other tooth dropped along with the link. It turned out that Abū ʿUbayda was great at tooth extraction!

"'Having treated the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) we then went over to Ṭalḥa who was in one of the pits there. He had some 70 wounds, including spear thrusts, arrow wounds and cuts. His fingers had been sliced off. We gave him treatment.'"

Al-Wāqidī recounted, from the son of Abū Sabra, from Isḥāq b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Farwa, from Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, from Nāfiʿ b. Jubayr, who said, "I heard one of the *muhājirīn* saying, 'I was present at Uḥud and saw the arrows coming in from all directions, with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) right in their middle, but all of them were diverted from him. And I saw ʿAbd Allāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī that day as he said, "Direct me to Muḥammad; I'll not survive if he does." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was right there at his side, with no one else with him. He went on past and Ṣafwān b. Umayya criticized him for that. ʿAbd Allāh responded, "By God, I didn't see him! I swear by God, he is forbidden to us. There were four of us who agreed together and made a pact to kill him, but we couldn't get to him."'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "In my opinion, it is well established that it was Ibn Qamīʾa who shot the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the cheek and ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqāṣ who hit him in the lip and struck his lower teeth."

An account similar to this has been given above from Ibn Isḥāq; it states that his front tooth that was broken was his lower left incisor.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān related to him, from someone who related it to him, on the authority of Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, who said, "I was never more determined to kill anyone than I was to kill ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqāṣ; I knew him to be a man of evil character and hated by his people. And the statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was enough for me – that 'Great is God's wrath against those who bloodied the face of His messenger.'"

ʿAbd al-Razzāq stated that Maʿmar related to him, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUthmān al-Ḥarūrī, from Miqsam, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke a curse against ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqāṣ when he broke his lower teeth and bloodied his face, saying, "O God, may change not come to him, so that he dies an unbeliever!"

And no change did come over him, so that he did die an unbeliever, bound for hell-fire.

Abū Sulaymān al-Jawzajānī stated, that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan related to him, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥarb, from his father, from Abū Umāma Sahl b. Ḥanīf, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) treated his face at Uḥud with a dried bone.

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb*, "unilateral", and I found it in the military chronicle of al-Umawī regarding the battle of Uḥud.

When he had done injury to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ʿAbd Allāh b. Qamiʾa went back and said, "I've killed Muḥammad!" And on that occasion that devil the *ʿizb*[9] of al-ʿAqaba shouted at the top of its voice, "Hear this! Muḥammad has been killed!"

Consternation spread among the Muslims. Many people believed it, and yet remained determined to fight on in defence of Islam until they died in the same way as had the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Anas b. al-Naḍr and others of whom mention will be made were among these.

Almighty God had sent down consolatory verses to deal with this eventuality. He had stated, "And Muḥammad is no more than a messenger; messengers have passed away before him. And if he dies or is killed, will you turn on your heels? Whoever should turn on his heels will do no harm to God thereby. And God will reward the grateful. And no soul shall die except with God's permission at a specified time. And whoever desires the rewards of this world, those We will give him; and whoever desires the rewards of the hereafter We will give him those. We will reward the grateful. And many are the prophets who have fought along with many worshippers! And they did not weaken because of what befell them in God's cause. They neither weakened nor abased themselves. God loves those who stand firm. And what they said was merely, 'O God of ours, forgive us our sins and our excesses! Set our feet firmly and give us victory against the disbelieving enemy!' And so God did give them the reward of this world and the fine reward of the hereafter; God does love those who do good. O you who believe, if you obey those who disbelieve, they will turn you back on your heels and you will go back having lost. But God is indeed your master and He is best of all helpers. We will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve for their having associated with God that for which He sent down no authority. Hell-fire shall be their abode. And terrible is the abode of the unjust!" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.143–50).

9. See above, Vol. II, pp.138 ref. "Azabb of al-ʿAqaba".

Abū Bakr, "the trusting", made an address at the first assembly he held following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in which he said, "O my people, regarding those who worshipped Muḥammad, Muḥammad has died. Regarding those who worshipped God, God is alive and shall not die!" He then recited this verse: "And Muḥammad is no more than a messenger." He said, "It was as though the people had never heard this before, and so all, without exception, recited it thereafter."

Al-Bayhaqī related in his *Dalā'il al-Nubūwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*), through Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from his father, who said, "At Uḥud, one of the *muhājirīn* passed by one of the *anṣār*, a man who was covered in his own blood, and asked him, 'Are you aware that Muḥammad has been killed?' The *anṣārī* responded, 'If Muḥammad (ṢAAS) has been killed, then he must have fulfilled his mission! So fight on for your religion!'

"And so the verse was revealed, 'And Muḥammad is no more than a messenger; messengers have passed away before him.'"

That *anṣārī* might well have been Anas b. al-Naḍr, may God be pleased with him; he was the uncle of Anas b. Mālik.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yazīd related to us, quoting Ḥamīd, from Anas, that his uncle was absent from the fighting at Badr and said, 'I was absent from the first battle fought by the Prophet (ṢAAS) against the polytheists; if God should have me witness a battle against the polytheists, I'll certainly show him what I can do!'

"When, at the battle of Uḥud, the Muslims gave way, he said, 'O God, I apologize to you for what these men have done' – meaning his fellow fighters – 'and I declare myself innocent of what these others' – meaning the polytheists – have done against You.' He then advanced and was met before Uḥud by Sa'd b. Mu'ādh. Sa'd told him, 'I am with you!' And Sa'd also said, 'But I could not do what he did.'

"Some 80 wounds were found on him, consisting of sword cuts, spear thrusts and arrow punctures."

He went on, "We used to say that it was about him and his Companions that the verse was revealed, 'and of them there are those who fulfilled their vow; and of them there are those who wait'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.23).

Al-Tirmidhī related this from 'Abd b. Ḥamīd; al-Nasā'ī related it from Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh; both gave Yazīd b. Hārūn as a link. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This tradition is *ḥasan*, 'good'."

I would comment that this *ḥadīth* conforms to the criteria of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from this source.

Imām Aḥmad stated that both Bahz and Hāshim related to him that Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra quoted Thābit as having said, "Anas (b. Mālik) stated, 'My uncle' – Hāshim gave his name as Anas b. al-Naḍr – 'was the one for whom I was named. He was not present at Badr. This fact troubled him, and so he said, "I was absent from the first battle fought by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); if

God allows me to participate with him later in another battle, then he will certainly see what it is I can do!"'"

He (Anas b. Mālik) went on, "He was too much in awe to say anything different. And he was present at Uḥud with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He met up with Saʿd b. Muʿādh, and Anas asked him, 'Abū ʿAmr, where to? How wonderful is the fragrance of paradise I sense before Uḥud!'"

He (Anas b. Mālik) continued, "He fought them until he was killed. Some 80 wounds were found on his body – sword cuts, spear thrusts and arrow punctures. His sister, my aunt al-Rabīʿ, daughter of al-Naḍr, said, 'I only recognized my brother by his fingertips.' And this verse was revealed, 'and of them are those who fulfilled their vow, and of them there are those who wait – and they have not changed at all'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.23).

He concluded, "They used to consider that this verse was revealed about him and his Companions."

Muslim related this from Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, from Bahz b. Asad. Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak. Al-Nasāʾī added to this. Abū Dāʾūd and Ḥammād b. Salama also gave it, and all four of these authorities quoted Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra as a source. Al-Tirmidhī stated the tradition to be *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Abū al-Aswad stated, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, "Ubayy b. Khalaf, a brother of Banū Jumūḥ, had made an oath in Mecca that he would certainly kill the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When news of the oath reached him, he said, 'No; I will kill him, if God wills it!'

"When it was time for the battle of Uḥud, Ubayy came forth armoured and helmeted, saying, 'I will not live on if Muḥammad does!' He attacked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) trying to kill him, but Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, a brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Dār, met him in defence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr was killed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) noticed that Ubayy's collarbone was visible between his helmet and his suit of chain-mail, and so he thrust him there with his spear. Ubayy fell from his horse, though no blood was coming from his wound.

"His companions came and carried him off; he was bellowing like a bull, but people told him, 'He's not harmed you; it's just a scratch.'

"He then told them of what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, namely that he would kill Ubayy. He then said, 'I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, if what afflicts me were to afflict all the people of Dhū al-Majāz, they'd all die of it!'

"And he did die and go to hell; and damned be all the denizens of hell-fire!"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related this tradition in his military chronicle, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, in similar terms.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his way up into the defile, Ubayy b. Khalaf caught up with him and said, 'I shall not live on if you do!'

"The Muslims asked, 'O Messenger of God, should one of our men go for him?' He replied, 'Just leave him alone.'

"When Ubayy came close, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took a spear from al-Ḥārith b. al-Summa. Some people said, as I have been told, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took it from him, he shook himself so hard that they flew off away from him like a hair from the back of a camel stung by a fly! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went towards Ubayy and thrust him in the neck, so that he swayed back and forth several times, then fell from his horse."

Al-Wāqidī recounted much the same from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, from his father.

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ibn ʿUmar used to say, "Ubayy b. Khalaf died in the Rābigh valley. I was once passing through the Rābigh valley late at night when all of a sudden flames flared up, scaring me greatly. And there was a man emerging from it, dragging a chain and with a raging thirst. Then another man said, 'Don't give him anything to drink! He was killed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); this man is Ubayy b. Khalaf.'"

This *ḥadīth* is fully authenticated in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, as stated above, through ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from Hammām, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "Great is God's wrath against a man whom the Messenger of God kills in God's cause."

Al-Bukhārī related this through Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAmr b. Dinār, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, with the wording, "Great is God's wrath against someone killed by the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in God's cause."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Walīd said, quoting Shuʿba, from Ibn al-Munkadir, who said, "I heard Jābir say, 'When my father was killed, I began to weep and to uncover the shroud from his face. The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped me, but he himself did not. Instead, he told me, 'Don't weep for him; the angels kept him shaded with their wings until he was raised up.'"

This tradition is related here in this form with a full chain of authorities. In the section (of his work) on funerals, he (al-Bukharī) gives its provenance as from Bindar, from Ghundar, from Shuʿba. Muslim and al-Nasā'ī related it from various paths, all quoting Shuʿba.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbdān related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Mubārak, from Shuʿba, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, from Ibrāhīm's father, to the effect that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf was brought food while he was fasting. He then said, "Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr was killed, yet he was better than me. A cloak was used as his shroud. If it was placed over his head, his feet were visible, while if his feet were covered his head was visible." He is also quoted as saying, "Ḥamza was killed, yet he was better than me, while we have been granted earthly favours." He is also quoted as saying, "Things have been given to us here on earth, and we fear that the favours have come prematurely for us." He then wept, till the food was cold.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aḥmad b. Yūnus related to him, quoting Zuhayr and al-Aʿmash, from Shaqīq, from Khabbāb b. al-Aratt, who said, "We went forth with the Prophet (ṢAAS), seeking to work in God's cause, and reward from God was our due. Some of us passed away or left without enjoying any part of their reward. Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr was one of these; he was killed at the battle of Uḥud, leaving nothing but a woollen cloak. When we covered his head with it, his feet emerged. When his feet were covered with it, his head emerged. And so the Prophet (ṢAAS) told us, 'Cover his head with it and place the *al-idhkār*, (an aromatic rush), over his feet. Some of us have their fruit already ripened; he is harvesting them.'"

The rest of the authorities on traditions – with the exception of Ibn Mājah – derive it through various paths from al-Aʿmash.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "When the battle of Uḥud arrived, the polytheists were being defeated. So Satan, God damn him, called out, 'Worshippers of God, look to your rear!' At this the forward lines turned around and began battling with their rear lines. Ḥudhayfa saw his father al-Yamān right there and so he shouted, 'Worshippers of God! My father!'"

ʿĀʾisha went on, "But, I swear by God they continued fighting until they had killed him. And Ḥudhayfa said, 'May God forgive them.'

"ʿUrwa commented, 'I swear that goodwill continued on in Ḥudhayfa until he joined Almighty and Glorious God.'"

I note that the reason this happened was that al-Yamān and Thābit b. Waqsh were back in the defences with the women because of their age and debility. The two men had said, "There's no more than a donkey's life-span left for our generation." And so they had dismounted to be there at the fighting and their course had taken them over towards the polytheists. Thābit was killed by the polytheists, while al-Yamān was killed by mistake by the Muslims. Ḥudhayfa gave up his claim against the Muslims to blood money for his father and blamed none of them because of the obvious excuse for it.

Division.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "And Qatāda b. al-Nuʿmān was struck in the eye that day, so that it fell out on to his cheek. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put it back in for him, using his hand; it was thereafter always the better and sharper of Qatāda's eyes."

There is a *ḥadīth* from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh that Qatāda b. al-Nuʿmān was struck in the eye at Uḥud, so that it slipped out on to his cheek. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put it back in its place and it was thereafter the better and sharper of his eyes. It did not become inflamed when his other eye was so inflicted.

Al-Dārquṭnī related, with a *ḥadīth* that was *gharīb*, "unilateral", from Mālik, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ṣaʿṣaʿa, from his father, from Abū Saʿīd, from his brother Qatāda b. al-Nuʿmān, who said, "Both my eyes were struck at Uḥud and they fell out on to my cheeks. I went with them to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he returned them both to their places. He spat into them and they regained sight."

The first version is the one generally accepted – that he was struck in the one eye. This is why, when his son presented himself to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and the latter asked him to identify himself, he replied, in verse:

> "I'm the one whose father's eye slipped out on to his cheek
> And it was replaced most effectively by the hand of the Chosen One.
> It became again as it had been at first.
> How fine an eye it became and how fine a cheek!"

Thereupon ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz responded with the line:

> "Those noble qualities were not two cups of milk mixed
> with water that would later change into urine!"

ʿUmar then welcomed him and rewarded him richly; may God be pleased with him!

Ibn Hishām stated, "ʿUmāra's mother, Nasība, daughter of Kaʿb al-Māziniyya, fought at Uḥud. Saʿīd b. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī recounted that Saʿd's mother, daughter of Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ, used to say, 'ʿUmāra's mother came in to me and I asked her, "Aunt, tell me your story." She replied, "Early in the day I went out to see what our people were doing, bearing a water-skin filled with water. At the time I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was among his Companions, everything was going in the Muslims' favour. When the Muslims were defeated, I stood near the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), engaging in the battle, defending him with my sword and shooting with my bow until I was ultimately wounded."'"

Umm Saʿd went on, "And on her shoulder I saw a deep scar, so I asked her, 'Who was it gave you this wound?' She replied, 'It was Ibn Qamī'a, God damn him! When our men deserted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he advanced, saying, "Direct me towards Muḥammad; I will not live on if he survives!" I blocked his way, along with Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr and others who stayed firm with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It was then that he gave me this wound; and I struck him many times back, but that enemy of God was wearing double armour.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Dujāna shielded the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with his own body. The arrows fell upon his back while Abū Dujāna leaned over him."

He continued, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shot from his bow until its curved frame broke. Qatāda b. al-Nuʿmān then took and kept it.

"Al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rāfiʿ related to me, he being a brother of Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār, as follows, 'Anas b. al-Naḍr, uncle of Anas b. Mālik, reached ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh along with some *muhājirīn* and *anṣār* who wanted to surrender. He asked them, "Why are you just sitting?" They replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has been killed." "And what will you do with your lives after he has gone?" Anas asked. "Get up and die for the same cause as he has!" He then advanced to the enemy and fought until he was killed. Anas b. Mālik was named after him.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl related to me, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'That day we found 70 wounds on Anas b. al-Naḍr. The only person to recognize him, from his fingertips, was his sister.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "It was related to me by a scholar that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf was injured in the mouth and lost some teeth; he had 20 or more wounds, including one in his foot, which made him lame."

DIVISION.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that according to what he was told by al-Zuhrī, it was Kaʿb b. Mālik who first reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after the defeat and the report of his death. Kaʿb said, "I saw his eyes gleaming from beneath his helmet. So I shouted at the top of my voice, 'Muslims! Rejoice! This is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' But he signalled me to be silent."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "When the Muslims recognized the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) they and he moved on together up into the defile; with him went Abū Bakr, 'the trusting', ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, al-Ḥārith b. al-Simma and a group of other Muslims. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had climbed up into the defile, Ubayy b. Khalaf caught up with him."

Ibn Isḥāq then proceeded to relate how the former killed the latter, in an account similar to that given above.

He then went on, "Ubayy b. Khalaf, so it was related to me by Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, used to tell the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he met him in Mecca, 'Hey, Muḥammad, I've a horse, al-ʿAwdh, that I feed every day with measures of corn. I'll be riding it when I kill you!'

"To this the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'No; it is I who will kill you, if God wills it.'

"When Ubayy was taken back to Quraysh having suffered a small injury in his neck, the blood having stopped flowing, he said, 'By God, Muḥammad has killed me!' They told him, 'You've lost your courage! You're not badly hurt.' He replied, 'But he told me in Mecca that he was going to kill me. And, I swear, he'd have killed me if he'd only spat on me!' And that enemy of God did die, at Sarif,[10] while they were transporting him to Mecca."

10. A place some six miles from Mecca.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on this:

'He inherited evil from his father, did Ubayy, the day the Messenger engaged him in combat.

You came at him, Ubayy, bearing a rotting bone, threatening him, unaware who he was;

Banū al-Najjār killed Umayya from among you as he called for aid, "*'Aqīl!*"

Abū Rabī'a's two sons died when they obeyed Abū Jahl, bereaving their mother.

Ḥārith escaped when we were diverted by our work in taking prisoners; capturing him was a trivial matter.'

"Ḥassān also composed:

'Who will be my messenger to Ubayy? You have been tossed into deepest hell.

You longed for evil from afar and swore oaths that you were all-powerful.

Your designs subverted you from afar, but stating disbelief results in delusion.

You were struck by a thrust from a man with divine protection, of noble lineage, no sinner he.

He has precedence over all others alive when disasters occur.'"

Ibn Isḥāq further stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached the start of the defile, 'Alī emerged and filled up his shield with water from the well al-Mihrās. He brought it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) so that he would drink from it. But the latter found it had an unpleasant odour and declined to drink it. But he did wash the blood from his face and poured it over his head, saying, 'Great is God's wrath against whoever bloodies the face of His prophet!'"

Sufficient authentic *aḥādīth* have been given above to testify to this quotation.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there in the defile, along with some of his Companions, a band of Quraysh warriors climbed on up the mountain."

Ibn Hishām added, "Khālid b. al-Walīd was among them."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then stated, 'O God, it is not fitting for them to be above us!'

"'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, along with a group of *muhājirīn*, fought on until they forced the enemy down from the mountain. The Prophet (ṢAAS) arose to climb upon a rock but, since he was heavy due to his age and the fact that he was wearing a double chain-mail, he could not. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh then bent beneath him and lifted him up upon it.

"Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from al-Zubayr, who said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say that day, "Ṭalḥa earned his place in heaven for what he did that day for the Messenger of God."'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "'Umar, the freed-man of 'Afra, related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained seated for the noon prayer the day of

the battle of Uḥud because of his wounds, while the Muslims remained seated behind him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me as follows, 'There was with us a man none of us knew who went by the name of Quzmān. Whenever he was mentioned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would say, "He will go to hell!"

"'At the battle of Uḥud he fought very fiercely, himself killing some seven or eight of the polytheists. He was a man of great courage. Eventually his wounds disabled him, and he was carried off to the Banū Ẓafar quarter.

"'Some of the Muslims told him, "You fought superbly, Quzmān, cheer up!" "Why should I?" he replied. "It was only for my people's account that I fought; otherwise, I would not have." When the pain from his wounds became extreme he took an arrow from his quiver and used it to kill himself.'"

A story similar to this is also given regarding the fighting at Khaybar, as will be told hereafter, if God wills it.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'We were present along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar, and there was one man claiming to be a Muslim of whom he said, "He'll go to hell."

"'When the fighting began, the man fought most bravely and he was wounded. Someone told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "The man you said was going to hell fought most bravely, but now he's dead." The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "He's gone to hell."

"'Some of our men were almost sceptical about this, and while they were in this state it was announced that he had not died, though he was gravely wounded. That night he could no longer stand the pain of his injuries and so he killed himself.

"'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) was told of this, he proclaimed, "*Allāhu Akbar*! God is Most Great! I testify that I am God's servant and His messenger!"

"'He then ordered Bilāl to call out among the Muslims, "Only a Muslim soul shall enter paradise! And God even aids this religion by using sinners!"'"

The compilers of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave this tradition from one of ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "At Uḥud, one of those killed was Mukhayrīq. He was of Banū Thaʿlaba b. al-Fiṭyawn. On the day of the battle of Uḥud he proclaimed, 'O Jews, you have learned, I swear by God, that it is your duty to help Muḥammad to victory.' They responded, 'But today is the sabbath.' 'You shall have no sabbath,' he insisted.

"He then took his sword and equipment saying, 'If I should fall, then my wealth goes to Muḥammad to do with as he wishes.'

"He then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and fought along with him until he was killed.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, so I have been told, 'Mukhayrīq is the very best of the Jews.'"

Al-Suhaylī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) converted Mukhayrīq's property, consisting of seven orchards, into a *waqf*, a charitable endowment, in Medina."

Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī stated, "This was Medina's very first *waqf*."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Umar b. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh related to me, from Abū Sufyān, the freed-man of Abū Aḥmad's son, from Abū Hurayra, that the last-mentioned used to say, 'Tell me which man it was who entered paradise without ever having performed the prayer?'

"If those there did not know who it was and asked him, he would reply, 'Uṣayrim of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, 'Amr b. Thābit b. Waqsh.'"

Al-Ḥusayn went on, "I asked Maḥmūd b. Asad, 'Tell me about al-Uṣayrim.' He replied, 'He used to deny Islam despite his own people's acceptance of it. But when the day for Uḥud arrived, he accepted Islam. He then took his sword and piled into the thick of the fray, fighting on until overcome by wounds. When some of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal were searching out those of them killed in the battle, they came upon him. They commented, "By God, this man is al-Uṣayrim; what brought him here? When we left him he was against this event." They asked him, "What brought you here, 'Amr? Was it your concern for your people, or a desire for Islam?"

"'"It was my desire for Islam,' he replied. 'I have come to believe in God and His messenger and I have accepted Islam. I took my sword and joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and fought until I was injured.'

"'Soon thereafter he died in their arms. When they told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, "He has gone to paradise."'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "My father related to me, from elders of Banū Salama, who said, 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ was a man who was exceedingly lame. He had four sons who fought battles like lions alongside the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When it came time for the battle of Uḥud, they wanted to restrain 'Amr, saying that God had excused him. So he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "My sons want to restrain me from going forth to battle with you. But, by God, I hope to set foot in paradise despite my lameness!"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "Regarding yourself, God has indeed excused you; it is not your duty to fight." Then he addressed the sons, saying, "It is your duty not to restrain him; God might well grant him martyrdom."

"'And so al-Jamūḥ did accompany him to battle and he was killed at Uḥud. May God be pleased with him.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "As Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān related to me, Hind, daughter of 'Utba, along with other women, mutilated the bodies of the dead Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), cutting off their ears and their noses. Hind would

make the noses and ears of the men into anklets, necklaces and pendants and then give them over to Waḥshī. She also cut open Ḥamza's liver and chewed it. But she couldn't swallow it and so she spat it out."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that it was Waḥshī who cut open Ḥamza's liver and then took it to Hind who chewed it but was unable to swallow it. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Hind then climbed upon a rock overlooking the place and, at the top of her voice, spoke the following verses,

'We've now repaid you for the battle of Badr and terrible is the warfare that follows war!

I could not stand the loss of ʿUtba, of my brother, of his uncle, and of my first-born son.

Now I have assuaged myself and fulfilled my vow; you, Waḥshī, have relieved my burning breast.

My thanks to Waḥshī will be due for all my life, until my bones rot in my grave.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "She was answered by Hind, daughter of Athātha b. ʿAbbād b. al-Muṭṭalib, who recited,

'You were dishonoured at Badr and after Badr too, you daughter of a worthless fellow extreme in his disbelief!

God brought against you in the early dawn tall, fit Hāshimite warriors

Each man wielding his sharp sword, Ḥamza, my lion, ʿAlī, my falcon.

When Shayb and your father sought to deceive me, they put sacrificial blood upon their chests;

Your oath was evil in the extreme.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Al-Ḥulays b. Zabbān, a brother of Banū al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Manāt, who was at that time commander of the Abyssinian levies, passed by Abū Sufyān while he was striking the jawbone of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib with the tip of his spear and saying, 'Taste this, traitor!'

"At this al-Ḥulays asked, 'Banū Kināna, tell me, can this really be, as you see, the Lord of Quraysh mutilating the flesh of his cousin?'

"The reply came, 'Confound you, keep quiet about this; it was done in error.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When wishing to depart, Abū Sufyān ascended the mountain and shouted at the top of his voice, 'A splendid achievement! Warfare goes in cycles. This day for that at Badr! Arise, Hubal!' By this he meant, 'Hubal, your religion triumphs.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ʿUmar, 'Get up, ʿUmar, and respond to him. Say, "God is far higher and more glorious! There is no equivalence: our dead are in paradise, yours in hell."'

"Abū Sufyān then said, 'Come on up to me, ʿUmar!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told ʿUmar, 'Go to him and see what he wants.'

"'Umar did so and Abū Sufyān told him, 'I adjure you by God, 'Umar, have we killed Muḥammad?' 'Umar replied, 'I swear by God, no; he is listening now to your words.' Abū Sufyān commented, 'I consider you more truthful and artless than Ibn Qami'a.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Then Abū Sufyān called out, 'Some mutilation was done to your men. I swear this neither pleased nor angered me; I neither ordered nor forbad it.'

"As Abū Sufyān moved off, he called out, 'We have an appointment with you next year, at Badr!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told one of his men to reply, 'Say: "Yes there is indeed an appointment we have with you."'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then despatched 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib saying, 'Follow after the enemy and see what they do and plan. If they lead their horses and ride their camels, then they will be heading for Mecca. If they ride the horses and lead the camels, they will be heading for Medina. By Him in whose hands is my soul, if they head for Medina, I'll fight them there and annihilate them!'

"'Alī said, 'So I followed them to see what they would do; they led their horses and rode their camels and headed for Mecca.'"

An Account of the prayers that the Prophet (ṢAAS) spoke after the battle of Uḥud.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Marwān b. Mu'āwiya al-Fazārī related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ayman al-Makkī, from Ibn Rifā'a al-Zurqī, from his father, who said, "When the polytheists withdrew after the battle of Uḥud, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Stand up, so that I may give praise to my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He.' The Muslims assembled behind him in ranks and he then said, 'O God, to You is due all praise. O God, there is no grasping what You have dispersed, nor dispersing what You grasp. There is no guiding aright those whom You have led astray, nor any leading astray of those You have guided. There is no giving of what You have prevented, nor any prevention of what You have given. There is no drawing close what You have distanced, nor any distancing what You have drawn close. O God, spread forth Your blessings, Your mercy, Your generosity and Your favours upon us.

"'O God, I ask of You those enduring blessings that never change nor cease. O God, I ask You for blessings at a time of deprivation, and security at a time of fear.

"'O God, I seek refuge with You against the evil of what You have given us, as well as from the evil from which You have saved us.

"'O God, have us view faith with favour, and endear it to us well. Have us view disbelief, immorality and disobedience with antipathy. Place us among those who are well-guided.

"'O God, take us to Yourself as Muslims and give us life as Muslims. Place us among the virtuous, not the shamed or the demented.

"'O God, do battle with those disbelievers who give the lie to Your messengers and who oppose them. Torment and punish them. O God, do battle against those disbelievers who were given the scripture, O God of the Truth!'"

Al-Nasā'ī related this in his work *al-Yawm wa al-Layla* (*Day and Night*) from Ziyād b. Ayyūb, from Marwān b. Mu'āwiya, from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ayman, from ʿUbayd b. Rifāʿa, from his father.

Chapter.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Muslims looked for their dead. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Ṣaʿṣaʿa al-Māzinī, a brother of Banū al-Najjār, related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Who will find out for me what became of Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ, whether he is alive or dead?' One of the *anṣār* said he would.

"He searched and found him wounded and barely alive amidst the dead. The *anṣārī* told him, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me to find out whether you are among the living or the dead.' Saʿd replied, 'I'm among the dead; inform the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of this: "Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ says to you: 'May God reward you on our account better than He ever rewarded any prophet on account of his nation.' And greet your people from me and tell them: 'Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ says to you, 'You will find no excuse with God if harm comes to your prophet while you still have one eye to blink!'"'

"Thereupon he died. I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and told him what had happened to him."

I would observe that the *anṣārī* who found Saʿd among the dead was Muḥammad b. Salama, according to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī. He related that he called out to him twice without him replying, but that when he said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered him to locate him, he responded to him in a very weak voice.

Sheikh Abū ʿUmar stated in his work *al-Istīʿāb*, "The man who located Saʿd was Ubayy b. Kaʿb." But God knows best.

Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ, God be pleased with him, was one of the leaders at the pledge of al-ʿAqaba. It was he whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established as the brother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set off, so I have been told, to locate Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He found him in the middle of the

valley, his liver having been cut from his mutilated body, from which his nose and ears had been removed.

"Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, when he saw the sight, 'If it were not for the sorrow it would cause Ṣafiyya and become a tradition after myself, I would leave him here to find his way into the stomachs of wild beasts and the crops of birds. And if God gives me victory over Quraysh anywhere else, I will have 30 of their men mutilated!'

"When the Muslims saw the sadness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his anger at those who had done this to his uncle, they determined to mutilate their enemy as no Arabs had ever done if God one day gave them victory over them."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Burayda b. Sufyān b. Farwa al-Aslamī related to me, from Muḥammad b. Kaʿb, and another reliable source related to me from Ibn ʿAbbās, that in that regard God revealed the verse, 'If you inflict punishment then do so in the like manner that you were punished; but if you are patient, it is indeed better for those who are patient' (*sūrat al-Nahl*; XVI, v.126).

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forgave, was patient and forbad mutilation."

I observe that this verse was revealed in Mecca. And the battle of Uḥud occurred three years after the Hijra. How, then, could this relate? But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl related to me, from al-Ḥasan, from Samura, who said, 'Whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a stop somewhere he would always before he left enjoin charity and forbid mutilation.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood over Ḥamza, he said, 'I shall never be afflicted as you have been; I have never experienced anything that has angered me more than this!' He then said, 'Gabriel came to me and told me that Ḥamza's name is written in the seven heavens in the words, "Ḥamza, the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib – lion of God and lion of His messenger."'"

Ibn Hishām also said, "Both Ḥamza and Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad were foster-brothers of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). All three were suckled by Thuwayba, the freed-woman of Abū Lahab."

An Account of the Prayers said for Ḥamza and the Dead at Uḥud.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that he was told by a reliable source, from Miqsam, that Ibn ʿAbbās said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that Ḥamza be covered with a cloak and he then prayed over him. He spoke the words, *Allāhu Akbar*, 'God is most Great', seven times. The other dead were then placed next to Ḥamza and he prayed over them and him together, so that a total of seventy-two prayers were spoken over him."

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb*, "unilateral", and its line of transmission is weak.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "None of the scholars at the major centres of learning support this tradition."

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, quoting ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib, from al-Shaʿbī, from Ibn Masʿūd, who said, "At Uḥud the women were following behind the Muslim fighters finishing off the polytheists who were wounded. If I had sworn an oath that day that I would have hoped to fulfil, it would have been that none of us desired this world. But this was before God sent down the verse, 'Some of you desired this world, while others of you desired the hereafter; then He turned you away from them, so that he might test you' (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.151).

"When the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) disobeyed the orders they had received, he was left with only nine men about him. Seven of these were *anṣār*, two were of Quraysh; with himself added, they totalled ten men. When the enemy set upon him, he said, 'May God have mercy upon any man who repels them from us!' He continued saying this until all seven had been killed. Then he said to his two Companions, 'Our comrades did not treat us fairly!'

"Then Abū Sufyān came and said, 'Arise, Hubal!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his men to respond, 'God is far higher and more glorious!'

"To this Abū Sufyān replied, 'We have (the goddess) al-ʿUzzā; you have no *ʿizzā*, "consolation"!'

"Abū Sufyān then called out, 'A battle for that of Badr. One for us, one against us. One gave us distress, one pleasure. Tit for tat. Man for man.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'There's no equivalence. Our dead live on and are rewarded; your dead are in hell being tortured.'

"Then Abū Sufyān said, 'There has been some mutilation engaged in by our people, though not the result of any decision by us. I neither ordered nor forbad it, liked nor disliked it. It neither annoyed nor pleased me.'

"When they searched, they found Ḥamza. His liver had been cut out and chewed by Hind, but she had been unable to swallow it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asked, 'Did she eat any of it?' 'No,' they told him. He commented, 'God would never have allowed any part of Ḥamza to enter hell-fire!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) positioned Ḥamza and one of the dead *anṣār* was brought and placed beside him. When he had prayed over them both, Ḥamza was left there, that *anṣārī* was lifted away and another was brought in his place. This was repeated so that he ultimately said 70 prayers over Ḥamza."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*. And there is some weakness in its chain of authorities, namely relating to ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib. But God knows best.

The account given by al-Bukhārī is more solid. He stated, "Qutayba related to us, quoting al-Layth, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, (who said) that Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh recounted to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would place one piece of clothing over each two of the men killed at Uḥud and then would ask, 'Which of these had a better knowledge of the

Qur'an?' He would then place the one indicated in the grave first, saying, 'I will testify for these at Judgement Day.' He ordered that they be buried in their blood; he did not pray over them, nor were they washed."

Al-Bukhārī alone gave this; Muslim did not. Other scholars relate it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth b. Sa'd.

Aḥmad stated, "Muḥammad – meaning Ibn Ja'far – related to us, quoting Ibn Ja'far, quoting Shu'ba, having heard 'Abd Rabbihi relate from al-Zuhrī, from Ibn Jābir, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said about those killed at Uḥud, 'Each wound, each drop of blood will exude musk at Judgement Day.' And that he did not pray over them."

It is well established that he did pray for them some years thereafter, shortly before his death. As al-Bukhārī stated, "Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm related to us, quoting Zakariyyā' b. 'Adī, and Ibn al-Mubārak recounted to us, from Ḥaywa, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Abū al-Khayr, from 'Uqba b. 'Āmir, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) delivered a prayer for those killed at Uḥud eight years thereafter, just as though he were saying farewell to the living or the dead. He then mounted the *minbar* and said, "I shall stand before you, having preceded you, and will be a witness for you. Your appointment is at the *al-ḥawḍ*, 'the celestial pool', and I look at it now from this position of mine. I do not fear for you that you will (later) become polytheists. What I do fear for you is the influence of this world, that you will compete with one another over it."'"

'Uqba concluded, "And that was the last time I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bukhārī also related this elsewhere, as did Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī, from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb in similar words.

Al-Umawī stated, "My father related to me, quoting al-Ḥasan b. 'Umāra, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, who said, "'Ā'isha said, 'We went forth from al-Saḥar, the place through which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had left for Uḥud, seeking news. When dawn arose, there was a man barring our way and reciting insistently:

> "Stay awhile. A load will bear witness to the battle."

"'We then saw him to be Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr. We stayed where we were after that and then saw a camel approaching, being ridden by a woman seated between two loads.

"'We approached her and found her to be the wife of 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ. We asked her for news and she replied, "God protected the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while some of the Muslims have been martyred." "God turned back those who disbelieved, in all their anger, and they did not achieve advantage. God sufficed for the believers in the fighting, and God is mighty and powerful" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.25).

"'She then told her camel to kneel, and she dismounted. We asked her about her loads, and she replied, "My brother and my husband."'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ṣafiyya, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had come forward to see him (Ḥamza), who was her full brother. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told her son al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, 'Go and meet her and take her back so that she does not see her brother's state.' Al-Zubayr told her, 'Mother, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) orders you to go back.' She replied, 'Why? I have been told how my brother has been mutilated; that was in God's cause. And that fact has comforted us. I will keep myself under control and remain calm, if God wills it.'

"When al-Zubayr went back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and reported this, he said, 'Let her through.' When she came, she looked at him (Ḥamza), said a prayer over him, asked forgiveness for him and spoke the words, 'To God we belong, and to Him do we return.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave orders that he be buried, and this was done. With him was buried his cousin ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, whose mother was Umayma, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He too had been mutilated, though his liver had not been cut out. May God be pleased with them both."

Al-Suhaylī stated, "He was later known as *al-mujaddaʿ*, 'he who was mutilated in God's cause'. And Saʿd related that he and ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh had said prayers, both of which had been answered. Saʿd had prayed that he meet a polytheist horseman whom he would kill and rob, and that came true. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh had prayed that a horseman would meet and kill him and cut off his nose in God's cause. And that came true."

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār related that his sword broke at Uḥud, and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave him the bough of a palm tree, which when in the hand of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh turned into a sword with which he fought. It was later sold in the estate of one of his sons for 200 dinars.

This is also what had happened earlier to ʿUkāsha at the battle of Badr.

It is also given in, as above, al-Bukhārī's *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to bury two or three men in one grave, and even in one shroud.

He permitted this because of the wounds the Muslims had that would have made it hard for them to dig a grave for each individual. And he would position first in the grave whichever dead Muslim had had a greater knowledge of the Qur'ān.

He would join in the same grave two men who had been close friends, as he did ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām, Jābir's father, along with ʿAmr b. al-Jumūḥ. This was because they were friends.

They were not washed, the wounds and blood being left untouched.

Ibn Isḥāq also related from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Thaʿlaba b. Ṣuʿayr, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said as he was leaving the dead at Uḥud, "I shall bear witness for these men; every man wounded in God's cause will be raised by God on Judgement Day, his wounds still bleeding. The colour shall be that of blood, the fragrance that of musk."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "My uncle, Mūsā b. Yasār, related to me that he heard Abū Hurayra say, 'Abū al-Qāsim (i.e. the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said, "Every man wounded in God's cause will be raised by God on Judgement Day while his wounds are still bleeding. The colour shall be that of blood, the fragrance that of musk."'"

This *ḥadīth* is also firmly given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from other lines of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Alī b. ʿĀṣim related to us, from ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said that those martyred at Uḥud should have all articles they wore of iron or leather removed from them. He said, "Bury them in their blood and clothing."'"

Abū Dāʾūd and Ibn Mājah related this from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim.

Imām Abū Dāʾūd stated, in his work *al-Sunan*, "Al-Qaʿnabī related to me that Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra related to them, from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Hishām b. ʿĀmir, who said, 'The *anṣār* went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Uḥud and told him, "We are suffering from wounds and exhaustion; what are your orders?" He replied, "Dig and extend, placing two or three in the one grave."

"'He was asked, 'Which dead man will be placed in it first?" (The reply was) "The one with the greater knowledge of the Qur'an."'"

He then related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī, from Ayyūb, from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Hishām b. ʿĀmir. His account adds a word, "Dig, deepen and extend."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Some Muslims had borne their dead to Medina and buried them there. But then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbad that practice, saying, 'Bury them where they were struck down.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Alī b. Isḥāq related to us, quoting ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAttāb, who quoted ʿAbd Allāh, who quoted ʿUmar b. Salama b. Abū Yazīd al-Madīnī, who quoted his father, as follows, 'I heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, "My father was martyred at Uḥud. My sisters sent to me for him a transport camel they owned with the message, 'Load your father on this camel and bury him in the cemetery of Banū Salama.'

"'"So I went for him, with some helpers, and news of this reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was seated there at Uḥud. He called for me and told me, 'By Him who bears my soul in His hands, he'll be buried only with his brothers!'

"'"And he was buried with his comrades at Uḥud."'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from al-Aswad b. Qays, from Nabīḥ, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, that when those who were killed at Uḥud were being carried away, the crier of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shouted out that the dead had to be returned to where they lay.

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī, while al-Tirmidhī gave it from one of Shuʿba. Al-Nasāʾī also gave it, as did Ibn Mājah, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. All of these were derived from al-Aswad b.

Qays, from Nabīḥ al-ʿAzī, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth from Medina to battle the polytheists, and my father ʿAbd Allāh told me, 'Jābir, there'll be no harm in you being among the lookouts of the people of Medina until you know how things fare with us. I swear, if it weren't for my having daughters who will survive me, I'd be happy for you to be killed right before me!'"

Jābir continued, "While I was there among the lookouts, my aunt arrived with my father and my uncle whom she had balanced on a baggage camel. She bore them into Medina to bury them in our cemeteries when a man arrived and called out, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) orders you to return with the dead and to bury them where they were killed.' So we did take them back and buried them where they had been killed.

"During the Caliphate of Muʾāwiyya b. Abū Sufyān, a man came to me and said, 'Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, some of Muʾāwiyya's workers have uncovered your father to sight, and part of him is outside the grave.' So I went and found him to be in a similar, unchanged state as when I buried him, except for what always happens to those killed."

The Imām then went on to relate how Jābir paid off his father's debt, as is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Al-Bayhaqī related through Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "When Muʾāwiyya made the canal where the dead of Uḥud were buried, it being by then 40 years later, we were asked to help. When we arrived there, we brought them out. A spade struck the foot of Ḥamza, and blood came forth."

In Ibn Isḥāq's account, Jābir stated, "We brought them out and it was as though they had been buried the previous day."

Al-Wāqidī related that when Muʾāwiyya was about to dig the canal, he had a crier announce, "Anyone who had a relative killed at Uḥud should be witness." Jābir said, "When we dug for them, I found my father in his grave lying as though asleep, unchanged. We also found that his companion in the grave, ʿAmr b. al-Jamūḥ, had his hand over a wound and when it was removed, the wound emitted blood!"

And it is said that the grave of each one of them, may God be pleased with them, gave forth a scent like that of musk. This was 46 years following the day of their burial.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal, quoting Ḥusayn al-Muʿallim, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Jābir, who said, "When Uḥud arrived, my father called out to me in the night, 'I see myself as definitely being one of the first of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to be killed. And there will be nothing dearer to me I will leave on earth than yourself, apart from the soul of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I have a debt I want you to redeem; and I charge you to take good care of your sisters.'

"When morning came, he was the first to die. I also buried another man in his grave with him. But later it disturbed me to have placed him along with another, so six months thereafter, I exhumed him. I found him to be in the same state as when I put him there, except for his ear."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, from Jābir, that when his father was killed, Jābir began tearing at his clothing and weeping. People told him not to do this, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Whether or not you weep for him, the angels went on shading him (with their wings) until you had lifted him up."

In one account it is his aunt who is the person who cried.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, and Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī, both related to us as follows, 'Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting Fayḍ b. Wathīq al-Baṣrī, quoting Abū Ubāda al-Anṣārī, from al-Zuhrī, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Jābir, 'Jābir, shall I tell you good news?' 'Yes indeed, do,' replied Jābir, 'may God give you much good news.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'Have you sensed that God gave life to your father and said, "O worshipper of Me, request anything of Me and I shall give it to you."' He responded, 'O Lord, I have truly worshipped you well; I request of You that you return me to the world so that I may battle alongside Your prophet and be killed in Your cause once more.' He (God) answered, 'It has been previously decreed by Me that there shall be no returning there.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abū al-Ma'ruf al-Asfarāyīnī related to us, quoting Abū Sahl Bishr b. Aḥmad, quoting Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr, quoting 'Alī b. al-Madīnī, quoting Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Kathīr b. Bashīr b. al-Fakīh al-Anṣārī, who said, 'I heard Ṭalḥa b. Khirāsh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khirāsh b. al-Simma al-Anṣārī al-Sulamī say, "I heard Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked at me and said, "Why do I see you looking depressed?" I replied, "Messenger of God, my father has been killed and he has left a debt and children." He commented, "Didn't I tell you. God only ever spoke to anyone before from behind a screen, whereas He spoke to your father face to face! He told him, 'O worshipper of Me, ask of Me and I will give it you.' He replied, 'I ask of you that you return me to the world so that I may be killed a second time.' God answered, 'I said previously, "They will not return there!"' He then asked, 'O Lord, then tell those I left behind.' And so God revealed, Do not consider those killed in God's cause to be dead, but alive. They will be well provided for by their Lord.'"'"'" (*sūrat Āl-'Imrān*; III, v.169).

Ibn Isḥāq quoted from a colleague of his who related to him, quoting from 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Uqayl, who stated, "I heard Jābir say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Shall I not give you good tidings, Jābir?" "Please do!" I replied. He then said, "God greeted your father right there at Uḥud where he was struck down. He then asked him, 'What is your wish, 'Abd

Allāh? What do you wish me to do with you?' He replied, 'O Lord, to return me to the world so that I may fight again for You and be killed once more.'"'"

Aḥmad related this from ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Rabīʿa al-Salamī, from Ibn ʿUqayl, from Jābir. His account adds, "God replied, 'I have decreed that they shall not return to it.'"

Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Isḥāq, who said, "'Āṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir, from ʿAbd Allāh, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, when he made a reference to those who fought at Uḥud, "O God, how I would have liked to have been left there with them at the *ḥiḍn*, 'the foot of the mountain'" – meaning at the *safḥ*, "the foot of the mountain".'"[11]

Aḥmad is alone in giving this tradition.

Al-Bayhaqī recounted, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Farwa, from Quṭn b. Wahb, from ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr, from Abū Hurayra, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Uḥud, he passed on his way by Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr who had been killed. He stood over him, said a prayer for him, then recited, "There are some Muslim men who indeed spoke true in the pact they made with God" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.23). And he stated, "I testify that these men will be seen as martyrs by God at Judgement Day. So come and visit them. And I swear by Him who has my soul in His hand, all who greet them up to Judgement Day will have their greeting returned."

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb*, "unilateral".

It is related as *mursal*, from ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr.

Al-Bayhaqī related from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. Yaʿqūb, from ʿAbbād b. Abū Ṣāliḥ, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to go to the graves of the martyrs. And when he came to the entry to the defile, he would say, 'Peace be upon you for what you bravely suffered and may the rewards of paradise be truly excellent!' Abū Bakr continued with this tradition after the Prophet (ṢAAS), as did ʿUmar after Abū Bakr and ʿUthmān after ʿUmar."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) would visit them every year. When he reached the hollow in the defile, he would say, 'Peace be upon you for what you bravely suffered and may the rewards of paradise be truly excellent.' Abū Bakr did the same every year thereafter, as later did ʿUmar and then ʿUthmān. Fāṭima would weep when she would go to them, and she would pray for them. And Saʿd would greet them, then go over to his companions and ask, 'Won't you greet some men who will respond to you?'"

Al-Wāqidī then related their visit in another *ḥadīth* from Abū Saʿīd, Abū Hurayra, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and Umm Salama, may God be pleased with them all.

11. Both words mean the same. It is unclear why the text explains the first word with a synonym; perhaps *al-ḥiḍn* was a rare word in the writer's dialect.

Ibn Abū Dunyā stated, "Ibrāhīm related to me, quoting al-Ḥakam b. Nāfiʿ, quoting ʿAṭṭāf b. Khālid, who said that his aunt related to me saying, 'I rode one day to the graves of the martyrs' – something she often did – 'and I stopped and prayed for a certain time near Ḥamza. There was no one there in the valley except for the youth standing holding the head of my mount. When I had finished, I made a farewell gesture indicating "Peace be upon you". Then I heard the greeting being returned to me, emanating from beneath the ground! I am as sure of this as I am that Almighty and Glorious God created me, and as I know night from day. Every hair on me stood on end!'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, from Ismāʿīl b. Umayya, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) told me, 'When your brothers were struck down at Uḥud, God placed their spirits in the crops of green birds that would go down to the rivers of paradise and feed off the fruits there. Then they would retire to golden candelabra hung in the shade of the throne. Enjoying their food, drink and lodgings so well, they asked, "Who can tell our brothers about us, that we are alive in paradise and being well provided for, so that they will not shirk the battle, not be reluctant in warfare?"

"'God, the Almighty and Glorious, replied, "I will inform them about you!" And so God sent down in the Book His statement, "Do not consider those killed in God's cause to be dead, but alive. They are being provided for by their Lord"'" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.169).

Muslim and al-Bayhaqī related from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Muʾāwiya, from al-Aʿmash, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Murra, from Masrūq, who said, "We asked ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd about this verse, 'Do not consider those killed' and he replied, 'Actually, we asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about that and he said, "Their souls are in the crops of green birds that fly wherever they want, then retire to candelabra hanging near the throne. Once when they were there your Lord looked over at them and said, 'Ask whatever you want.' They replied, 'What could we have to ask for, flying about anywhere in paradise as we do?' He repeated His question to them three times and when they realized that they would be asked again and again, they replied, 'We ask of You that You return our souls to our bodies on earth so that we may be killed in Your cause once more.' And when God saw that this was the only request they would make, they were left alone."'"

Section: On the number of the martyrs at Uḥud.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "The total of the *muhājirīn* and *anṣār* martyred at Uḥud was 49 men."

It is established in the authentic tradition given by al-Bukhārī from al-Barāʾ that 70 Muslims were killed. But God knows best.

Qatāda stated, from Anas, that 70 *anṣar* were killed at Uḥud, 70 at the battle of Biʾr Maʿūna and 70 at the battle of al-Yamāma.

Ḥammād b. Salama stated, from Thābit, who said that Anas used to say, "Approximately 70 were killed at Uḥud, Bi'r Maʿūna, Muʾta and al-Yamāma."

Mālik stated, on the authority of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Ansārī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, that at Uḥud and al-Yamāma 70 *anṣār* were killed and 70 again at the battle of Abū ʿUbayda bridge.

ʿIkrima, ʿUrwa, al-Zuhrī and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq all made similar statements about Uḥud and further testimony was given by the Almighty's words, "And when an affliction struck you, you having already afflicted them twice the like, you said, 'Whence comes this?'" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.164). This refers to their having killed 70 at Badr and captured 70 more.

Ibn Isḥāq reported that the anṣār who were killed at Uḥud – perhaps he meant Muslims – totalled 65; there were four *muhājirūn*: Ḥamza, ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr and Shammās b. ʿUthmān, while the remainder were *anṣār*.

He listed their names by tribe. Ibn Hishām added 5 more names to these, thus totalling, in his view, 70 men.

Ibn Isḥāq also listed the names of those polytheists who were killed, and they totalled 22 men.

According to ʿUrwa, there were 44 men martyred at Uḥud, though he also gave this number as 47.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated that 49 Muslims were killed at that battle, along with 16 polytheists.

ʿUrwa gave this figure as 19, while Ibn Isḥāq stated they numbered 22.

Al-Rabīʿ stated, from al-Shāfiʿī, "The only polytheist captured then was Abū ʿAzza al-Jumaḥī. He had been among the prisoners taken at Badr, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had released him without ransom on condition that he not fight against him again. When Abū ʿAzza was captured at Uḥud, he said, 'O Messenger of God, please release me for the sake of my daughters, and I promise you I won't fight you again.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I'll not have you stroking your beard in Mecca and saying, "I've tricked Muḥammad twice over!"' Then he gave orders and he was beheaded."

Some say that it was on that occasion that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "A believer doesn't get bitten twice from the same lair!"

Division.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left for Medina where, so I have been told, he was met by Ḥamna, daughter of Jaḥsh. When she was told of the loss of her brother, ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, she prayed for forgiveness for him and stated the creed, 'To God we belong and to Him we return.' Then she was told of the death of her uncle Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and she spoke similar prayers for him. Then she was informed of the death of her husband, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, and at this she screamed and wailed. The Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) having seen how stoically she had received the news of the deaths of her brother and her uncle and how she lamented for her husband, commented, 'A woman's husband has a very special place with her.'"

Ibn Mājah stated that Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā related to him, quoting Isḥāq b. Muḥammad al-Farwa, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, from his father, from Ḥamna, daughter of Jaḥsh, who said that when she was told of the death of her brother, she said, "May God have mercy on him! To God do we belong, and to Him do we return." When she was then told that her husband had been killed, she burst out, "O woe!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "A husband alone has control over part of his wife's feelings."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abū ʿAwn related to me, from Ismāʿīl, from Muḥammad, from Ṣaʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went past a woman of Banū Dinār whose husband, brother and father had been struck down while with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Uḥud. When their deaths were reported to her, she asked, "And how is it with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" They replied, "He is fine. He's just as you might wish." She then asked, "Show him to me; I want to see him." When he was pointed out to her, she commented, "Every loss after you had gone would be *jalal*, trivial."'"

Ibn Hishām noted, "*Al-jalal* is a word that can apply to minor or to major matters. Here it means 'minor'. Imruʾ al-Qays spoke the verse,

'Banū Asad's killing of their chief makes anything thereafter jalal.'

"Here the word *jalal* means trivial or few."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived home to his family, he handed his sword to his daughter Fāṭima and said, 'Wash the blood off this, my child. I swear by God, it was true to me today!'

"'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib then handed her his sword repeating, 'Wash the blood off it; I swear by God it was true to me today!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then commented, 'And if you stood true in the fighting, so too along with you did Sahl b. Ḥunayf and Abū Dujāna!'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated elsewhere, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw ʿAlī's sword tinged with blood, he said, 'If you fought well, then so did ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ, al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma and Sahl b. Ḥanīf.'"

Al-Bayhaqī recounted from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAmr b. Dinār, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib at the battle of Uḥud brought along his sword that had bent and told Fāṭima, "Be thankful when you take this sword, for it satisfied my thirst for revenge!"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), said, "If you did well in striking with your sword, so did Sahl b. Ḥanīf, Abū Dujāna, ʿĀṣim b. Thābit and al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma."

Ibn Hishām stated, "This sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was *Dhū al-Fiqār*. And a scholar told me, quoting Ibn Abū Najīḥ, 'A crier called out at the

battle of Uḥud, "There is no sword to match *Dhū al-Fiqār*."'[12] And a scholar told me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ʿAlī, 'The polytheists will not cause us similar losses again before God gives us victory over them.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by the home of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal and he heard weeping and wailing over their dead. The eyes of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) welled with tears and he then said, 'But Ḥamza has no women weeping for him!'

"When Saʿd b. Muʿādh and Usayd b. al-Ḥuḍayr returned to the home of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, they ordered their women to dress for outdoors and to go and weep for the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm b. ʿAbbād b. Ḥanīf related to me, from a man of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard their weeping over Ḥamza, he went out to them; they were at the door to the mosque, weeping. He told them, "Go home, God bless you all; you have been very kind."'

"And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbad public lamentation that day, according to Ibn Hishām. But this *ḥadīth* he gives is *munqaṭiʿ*, 'discontinuous' and *mursal*, 'incompletely transmitted'."

Imām Aḥmad gave the tradition a complete line of transmission, stating, "Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb related to us, quoting Usāma b. Zayd, and Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from Uḥud and the *anṣār* women began weeping over those of their husbands who had been killed, he said, 'But Ḥamza has no women weeping for him!'

"He then went to sleep and when he awoke, the women were weeping. He said, 'Today they are weeping and lamenting the loss of Ḥamza.'"

This tradition meets the criteria of Muslim.

Ibn Mājah recounted it, from Hārūn b. Saʿīd, from Ibn Wahb, from Usāma b. Zayd al-Laythī, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by some women of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal who were weeping over their dead at Uḥud. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "But Ḥamza has no women weeping over him."

So then some *anṣār* wives did go and weep for Ḥamza. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) awoke, he said, "Confound them! They'll not be upset when they leave! Let them return, and not wail for the dead from this day on!"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went off into the alleys of Medina, there was much lamentation in progress in the houses. He asked, 'What's all this?' He was told, 'These are *anṣār* women lamenting their dead.' He said, 'But there are no women lamenting for Ḥamza.' He then prayed for forgiveness for Ḥamza.

"Saʿd b. Muʿādh, Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, Muʿādh b. Jabal and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa heard this and walked to their homes, where they set about assembling all the

12. The editor of the Arabic printed text observes in a footnote, "Ibn Hishām stated: 'There is no sword to match *Dhū al-Fiqār*, and no warrior to match ʿAlī!'"

weeping and lamenting women there in Medina. The men told them, 'By God, don't weep for those slain from among the *anṣār* until you have mourned for the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He has mentioned how there are no women lamenting him in Medina.'

"They claim that the man who summoned the mourning women was 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard them, he asked, 'What's all this?' He was told what the *anṣār* had told their wives; he then prayed for them warmly and asked for them God's forgiveness, saying, 'But I didn't want this; I don't like wailing!' And he forbad it."

Ibn Lahī'a recounts it similarly, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "The hypocrites took advantage of the mourning of the Muslims to further sadden them and divide them from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The deceit of the Jews was evident and all Medina boiled with hypocrisy."

The Jews said, "If he were indeed a prophet, they would not have defeated him, and he would not have suffered such losses at their hand. But he's just ambitious to establish a domain under his own absolute control."

The hypocrites said similar things, telling the Muslims, "If you had provided properly for us, those who made you suffer would not have done so."

And so God sent down the Qur'ān concerning the obedience of those who were obedient and the hypocrisy of those who were that, and in consolation for the Muslims, for those of them who were killed, that is. God stated, "And (remember) when you went forth from your family to establish the believers in camps for battle – and God is All-Hearing and All-Knowing" (*sūrat Āl-'Imrān*; III, v.120). We have discussed this subject in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*); and to God belongs all praise and credit.

An Account of the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions, despite their bruises and their wounds, to intimidate and pursue Abū Sufyān and his men as far as Ḥamrā' al-Asad, a place some eight miles from Medina.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, following his account of the battle of Uḥud and of the return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Medina, "A man from Mecca came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the latter asked him about Abū Sufyān and his men. The man replied, 'I stayed with them and heard them arguing, some saying, "You have accomplished nothing. You damaged their leadership and their elite, but then you left them without finishing them off. They still have leaders left who will gather men against you."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders for his men – despite their grievous wounds – to move out in pursuit after the enemy in such a way that they would hear of this. He announced, 'Only those who were present at the

battle may go.' ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy asked, 'May I ride with you?' 'No,' he told him.

"And the Muslims did respond to God and to His messenger, despite their suffering, and set off.

"God stated in His Book, 'Regarding those who responded to God and to His messenger after all the injuries they had suffered, those of them who do good, and who are pious shall have a great reward' (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.171).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did give permission to Jābir (b. ʿAbd Allāh) to go forth when he related how his father had ordered him to stay in Medina to care for his sisters.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then pursued the enemy as far as Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad."

Ibn Lahīʿa related this similarly, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq related in his military chronicle, as follows, "The battle of Uḥud took place on Saturday in the middle of Shawwāl. On the morning of Sunday, the 16th of Shawwāl, the crier of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced to the people that they should leave in pursuit of the enemy. His crier also announced that only those who had been present at the previous day's battle should go forth. Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh spoke with him and he permitted him to join the force.

"The purpose of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in pursuing was to frighten the enemy. This was by making them aware that they were still powerful and that their losses had not so weakened them that they could no longer face their enemy.

"'Abd Allāh b. Khārija b. Zayd b. Thābit related to me, from Abū al-Sāʾib, the freed-man of ʿĀʾisha, daughter of ʿUthmān, that a man of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal said, 'I was present at Uḥud, along with a brother of mine. We came home wounded and when the crier of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced the pursuit of the enemy, I and my brother agreed that we should not lose the opportunity of participating in another expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) even though we did not (each) have a mount to ride and were badly wounded. So we left with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I was less badly wounded than my brother; when he became exhausted, I would let him ride for a while and then he would again walk for a while. Eventually we caught up with the other Muslims.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on as far as Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad, a place some eight miles from Medina. There he remained the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday and then he returned to Medina."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He left Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that Maʿbad b. Abū Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿī passed by them. The Khuzāʿa tribe, both those of them who were Muslims and those who were unbelievers, were secretly the allies of the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Tihāma and their understanding with him was that they would not conceal from him anything that happened there. Maʿbad at that time was a polytheist and he told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on his way past Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad, 'Muḥammad, we're deeply sorry at what happened to your men, and we would hope for God to protect you and them.'

"He then left, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was still there at Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad, and met up with Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and his men at al-Rawḥāʾ. They had decided to return to fight the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men. They had concluded, 'We have severely damaged the best of his Companions and their chieftains and nobles, so should we now go home before we uproot them completely? We should go back for the rest of them and be finished with them.'

"When Abū Sufyān saw Maʿbad, he asked him, 'How are things back up behind you, Maʿbad?' He replied, 'Muḥammad has come out with his men seeking you in a force the like of which I never saw before. They are truly enraged towards you. He has been joined by those who stayed behind when you did battle with him, and these men much regret what they did. The anger they have towards you is something the like of which I've never seen before.'

"'What are you suggesting, confound you?' Abū Sufyān demanded. He replied, 'I swear, I don't think you'll be able to leave before you catch sight of the forelocks of their cavalry.'

"'But we've decided to attack them to destroy the rest of them!'

"Maʿbad commented, 'I really do advise you against that. I swear, I was so affected by what I saw that I composed some verse on the subject.'

"'What did you compose?' Abū Sufyān asked.

"Maʿbad then recited,

> 'At the noise, my mount almost shied, the earth streaming with masses of fine horses.
>
> Racing on, their riders like noble lions, men not effeminate in the fray and not poorly armed.
>
> I ran on, thinking the earth itself moving, as they brought up a leader never to be forsaken.
>
> And I said, "Woe to Ibn Ḥarb when you meet and the plain shakes beneath the lines of men!"
>
> I warn the people of Mecca very plainly, addressing every wise and sane man they have,
>
> Of the army of Aḥmad, not some mixed rabble, and my warning should not be described as mere hearsay.'

"Abū Sufyān and his party were dissuaded from action by this.

"A party of men from ʿAbd Qays passed by, and he asked them where they were headed. When they told him to Medina, he asked why, and they replied that they were going there for supplies. Abū Sufyān asked them, 'Would you deliver a message I will give you for Muḥammad? If you will, I'll load up these camels of yours with raisins at Ukāẓ tomorrow.' They agreed and he then told

them, 'When you reach him, tell him that we have decided to come on after him and his Companions to wipe out the rest of them!'

"The men passed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad and told him what Abū Sufyān had said. To this he commented, 'God suffices for us; a fine protector is He!'"

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī gave the same tradition.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Aḥmad b. Yūnus related to us, saying, 'Abū Bakr related to us, from Abū Ḥusayn, from Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that this phrase *ḥasbunā Allāh wa niʿma al-wakil*, "God suffices for us; a fine protector is He" was spoken by Abraham when he was cast into the fire. Muḥammad (ṢAAS) spoke it when they told him, "The people have assembled for you; make them afraid." And he did inspire greater faith in them and they said, "God suffices for us; a fine protector is He."'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this account.

He also stated, "Muḥammad b. Salām related to us, quoting Abū Muʾāwiya, from Hishām, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, God bless her, who said to ʿUmra about the verse, 'Regarding those who responded to God and to His messenger after all the injuries they had suffered, those of them who do good and who are pious shall have a great reward' (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān;* III, v.171): 'Nephew, your fathers were among these, al-Zubayr and Abū Bakr, God be pleased with them. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) suffered his losses at Uḥud and the polytheists withdrew, he was concerned that they might return. And so he asked, "Who will pursue them?" Seventy of his men volunteered, including Abū Bakr and al-Zubayr.'"

This is the account given by al-Bukhārī. Muslim gave it in an abbreviated form through Hishām. Saʿīd b. Manṣūr and Abū Bakr al-Ḥumaydī jointly related this from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. Ibn Mājah also verified it through him, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa. Al-Ḥākim related it in his compendium through Abū Saʿīd from Hishām b. ʿUrwa; he related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Suddī, from ʿUrwa. He said that both scholars considered the tradition *ṣaḥiḥ*, authentic, but that these scholars had not narrated it.

This is what he stated. But the context of this is very strange. For it is well known by the scholars who have written on the military expeditions that all those who advanced with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad were those who had been present at Uḥud and that these totalled 700, as is told above, of whom 70 were killed, the remainder surviving.

Ibn Jarīr related, through al-ʿAwfī, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "God cast terror into the heart of Abū Sufyān after what had happened at Uḥud and he returned to Mecca. The battle of Uḥud took place in Shawwāl. The merchants would come to Medina in Dhū al-Qaʿda, staying once every year at Badr al-Ṣughrā. They arrived again after the battle of Uḥud. The Muslim warriors had suffered severe injuries and were complaining of these to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). However, he told his men to go forth and continue what they

had been doing. He told us, 'If you leave now, the month for the *ḥajj* will soon be upon us and they will not be able to do the same again until next year.'[13]

"Then the devil came to scare his deputies, saying, 'The enemy is all gathered against you.' His men refused to follow him and so he said, 'I am going forth, even if no one follows me.'

"Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Talḥa, al-Zubayr, Sa'd, 'Abd al-Raḥman b. 'Awf, Abū 'Ubayda, Ibn Mas'ūd and Ḥudhayfa left with him, accompanied by 70 men. They went in pursuit of Abū Sufyān as far as al-Ṣafrā'. And God revealed the verse, 'Regarding those who responded to God and to His messenger after all the injuries they had suffered, those of them who do good and who are pious shall have a great reward'" (*sūrat Āl-'Imrān*; III, v.171).

This account is also very strange.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Abū 'Ubayda related to us that when Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb withdrew after the battle of Uḥud, he wanted to return to Medina. But Safwān b. Umayya advised him, 'No, don't do that. The enemy is thoroughly enraged and we fear they might engage in battle differently from before. Return home.' And so they did.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was at Ḥamrā' al-Asad when he received news that they were about to go home, then said, 'By Him who holds my soul in His hand, rocks have been assigned them; if they had been greeted with them, they would have been history!'

"While out there and before his return to Medina, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) captured Mu'āwiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abū al-'Āṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's grandfather on his mother's side, she being 'Ā'isha, daughter of Mu'āwiya, along with Abū 'Azza al-Jumaḥī. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had captured this Mu'āwiya at Badr and then released him. Mu'āwiya asked him, 'O Messenger of God, forgive me!' But he replied, 'No, by God, you'll not stroke your beard in Mecca and say, "I've twice deceived Muḥammad!" Strike off his head, Zubayr!' And his head was severed."

Ibn Hishām also stated, "Ibn al-Musayyab was quoted to me as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'A believer doesn't get bitten twice from the same lair; strike off his head, 'Āṣim b. Thābit!' And his head was severed."

Ibn Hishām went on, "Mu'āwiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abū al-'Āṣ was given sanctuary by 'Uthmān provided that he remain only three days. Thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Zayd b. Ḥāritha and 'Ammār b. Yāsir to capture him, telling them, 'You'll find him in such and such a place; kill him!' And they did so, may God be pleased with them both."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It was related to me by al-Zuhrī that 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy had a particular spot (in the mosque) he would occupy each Friday; this position

13. The sanctity of the *ḥajj* season would deprive the Meccans of the opportunity of attacking the Muslims.

would not be disputed by anyone else, out of respect for him and his people, he being a chieftain. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took his seat to address the people on Friday, ʿAbd Allāh would arise and say, 'People, this is the Messenger of God before you. God has given you honour and glory through him. Give him aid and support and listen and obey.' He would then sit down.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men had returned to Medina, following the events at Uḥud, ʿAbd Allāh got up as usual but the Muslims grasped his clothing from all sides, saying, 'Sit down, you enemy of God! You're no longer worthy of that, having acted as you did!'

"He therefore left, stepping over the necks of the men there, saying, 'By God, it's as if I were committing some sin by arising to express my support for him!'

"At the door of the mosque he was met by some of the *anṣār*, who asked him, 'What's wrong with you?' He replied, 'I arose to express my support for him, but some of his Companions jumped on me and roughed me up. It's as if I were committing some sin by arising to express my support for him!' 'Go back inside', they told him, 'and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) will ask them to forgive you.' 'By God,' he replied, 'I don't want him to ask forgiveness for me!'"

Ibn Isḥāq then referred to what was revealed in the Qur'ān concerning the battle of Uḥud, in *sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*, beginning with the verse, "And (remember) when you went forth in the morning from your family to place the believers in positions for the fighting. And God is All-Hearing, All-Knowing."

He made reference to 60 verses and discussed these.

We have ourselves written at sufficient length on this in our work of exegesis.

He then proceeded to mention the martyrs of Uḥud, enumerating them and their names and those of their fathers, according to their tribes, as was his custom.

He referred to 4 of the *muhājirīn* – Ḥamza, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, Shammās b. ʿUthmān, God be pleased with them all. He named 65 *anṣār* who were killed. Ibn Hishām added 5 other names to these; thus in his view the *anṣār* killed totalled 70 men.

Ibn Isḥāq then named those of the polytheists who were killed; these totalled 22 men whom he arranged by their tribes.

I observe that none of the polytheists were captured except for Abū ʿAzza al-Jumaḥī, as al-Shāfiʿī and others report. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had him killed right before him; he ordered al-Zubayr to execute him. It is also said that this was done by ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aflaḥ. The man's head was cut off.

Chapter: The verses exchanged between the believers and the unbelievers concerning the battle of Uḥud.

We record here the poems of the unbelievers merely in order to give the responses to them made in the Islamic poetry, emphasizing the aesthetic and intellectual impact of the latter and exposing the idiocy of the former, that rabble!

Imām Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, may God be pleased with him, stated, "Among the poems spoken at Uḥud was the following by Ḥubayra b. Abū Wahb al-Makhzūmī, a follower of the religion of his people, the Quraysh,

'Why do I suffer this painful love-sickness that afflicts me for Hind when warriors are on the move?

Hind now blames and reproaches me at a time when warfare diverts me from her,

Easy now, do not reproach me; my character is thus, as you have learned, and I have never concealed.

I give aid to Banū Kaʿb as they require; I bear weights and burdens I suffer from.

I bore my sword upon a tall, long-paced steed, smooth its gait, keeping up with the rest when it runs,

As it races it is like an onager in the wild which, though pursued, stays by the female asses, protecting.

From the line of Aʿwaj he is, and the crowd loves him; he is like the healthy, full branch of a very tall tree.

I readied him along with a fine, select blade and a spear for whatever dangers I might meet.

And also chain-mail, rippling like running water, finely wrought and closely fitting, no faults apparent.

We led Kināna forth from the ends of Yemen across the lands, herding them along.

Kināna asked, "Where are you taking us?" We replied, "To al-Nukhayl."[14] And so they headed for it, and for those there.

We were the knights of the battle on the slope of Uḥud; Maʿadd were afraid, so we said we would go to them.

They feared the blows and thrusts, accurate and damaging, that they had seen when their advance forces were engaged.

Then we arrived like a hailstorm, and up went the bird-spirit of Banū al-Najjār, mourning them,

And their heads in the battle were like ostrich eggs, shattered and scattered.

Or a colocynth plant, its stem dried out, being buffeted by fierce winds.

We expend our funds generously and without accounting and thrust at the knights, in their eyes, from all sides.

Many is the night a man warms himself at a carcass he has slaughtered, but reserved for the wealthy he invited.

And many the frosty and rainless, freezing night of Jumādā I've travelled through,

So bitter cold that dogs would bark only once, and snakes not move.

On such nights I've lit for the needy a big fire, bright as lightning, illuminating all around.

ʿAmr and his father before him bequeathed me this practice, one he would often repeat.

Such men rivalled the stars in brightness, their achievements no less than the greatest of deeds.'"

14. A well near Medina.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit, God be pleased with him, responded with the following verses."

However, Ibn Hishām said that these were also attributed to Kaʿb b. Mālik and others. In my view the attribution Ibn Isḥāq makes to Ḥassān is more widely and frequently accepted. But God knows best.

"It was your foolishness that made you blindly lead Kināna against the Messenger, for God's forces would humble them.

You brought them down to pools of death that morning, for being killed and hell-fire await them.

You gathered up Abyssinian slaves, devoid of ancestry, you chiefs of disbelief, deceived by your tyrants.

Did you not remember God's horsemen when they killed those at the well, and those they threw therein?

How many were the captives we freed without cost and how many a forelock we cropped of those we mastered!"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Kaʿb b. Mālik also spoke the following verses in response to Ḥubayra b. Abū Wahb al-Makhzūmī,

'Has, then, Ghassān heard about us, even though between us and them there is desert land difficult to traverse?

Wastelands and mountains, their dark forms from the distance looking like barren dust columns, widely scattered,

Where young, hardy camels weaken and the annual heavy rain clouds pass over when they come,

Where the bones of the carcasses of exhausted beasts appear stretched out like the linens of traders.

There the wild cows and the antelopes walk in file and ostrich eggs have their shells scattered far.

Our fighters defending our faith are all fine warriors, the crests of their helmets glinting.

Every chain-mail in storage when put on seems like a full-running stream.

But at Badr ask any man you meet and any news of people far away may be useful.

There we were in the land of fear and had others than us been there, they would have left by night, in flight.

When one of our out-riders came he would say, "Prepare for what Ibn Ḥarb is gathering and preparing."

No matter how others would react at what affects us, we would have remained more calm than them.

If others than us had faced such a host, they would have given up and dispersed.

We battled them and no tribe could have withstood us without becoming terrified and taking flight.

When they went to live at al-ʿIrḍ,[15] our chief said, "If we do not protect *al-ʿIrḍ*, the seed, why sow it?

15. A place on the outskirts of Medina. The use of the word *ʿird* again in the same verse, meaning "seed", is, of course, a deliberate pun.

We have a messenger among us whose instruction we obey; when he orders us we do not delay.

The spirit comes down upon him from his Lord, made to descend from the heavens and then to arise again.

We seek his advice on what we want, and our goal is to listen and obey all his wishes."

The messenger said, when they came in our sight, "Give up fear of death and seek it instead;

Be like those who sell their lives by coming close to a King who gives life and restores it.

Take up your swords and put your trust in God; all power rests with God."

We headed straight for them on their mounts, our swords held above us and not afraid,

Our squadron bearing swords and lances, the feet of our mounts not wavering once planted.

We plunged on as into the waves of the sea, amidst which were their Abyssinians, some bearing armour, others not.

They were 3,000 strong, we some 300 or at most 400 choice warriors

When we plunged into them death flowed all around us; we raced towards death's pool and we came first.

Lote-wood bows shot to and fro between us, all with fine strings from Yathrib,

The arrows all made from the holy city of Ṣāʿid, and treated with poison when crafted

That pierced men's bodies and sometimes glanced off their armour, making a noise.

The cavalry on the plain were numerous as locusts on a cool night, brought by an east wind.

Then we clashed and fighting was fierce betweeen us; and there is no denying God's command.

We struck at them until we left their leaders in the hollow lying like felled trees.

That morning and on till refreshed by evening, our energy was like the heat of a fire, consuming all.

They retreated in suffering, as though they were cloud remnants that had shed their water, blown away by the wind.

We advanced, our rearguard following slowly; we were like lions striking out at their game at Bīsha.

We caused casualties, as did the enemy to us; it was we who acted, but God's role was greater.

We fought hard and they fought too, all getting their fill of evil.

We are a people who do not consider that to kill is blameworthy for those who protect and defend their charges.

Stoic in adversity, we never find ourselves to weep over someone killed.

We are warriors who never retract what we said, and we never despair at whatever warfare brings.

We are warriors who, if victorious, never commit atrocities, and we never complain at our injuries.

We are like a flame from whose heat others seek protection while those near it and exposed are scorched.

You claim superiority over me, Ibn al-Zibaʿrā, yet a party went forth in pursuit of you late at night.

And so on the heights of Maʿadd and elsewhere ask yourself about which of all men is the least esteemed,

And who it was the warfare left with nothing to boast of, and whose face was most shamed in the battle.

We attacked you fiercely, with God's help and support, the heads of our spears well directed.

Our lances caused wounds among you like the orifices of waterskins, gushing water.

We headed for the standard-bearers and those who speed to defend the banner are those swiftest in receiving praise.

Yet your men were traitors and gave up in desertion; and God refutes any order but it is He who is most effective.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zibaʿrā spoke the following verses about the battle of Uḥud, he still being a polytheist at that time,

'O rook of ill-omen, since you foretell, then speak; you only announce what is already done.

Both good and evil have their course and both of these have witnesses to them.

For them gifts are valueless and the graves of rich and poor are all alike.

All life, all pleasure, fades and fate's handmaidens toy with us all.

Convey to Ḥassān a message from me, for composing poetry alleviates those in pain.

How many were the skulls you saw at the mountain's foot, how many the severed feet and arms.

How plentiful the fine armour removed from warriors slaughtered in the fray.

How many the noble lord we killed, men of fine lineage, on both sides, leaders and heroes,

Men truly brave, lords of distinction, not cowards when the sharp points struck.

Ask al-Mihrās, the well at Uḥud, what skulls and brains inhabit it, like partridges.

How I wish that my elders at Badr had witnessed the terror of the al-Khazraj when the points struck home,

When warfare scratched its chest at Qubā and killing boiled among the ʿAbd al-Ashhal.

They sped away rapidly then, like young ostriches climbing up the mountain.

Of their nobles we killed twice as many, and we reversed the trend at Badr, and it was equalized.

I am not blaming ourselves, except that if we had done it again we would have harmed them badly

With our Indian swords rising above their heads, drinking deep again and again.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Ḥassān b. Thābit, God be pleased with him, responded as follows,

'Ibn al-Zibaʿrā got carried away by a battle in which we had the advantage; if only he had been fair!

We damaged you and you us; warfare sometimes goes in cycles like that.

We put our swords to your shoulders and there we drank your blood time and again.

We made your backsides flow, as happens to old camels eating *ʿaṣal*[16] for medicine!

You took to your heels in flight in the defile, following along like sheep.

Then we attacked you fiercely, forcing you down to the foot of the mountain;

Our groups of warriors were like *ashdāq*[17] in the desert wastes, terrifying whomever came across them.

The defile pressed in upon us and we crossed through it and filled its heights and low places alike,

With men whose equal you are not and who were aided by Gabriel who came down.

It was our piety that won the day at Badr, our obedience to God and our belief in the prophets.

We killed every one of their chieftains and all their nobles in flowing robes.

At the battle of Badr we left shame upon Quraysh and exemplary tales to be told.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in truth was witness to the battle of Badr, while the short, corpulent men

Of Quraysh assembled there were like unattended camels gathering in a pasture.

It is we, not people like you born to your mothers' arses, who face up to the fray when warfare comes!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Kaʿb recited the following verses honouring Ḥamza and those Muslims, may God be pleased with them all, killed with him at Uḥud,

'You wept. And was it another who made you do so, when it was you who cried when remembering?

Your memory was of a people about whom stories have reached me in this tortuous time.

To think of them your heart throbs in longing and tear-filled sadness.

But those they killed are in pleasant gardens, honoured therein both when they enter or leave

For what they endured beneath the flag, the flag of the prophet at Dhū al-Aḍwuj[18]

That day when all of Aws and Khazraj gave answer with their swords.

Along with Aḥmad's men following the truth, its path so well illuminated.

They kept on striking the warriors as they traversed through the swirling dust.

So it was until the King summoned them to a garden whose entrance was shielded by much foliage.

All of them died heroically, in God's faith, and received no punishment,

Like Ḥamza when he held true, wielding a sharp sword, cutting deep.

16. A word with various connotations, i.e. honey, date juice, flowers, gum from trees etc.

17. The word *shidq*, pl. *ashdāq* means according to the dictionaries, the sides or ends of valleys. It also has a connotation of the sides of the mouth and of being large-mouthed, or talkative and eloquent. Its precise meaning here is unclear.

18. A site near Uḥud.

The slave of Banū Nawfal confronted him, snorting like a black camel,
And ran him through with a spear, fast as a flame blazing up in a fire.
Nuʿmān fulfilled his promise, and Hanzalla, the good, did not turn away
From the truth until his spirit passed on to a place splendid with jewels.
Those were men, not those of yours lying in the furthest depths of hell.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses in mourning for Ḥamza and the Muslims struck down at the battle of Uḥud. It is in the same rhyme as the poem of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt eulogizing the polytheists killed at the battle of Badr."

Ibn Hishām stated, "There are some scholars expert in the poetry who deny that this poem should be attributed to Ḥassān. But God knows best."

(Ḥassān b. Thābit recited),

"O Mayy, arise and lament loudly as the mourning women do,
Like hags bearing heavy burdens, complaining, overladen,
Wailing, and scratching at the faces of other women,
Their flowing tears reminding one of pillars stained with the blood of sacrifice,
Tearing at their hair and letting its ends appear,
Looking like the tails of restive horses being tossed in the morning,
Looking like scraps of meat cut up and left to be blown dry in the wind.
They cry in sadness, mourning women overwhelmed by tragedy,
Their hearts wounded, emitting pus from beneath scabs,
Now that fate has struck down those we relied upon when we feared
The warriors at Uḥud injured, and destroyed by fate,
Our knights and protectors when warriors are sent forth.
O Ḥamza, I will not, I swear, ever forget you as long as time goes on.
You were the refuge of orphans, strangers and modest-eyed widows,
Protecting against that fate that brings successive, searing wars.
O knight and champion, O Ḥamza, you were our gallant defender
Protecting us from terrible, calamitous blows of hate.
I thought of you as the lion of the Prophet, who is himself our champion, our protector,
He who has always been considered when our noble and generous lords are counted.
Towering above all nobles in fame, a man of generosity and pre-eminence,
Not an irresponsible or fearful or weak man who complains at bearing burdens.
A liberal man who would never withhold any generosity or kindness from his neighbours.
Fine young men have perished, men of great esteem,
Men who would provide food in winter when the cattle were dispersed,
Camel meat with chunks and slices of fat on top of it,
Defending their neighbours for so long as those hating them attack.
I grieve for the young men of whom we are deprived, men like shining lamps,
Proud men, lords, nobles, men of generosity and breeding,
Men who purchased praise with their wealth, for praise brings dividends,
Men who jumped to their bridles if there cried out for them

Someone beset by the misfortunes of an evil time,
His mounts moving steadily along on the flat land,
Competing with one another, he being in one group whose chests poured with sweat,
Moving on until success came, but not from the luck of a winning arrow of chance.
O Ḥamza, you have rendered me lonely, like a branch severed by someone pruning it.
I express my pain to you, now that earth and stones are piled above you,
And a flagstone placed on top of you by the gravedigger, completing his work,
On an open plain, covering the grave with earth and smoothing it well.
Our consolation is for us to say, though our speaking it is very hard, that whoever has been spared life's misfortunes
Should come to us for his eyes to weep for our noble dead
Who acted as they spoke, men of generosity and good deeds,
Men whose hands were always stretched forth in liberality."

Ibn Hishām commented, "Most scholars of poetry refute attribution of this poem to Ḥassān."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Ka'b b. Mālik spoke the following verses eulogizing Ḥamza and his fellow warriors,

'Struck by anxiety, you lay sleepless, worried that joyful youth had been stripped from you,
While a Ḍamrī girl invited your heart to loving; but your passion is of Ghawr, and your wakefulness of Najd.
Abandon excessive pursuit of passion; you were always blamed for acting that way.
It is now time for you to refrain, obediently, and to pay heed when counsel warns.
You were devastated by the loss of Ḥamza, your stomach in confusion.
If Mt. Ḥirā' itself suffered such a shock its peaks would collapse.
A chief he was, formed from Hāshim's stock wherein lie prophethood, nobility and leadership,
Leaders who would slaughter big-humped camels when the wind almost froze the water,
Men who would leave their brave foes prostrate on the battlefield, their lances broken in two.
This was a man who strutted in his armour as though he were a huge, brown, big-pawed lion.
He was the uncle and the confidant of the Prophet, Muḥammad, and he went most gloriously to his death.
He went with distinction to his fate, one of a family who aided the Prophet, and of whom some sought martyrdom.
Hind was told the good tidings of this, to alleviate the burning pain inside her,
When we met her folk that morning on the sandhill, that day her happiness fled.
(And we talked) of the well at Badr, when Gabriel and Muḥammad, beneath our flag, repelled the enemy,
So that the Prophet saw their hosts as two parts whom we could either kill or drive away at will,

Left prostrate at the site, they were 70 in number, ʿUtba and al-Aswad among them.

And Ibn al-Mughīra too whom we struck above his neck-artery, making it flow and foam.

And it was a sharp sword in the hands of the believers that set Umayya al-Jumaḥī straight.

The polytheist rabble came to you, chased by the cavalry, like ostriches in retreat.

What a difference there is in those for ever in hell and those who dwell in paradise in eternity!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on to say that Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa spoke the following verses in mourning for Ḥamza and his fellow warriors killed at the battle of Uḥud. Ibn Hishām, however, stated that Abū Zayd recited them to him as having been composed by Kaʿb b. Mālik. But God knows best.

"My eyes wept, and they had a right to do so; but weeping and wailing will do no good.

For the lion of God, that day they asked, 'Could that man slain be Ḥamza?'

Through his death all the Muslims were injured there, the Messenger as well.

O Ḥamza, Yaʿlā's father, the very foundations were destroyed; you were the epitome of glory, piety and kindness.

May God's peace be upon you in paradise, in pleasure that will never end!

O Hāshim, of all men the best, be steadfast; and all your deeds were good and generous.

The Messenger of God is noble and patient; it is at God's command he enunciates when he speaks.

Who will inform Luʾayy for me, for after today, the world will be utterly changed.

And before this day they have known and tasted deeds of ours by which the thirst for vengeance was satisfied.

You have all forgotten our blows at the pool of Badr, that day when sudden death struck you.

That day when Abū Jahl fell prostrate, the vultures circled and hovered above him,

And ʿUtba and his son also fell, and Shayba was bitten by the burnished sword.

There we left Umayya stretched out, a slim spear between his ribs.

Ask the heads of Banū Rabīʿa; our swords have notches because of them.

O Hind,[19] weep and tire not of it; for you are passionate, shedding tears as though bereaved of a son.

And You, Hind, show no joy at Ḥamza's death; your exultation is despicable.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Ṣafiyya daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib spoke the following verses, mourning her brother Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. She was the mother

19. This Hind is presumably Hind daughter of Uthātha b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who had eulogized Ḥamza (see above p.52), while the Hind of the next line would be the daughter of ʿUtba b. Rabiʿa, the wife of Abū Sufyān, who had sworn to eat Ḥamza's liver when the latter had killed her father ʿUtba at Badr. The two women spoke verses against one another after the battle of Uḥud.

of al-Zubayr and was the aunt of the Prophet (ṢAAS); may God be pleased with them all.

'Are you, sisters of mine, asking, in fear, those present at Uḥud, the ignorant and knowledgeable alike?

The knowledgeable replied, "Ḥamza is dead! The adviser, the very best adviser of the Messenger of God!

The God of truth and the throne has summoned him to paradise, where he will live in joy."

That was what we had hoped for; we anticipate for Ḥamza the best of fortunes on assembly day.

By God, I'll not forget you so long as the winds blow; I will mourn and be sad whether I am at home or away.

For God's lion who was a defender who protected Islam from all who disbelieved.

How I wish my limbs and bones had been there then, for the hyenas and vultures to attack me!

I say, my family having made louder their lament, "May God reward well this brother, this champion!"'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Nu'mān, wife of Shammās b. 'Uthmān, spoke the following verses in mourning for her husband; but God, to whom all praise and credit are due, knows best.

'Eyes, weep copiously and without stop for a noble, brave warrior,

A man of firm conviction and fine disposition, a standard-bearer and a horseman.

When his death was announced, I cried in pain, "Gone is the man of generosity! Gone is he who fed and clothed!"

And I said, when his usual places were empty of him, "May God not distance from us our nearness to Shammās!"'

"Her brother al-Ḥakam b. Sa'īd b. Yarbū' responded as follows in consoling her,

'Guard your modesty, in seclusion and dignity; Shammās was just one of our men.

Do not kill yourself because his death has come, in obedience of God, and on a day of violence and terror.

Now Ḥamza was God's lion; so bear up, for he tasted from Shammās's cup that day.'

"Hind, daughter of 'Utba, the wife of Abū Sufyān, recited, upon their return from Uḥud,

'I have returned home with my mind in much confusion, some of those I was after having escaped me,

Those of Quraysh at Badr, and others, including some of Banū Hāshim and of the people of Yathrib.

However, I did gain one thing, even if it was not all as I had hoped in my journey.'"

Ibn Isḥāq gives many more such poems. We have left out the others because of our concern not to be long-winded and boring; those poems we have given suffice. And to God be all praise.

Al-Umawī gave in his military chronicles even more poems than Ibn Isḥāq; this was his usual practice, though even more evident here.

Among the verses quoted from Ḥassān b. Thābit were the following delivered about the battle of Uḥud,

> "It was the devil they obeyed, when he let them down and their disgrace and failure was fully evident,
>
> When they shouted in unison with Abū Sufyān, 'Rise up, Hubal!'
>
> We all answered back, 'Our Lord, the All-Merciful, is greater and more splendid!'
>
> Be sure, you used this cry once at the 'pool of death' (at Badr), death being a place to drink.
>
> You should know that when thoughts of death must be slaked, we are cooking pots on the boil.'"

It seems that these verses may well be part of Ḥassān's response to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zibaʿrā; but God knows best.

This brings to an end commentary on the battle of Uḥud.

Division.

There has been recounted above those events, raids and expeditions that occurred in 3 AH. The best-known of these was the battle of Uḥud, that occurred in the middle of Shawwāl of that year, as we have detailed above. And to God be all praise.

At Uḥud, there died as a martyr Abū Yaʿlā, also known as Abū ʿAmāra, Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was known as 'God's lion' and 'His messenger's lion'. He was the foster-brother of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as also was Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad. All were suckled by Thuwayba, the freed-woman of Abū Lahab, this fact being established in a reliable *ḥadīth* account.

He would, moreover, have been more than 50 when he was killed. He was a brave, heroic man and a major early trusting follower; at that battle others totalling 70 were killed along with him. May God be pleased with them all!

That same year ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān married Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), following the death of her sister Ruqayya. His betrothal to her took place in Rabīʿ al-Awwal of that year, and the marriage was consummated in Jumādā al-Ākhira, as has been told above. Al-Wāqidī related this.

Ibn Jarīr also said of that year: "Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib was born to Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." He added that the same year she conceived al-Ḥusayn; may God be pleased with them all!

In the name of God, the Most Merciful
and Compassionate; O Lord, facilitate!

THE YEAR 4 AH.

In Muḥarram of that year Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad made his foray against Ṭulayḥa al-Asadī, and he went on as far as the place known as Qaṭan.

Al-Wāqidī quoted ʿUmar b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd al-Yarbūʿ, from Salama b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Abū Salama and others, as having said, "Abū Salama was present at Uḥud, where he was seriously wounded in the upper arm. He rested for a month recuperating and then, in Muḥarram, at the beginning of 35 months after the Hijra, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned him and told him, 'I want you to go forth into Banū Asad territory and to attack them.'" He charged him to behave with piety and to treat the Muslims with him well.

One hundred and fifty men accompanied him on this expedition.

He went out to near Qaṭan, which is a well belonging to Banū Asad, where Ṭulayḥa al-Asadī and his brother Salama, both sons of Khuwaylid, were also present. He had assembled his allies from Banū Asad with the intention of making war against the Prophet (ṢAAS). But one of their men had come to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him of what they were planning against him. He had therefore dispatched Abū Salama on this expedition.

When they (the Muslims) reached their territory, they dispersed, leaving large quantities of camels and goats as booty for them. Abū Salama took all this into his possession, along with three of their slaves he had taken prisoner, and set out to return to Medina. He then awarded a substantial portion of the booty to that man of Banū Asad who had given them information. Having extracted the portion due to the Prophet (ṢAAS), a slave and one-fifth of the booty, he divided up the rest among his companions. Then he entered Medina."

ʿUmar b. ʿUthmān stated that ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUbayd related to him, from ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Saʿīd b. Yarbūʿ, from ʿUmar b. Abū Salama, who said, "It was Abū Usāma al-Jushamī who injured my father. He spent a month recovering and when he had done so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him, in Muḥarram of that year, 4 AH that is, to Qaṭan. He was away for some ten days and when he returned to Medina his wound got the better of him and he died, three days prior to the end of Jumādā al-Uwlā."

ʿUmar then added, "My mother then observed the *ʿidda*[20] period of four months and ten days. Thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted marriage with her and this he consummated a few days prior to the end of Shawwāl. My mother used to say, 'There's nothing wrong with contracting and consummating a marriage in Shawwāl; it was then that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) both contracted and consummated marriage with me.'"

20. The period of waiting prescribed in Islamic law during which a woman may not remarry following the death of her husband.

He stated that Umm Salama died in Dhū al-Qaʿda, 59 AH.

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

I observe that we will report in regard to the latter part of this year, 4 AH, that it was in Shawwāl that the Prophet (ṢAAS) arranged his marriage with Umm Salama. (I will also comment) on whether the son negotiates on his mother's behalf in marriage, and I will note the views of scholars in that regard. If God Almighty wills it so, and in Him is all confidence.

THE EXPEDITION TO AL-RAJĪʿ.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "In Ṣafar – of the year 4 AH – the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent men to the Meccans to receive safe passage from them."

He added, "Al-Rajīʿ is positioned some eight miles from ʿAsfān."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Hishām b. Yūsuf, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAmr b. Abū Sufyān al-Thaqafī, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent out a reconnaissance expedition, having appointed ʿĀṣim b. Thābit as their leader; he was the grandfather of ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

"They travelled out to a point between ʿAsfān and Mecca and there news of them reached a tribe of Banū Hudhayl known as Banū Liḥyān. The latter proceeded to pursue them, their force consisting of some 100 archers. They followed their tracks to a camp site where they had made a halt and there they found kernels of the dates with which the Muslims had provisioned themselves in Medina. The Banū Liḥyān men recognized these as being from Medina, followed on after them and eventually caught up with them.

"When ʿĀṣim and his companions could go no further, they took refuge on an outcrop of rock where they were surrounded by Banū Liḥyān. The latter told them, 'If you come on down, we give you our pledge and promise not to kill any one of you.' ʿĀṣim replied, 'For myself, I'll not place myself under the security of a non-believer. O God, inform Your prophet about us!'

"The Banū Liḥyān men then attacked and killed ʿĀṣim and seven of his men with arrows. Khubayb, Zayd and one other man remained alive. When Banū Liḥyān repeated their pledge and promise, Khubayb and the others came down. When they had them in their power, their enemy untied some bow strings with which they bound their prisoners. The third Muslim remonstrated, 'So now the treachery begins!' He then refused to accompany them. His captors dragged him along, trying to force him to accompany them, but when he resisted, they killed him.

"They then set off with Khubayb and Zayd and sold them in Mecca. The tribe of al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. Nawfal bought Khubayb; it had been Khubayb who had killed al-Ḥārith at the battle of Badr. He remained with them for some time as their prisoner until they decided to kill him. Khubayb then asked one of

al-Ḥārith's daughters if he could borrow a razor with which to shave his pubic hair and she loaned him one.

"She later said, 'My attention then left a baby of mine who crawled over to Khubayb, who lifted it up on to his lap. When I saw the baby there I was terrified and Khubayb, holding the razor, saw this and asked, 'Are you scared I might kill him? I would hope to God I'd never do any such thing!'

"She used to comment, 'I never saw a better prisoner than Khubayb. I once saw him, bound in irons, eating a large bunch of grapes at a time when there were no such fruit in Mecca; the grapes were nothing but bounty that God bestowed on him.'

"His captors ultimately took him outside the sanctuary to kill him. He asked, 'Allow me to make two *rakʿāt* in prayer.' Having done so, he went over to them and said, 'Except for the fact that you would have thought me scared of dying, I would have prayed longer.' He was the first to institute the practice of making two *rakʿāt* before execution. Khubayb then said, 'O God, count them one by one, and give them violent death!'

"He also spoke the following verses,

> 'Being killed as a Muslim, I care not how my death comes, since it is in God's cause.
> For that is God's prerogative; and if He wishes He will give His blessings to severed limbs.'

"Thereupon ʿUqba b. al-Ḥārith went up and killed him. Quraysh later sent for a part of ʿĀṣim's body that they would recognize; ʿĀṣim had killed one of their leaders at Badr. But God sent down a cloud of wasps; these protected his body from the Quraysh emissaries who could not gain access to him."

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Sufyān, from ʿAmr, who heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, "It was Abū Sarwaʿa who killed Khubayb."

I comment that the man's name was ʿUqba b. al-Ḥāriṯh He accepted Islam thereafter and there is a *ḥadīth* attributed to him concerning the foster relationship. It is said that Abū Sarwaʿa and ʿUqba were brothers. But God knows best.

This is the account of the expedition to al-Rajīʿ as given by al-Bukhārī in the section of military campaigns in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* collection. He also related this in his section on *al-tawḥīd*, and on *al-jihād*, through various lines from al-Zuhrī, ʿAmr b. Abū Sufyān, Asad b. Ḥāritha al-Thaqafī, ally of Banū Zuhra. Some authorities give the above name as ʿUmar b. Abū Sufyān, though it is widely accepted to be ʿAmr.

In one account of al-Bukhārī he states, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) despatched ten men on a reconnaisance expedition, appointing ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ as their leader."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, Mūsā b. ʿUqba and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, however, offer somewhat contradictory accounts. We will give herewith the wording of Ibn Isḥāq to show the difference and discrepancy. Ibn Isḥāq is, however, the unchallenged leading authority in this, for as al-Shāfiʿī, may God be pleased with him, put it, "Whoever wishes to research the early military engagements is reliant upon Muḥammad b. Isḥāq."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to him, "A group of men from ʿAḍal and from al-Qāra approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after the battle of Uḥud and asked, 'O Messenger of God, Islam has already reached us. Could you now send a group of your Companions to give us instruction in the religion, in how to recite the Qurʾān, and in the laws of Islam?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), therefore did send with them a group of six of his Companions. These were Marthad b. Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī, an ally of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib – Ibn Isḥāq relates that he was their leader – Khālid b. al-Bukayr al-Laythī, ally of Banū ʿAdī, ʿAṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ, brother of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, Khubayb b. ʿAdī, brother of Banū Jaḥjabī b. Kulfa b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, Zayd b. al-Dathina, brother of Banū Bayāḍa b. ʿĀmir, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāriq, ally of Banū Ẓafar. May God be pleased with them all."

Ibn Isḥāq, therefore, is stating that they were six in number; Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated the same, and named them as Ibn Isḥāq had done.

Al-Bukhārī, however, states that they were ten in number and, according to him, it was ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aflaḥ who was their leader. God knows best.

Ibn Isḥaq went on, "These men went forth as far as al-Rajīʿ, a well belonging to Hudhayl in the Ḥijaz, above al-Hadʾa.[21] There (other persons) betrayed them and aroused Hudhayl against them. The party were there in camp when men bearing swords suddenly descended upon them. They therefore took up their own swords to do battle. Their attackers, however, told them, 'We swear by God we don't want to kill you; we just want to get some money for you from the Meccans. We pledge and promise by God that we will not kill you.'

"Marthad, Khālid b. al-Bukayr and ʿĀṣim b. Thābit, however, replied, 'By God, we'll never accept any pledge or oath made by a polytheist.' ʿĀṣim b. Thābit then recited – and God knows best and to Him is all praise and reliance –

> 'What weakness do I have, a brave archer with a bow that has a tough string?
> Long, thick arrows can wing from it; and death is truth, life false.
> All that God determines comes about for man and man to Him returns.
> If I do not battle you, then may my mother be bereaved!'

"ʿĀṣim also recited,

> 'I am Abū Sulaymān, and I have arrows made by al-Muqʿad[22] and weapons like hell's fire.

21. A location between ʿAsfān and Mecca, some seven miles from ʿAsfān.
22. The name of a well-known Meccan arrow-maker.

When fighters throng, I'm not afraid; I have my shield of smooth bull's leather.
And I'm a believer in Muḥammad's mission.'

"He also said,

'I'm Abū Sulaymān, an archer, and my people are of noble stock.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He then fought until he was killed, as were also two of his companions.

"When ʿĀṣim was killed, Hudhayl wanted to take his head and sell it to Sulāfa, daughter of Saʿd b. Suhayl. She had sworn after he had killed her two sons at Uḥud that if she got possession of ʿĀṣim's head, she would drink wine from his skull.

"But when wasps prevented their getting access to it, they said, 'Let's leave him till nightfall; then they will leave and we will take it.' And so God sent (a flood) into the *wādī* which bore ʿĀṣim away. He had made a pledge to God that no polytheist would ever touch him, or he one of them, because they might sully him.

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to say, when someone said that the wasps had protected him, 'God does protect believers.'

"ʿĀṣim had sworn that no polytheist would ever touch him or he one of them during his life; and God protected him after his death just as he had defended God while living!"[23]

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "However, Khubayb, Zayd b. al-Dathina and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāriq were weak and pliant and protective of their lives and so gave themselves up. The enemy took them prisoner and then took them into Mecca to sell them there.

"When they were in al-Ẓahrān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāriq extracted his hand from his bonds and drew his sword. The enemy, however, kept their distance from him and pelted him with stones until they had killed him. His grave is there at al-Ẓahrān.

"Khubayb b. ʿAdī and Zayd b. al-Dathina were brought on into Mecca where they were bought by Quraysh in exchange for two prisoners of Hudhayl who were in Mecca.

"Ḥujayr b. Abū Ihāb al-Tamīmī, an ally of Banū Nawfal, bought Khubayb on behalf of ʿUqba b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. Nawfal to kill him for his father; Abū Ihāb was the brother of al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir by the same mother.

"Zayd b. al-Dathina was bought by Safwān b. Umayya to kill him in revenge for his own father. Safwān despatched him to al-Tanʿīm in the company of a freed-man of his named Nisṭās who took him outside the sanctuary to kill him. A group of Quraysh gathered among whom was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. Abū Sufyān asked him, as he was being brought forth for execution, 'I implore you, by God, Zayd; wouldn't you like it to be Muḥammad here in your place with us now for us to strike off his head, and for you to be with your own people?'

23. The line could be translated alternatively: "... just as God had protected him while he was alive".

"He replied, 'By God, I would not like Muḥammad, wherever he now is, to be harmed by even a single thorn and for me to be sitting among my people.'

"Abū Sufyān used to say, 'I never saw anyone so love anyone else as Muḥammad's Companions loved Muḥammad.'

"Nisṭās then killed him.

"Regarding Khubayb b. ʿAdī. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to me that it was related to him from Māwiyya, the freed-woman of Ḥujayr b. Abū Ihāb, who had accepted Islam, who said, 'Khubayb was kept prisoner in my home. One day I looked at him and saw that he was eating from his hand a bunch of grapes as large as a man's head – and that at a time when I don't know of any grapes being eaten anywhere on God's earth!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to me that she also said, 'When the time for his execution came, he said, "Send for a steel blade with which I can clean myself off for the execution."' She went on, 'So I gave a razor to a young man from the tribe and told him, "Take this to the man in the house." But no sooner had the youth left with it than I began asking myself what I had done. The man will take his revenge by killing this youth, making it one man for another, I thought. But when the youth handed Khubayb the blade, the latter commented, "Wasn't your mother afraid of my treachery when she sent you to me with this blade?" He then allowed the youth to leave.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is said that the youth was her own son."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to quote ʿĀṣim as saying, "They then took Khubayb out to al-Tanʿīm to crucify him.

"He spoke to them as follows, 'I'd appreciate you letting me alone to make two *rakʿāt* in prayer.' They agreed and he did so very well. Then he went over to those present and said, 'I swear, if I had not been concerned that you would think I had taken a long time out of fear of dying, I would have prayed more!'

"It was Khubayb who was the first to begin the practice by Muslims of making two prayer prostrations before execution.

"They then raised him up to the scaffold and when they had bound him there he said, 'O God, we have announced your messenger's mission, so inform him tomorrow of what is being done to us.' He then said, 'O God, count them and kill them violently; let none of them escape.' They then killed him.

"Muʾāwiya b. Abū Sufyān used to say, 'I was there along with others in the company of Abū Sufyān and had him throw me to the ground in fear of Khubayb's curse. People used to say, "A man who has an oath spoken against him can escape it by falling on his side."'"

In the *maghāzī*, military chronicle, collection of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, it states, "Khubayb and Zayd b. al-Dathina were killed on the same day and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard of it that very day. He then said, 'May peace be upon you both' – or 'upon you', singular. 'Quraysh have killed Khubayb!'"

It is said that when they crucified Zayd b. al-Dathina, they cast arrows at him to subvert him away from his religion, but this only increased his faith and his acceptance of his fate.

ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that when they raised Khubayb on to the wooden frame, those present called out to him, "Would you not prefer Muḥammad to be in your place?"

He replied, "No, by God Almighty, I'd not have him ransom me by having a thorn pierce his foot!' But they laughed at him. This is reported by Ibn Isḥāq in his account relating to Zayd b. al-Dathina. But God knows best.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "They claim that it was ʿAmr b. Umayya who buried Khubayb."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father ʿAbbād, from ʿUqba b. al-Ḥārith, who said, 'I heard him say, "I swear by God, it was not I who killed Khubayb; I was too young for that. It was Abū Maysara, brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Dār, who took the spear and placed it in my hand. He then grasped my hand and the spear and pierced him with it until he had killed him."'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "One of our associates told me, 'ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb appointed Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥidhyām al-Juḥamī over part of Syria. He would suffer from fainting spells when he was with people and this was reported to ʿUmar. It was said that the man had some affliction. ʿUmar asked him on a visit he made to him, "Saʿīd, what is it that ails you?" He replied, "By God, Commander of the Faithful, there's nothing the matter with me; it's just that I was among those present when Khubayb b. ʿAdī was killed. And I heard his curse. And whenever I'm meeting people and recall this, I feel faint." ʿUmar thought all the better of him thereafter.'"

Al-Umawī stated, "My father quoted Ibn Isḥāq as having said, 'We have been told that ʿUmar said, "Anyone who wants to see a man who is unique should look at Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir."'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "Khubayb remained in their captivity until the sacred months had expired and then they killed him."

Al-Bayhaqī related, from Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl, as follows, "Jaʿfar b. ʿAmr b. Umayya related to me, from his father, from his grandfather ʿAmr b. Umayya, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him forth alone to get information. He said, 'I made my way to the wooden frame where Khubayb was and climbed up, fearing I might be seen. I released him and he fell to the ground. I then drew away a little, then turned but could not see anything there; it was as if the earth had swallowed him. And not a trace of Khubayb has appeared up to this time.'"

Ibn Isḥāq then quoted Muḥammad b. Abū Muḥammad, from Saʿīd or ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When the men were killed at al-Rajīʿ, some hypocrites said, 'How sad for those misguided people who died that way. They neither stayed with their families, nor did they carry out their master's mission.'"

It was about them that God revealed the words, "There may be a person whose words about this life may please you, while he invokes God to witness what is in his heart. Yet he may be the most vehement of enemies" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.204).

And God revealed concerning those who went on this expedition, "There are those who sell themselves seeking God's favour, and God is compassionate to His servants" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.207).

Ibn Isḥāq stated that the following verses were spoken about this expedition by Khubayb when people gathered to kill him. Ibn Hishām observed that some authorities deny that he was their author:

"The parties gathered around me, assembled their tribes and collected all the groups together;

All of them showed enmity towards me and antagonism, because I was in bonds, tightly held.

They had gathered their women and children and I was taken to a tall, stout tree-trunk;

I complain to God at my isolation and my torment and at the death the enemy planned for me.

O Lord of the Throne, give me patience to withstand what it is they intend; they have slashed my flesh and my hope despairs.

This is happening in God's cause, and if He wishes He will bless torn-off limbs.

They offered me the choice between disbelief and death, and my eyes were wet from something other than fear.

I have no fear of death – and am already dead; but what I dread is the consuming fire of hell.

By God, if I die a Muslim, I care not in what way my death in God's cause may occur.

I shall not express subservience to the enemy, nor any fear, for it is to God I am returning."

Two of these verses are given also[24] in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī. These are the lines,

"I do not care, when I die as a Muslim, in what manner my death in God's cause may occur.

This is happening in God's cause; and if He wishes, He will bless torn-off limbs."

Ibn Isḥāq quotes Ḥassān b. Thābit as having spoken the following elegy for Khubayb:

"What is wrong with your eyes, ceaselessly letting fall their teardrops on to your breast like pearls,

Over Khubayb, a hero of the brave, no coward when you challenge him and not frivolous, as is well known.

24. With slight variations in some wording and the transposition of one line.

Go forth, Khubayb, and may God reward you well, in eternal paradise with *ḥouris*[25] for companions.

What will you respond when the Prophet asks you, while pure angels are there on the horizon,

Why it was you killed God's martyr for a tyrant who committed crimes throughout the land?"

Ibn Hishām commented that he had left out certain verses containing obscenities.

Ḥassān also, according to Ibn Isḥāq, recited the following verses attacking those of Banū Liḥyān who had betrayed those who went to al-Rajī'. But God alone, in Whom is all trust, confidence and protection, knows best.

"If pure, unadulterated treachery delights you, then go to al-Rajī' and ask where Liḥyān live;

They are a people who advise one another to eat the neighbours who come among them, dogs, monkeys and men being all alike!

If a billy-goat could talk and arose one day to address them, they would consider him someone of honour and importance!"

Ḥassān b. Thābit also said, satirizing Hudhayl and Banū Liḥyān for their treachery towards those who had gone to al-Rajī', may God be pleased with them all:

"By my life, the stories told of Khubayb and 'Āṣim have disgraced Hudhayl b. Mudrik,

Tales told of Liḥyān have brought them ignominy,

For Liḥyān have committed the most evil of crimes.

Their men, those from the very best of their tribe, those like the very hairs behind the fetlock of a horse's front legs.

They betrayed at al-Rajī' and surrendered their charges, men of decency and fine qualities.

They betrayed the apostle's messenger; Hudhayl gave no protection against horrendous crimes.

They will one day see victory go against them for killing one protected against evil actions,

By swarms of wasps guarding his flesh, protecting the flesh of one who witnessed mighty battles.

Hudhayl may well see the bodies of those killed laid out or at funerals.

We will engage them in fierce battles that riders will relate to fairgoers.

At the orders of the Messenger of God; His messenger has made his decision against Liḥyān, forcefully and with knowledge.

A despicable tribe that cares nothing for fidelity and does not repel the tyrant's hand when wronged.

When (some) people live in the open desert, them you find at the very rivers, amidst the streams.

25. In Islam, the handmaidens of paradise whose company is a reward for exemplary behaviour on earth.

Their abode is that of death; their response when harmed is like that of dumb beasts."

Ḥassān, may God be pleased with him, also spoke the following in praise of the men at al-Rajīʿ, naming them in his verses. Ibn Isḥāq, God be pleased with him, recorded the following:

"May God bless those who went forth together at al-Rajīʿ and who were honoured and rewarded.

The party's leader and commander was Marthad, and Ibn al-Bukayr was their Imām, along with Khubayb.

And there was a son of Ṭāriq and Ibn Dathina was of them; it was there he met his pre-determined fate.

And there was al-ʿĀṣim, slain at al-Rajīʿ, who reached the very heights (of heaven); how much he gained!

He prevented the panderers from striking his back by fighting fiercely; he was splendid."

Ibn Hishām commented that most authorities deny that these are verses of Ḥassān.

THE EXPEDITION OF ʿAMR B. UMAYYA AL-ḌAMRĪ, FOLLOWING THE EXECUTION OF KHUBAYB.

Al-Wāqidī stated, Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar related to me, from his father, and (as did) ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū ʿUbayda, from Jaʿfar b. al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī, and (as did) ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abū ʿAwf, some of these giving longer accounts than others. They stated, "Abū Sufyān had asked a number of Quraysh men in Mecca, 'Won't someone assassinate Muḥammad? He goes walking in the markets. We would then have our revenge.' A bedouin came to him, went inside his house and told him, 'If you will hire me, I'll go out and assassinate him. I'm a skilled tracker and I have a dagger that is (concealed) like the under-wing feathers of an eagle.' 'Then you're our man!' he replied, and gave him a camel and expense money. He told him, 'Keep this secret; I don't want anyone to hear of this and report it to Muḥammad.' The bedouin assured him that no one would know of it.

"He then left by night on his mount, travelling on for five days, arriving in the quarter on the morning of the sixth. He then went about enquiring after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); when he reached the place for prayer someone told him, 'He has gone off to see Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal.'

"The bedouin then left, leading his mount. When he arrived where Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal were, he hobbled his camel and went to seek the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He found him amidst a group of his Companions, addressing them in his mosque. When the bedouin entered and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw

him, he told his men, 'This man intends some treachery, but God will foil his plan.' The bedouin stood there and asked, 'Which one of you is 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's son?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I'm 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's son.' The bedouin approached and leaned down over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as though confiding a secret to him. But Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr pulled him away, saying, 'Keep away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!' Usayd then felt down in his loin cloth and there found the dagger. He then announced, 'Messenger of God, this man is a traitor!'

"The bedouin stood there aghast and said, 'Take my blood! Take my blood, Muḥammad!'

"Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr seized him and was about to slit his throat when the Prophet (ṢAAS), said, 'Tell me the truth about yourself and why you have come. And if you tell the truth your honesty will serve you well; but if you lie to me, I'll proceed as I intended.'

"'Then I'll be free?' the bedouin asked.

"'Yes, you'll be free,' he replied.

"The bedouin then told him about Abū Sufyān and what he told him to do, and he was then given over to the charge of Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr. Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned him and told him, 'I will either set you free to go wherever you want, or would you prefer something better than that?' 'What would that be?' the bedouin asked. 'That you give testimony that there is no god but God, and that I am God's messenger.'

"The bedouin then said, 'I do testify that there is no god but God and that you are the Messenger of God. I swear by God, Muḥammad, that I was never afraid of any man. But as soon as I saw you all my strength left me. Then you perceived what I had intended, though no rider had reached you before myself with any information and no one had any information. So I realized that you were inviolate, that you were truth and that the party of Abū Sufyān was that of the devil.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) began to smile at this. He (the bedouin) remained there for some days then asked permission of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to leave and, having done so, nothing more was heard of him.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī and to Salama b. Aslam b. Ḥārīs, 'Go to Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and if you should catch him unawares, then kill him.'

"'Amr related, 'I and my companion then left, travelling on until we reached the Ya'jij valley. We tied up our mounts and my companion asked me, "'Amr, would you like for us to go on into Mecca and circumambulate the *ka'ba* seven times and make two *rak'as* in prayer?" I replied, "I'm better informed about the people of Mecca than you are and after dark they dampen down their courtyards and sit down there. I know Mecca better than a piebald mare!" But he disagreed with me and so we went on into Mecca. We made seven circumambulations and did make two *rak'as*. When I went outside (the sanctuary) I was met by

Muʾāwiya b. Abū Sufyān, who recognized me. "It's ʿAmr b. Umayya! What a pity," he said. He then drew the attention of the Meccans to us, who said, "'ʿAmr has not come here for anything good!' – ʿAmr had been renowned before Islam as an assassin.

"The Meccans then gathered men together and ʿAmr and Salama left, being pursued, and all hurried up into the mountains.

"'ʿAmr went on, 'I entered a cave and hid from them till next morning. They had spent the night searching for us, but God blinded their sight from finding their way to the road to Medina. The morning of the next day, ʿUthmān b. Mālik b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Taymī approached, looking for grass for his horse. I commented to Salama b. Aslam, "If he sees us, he'll tell the Meccans where we are, and they will discover us." He kept on approaching until he was right over us. I then went out to him and thrust my dagger once beneath a nipple. He fell down, screaming. So the Meccans gathered and advanced together, having previously been separated. I went back inside and told my companion, "Don't move!" The Meccans approached until they were right there and then they asked (ʿUthmān b. Mālik) who had killed him. "It was ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī," they replied. Abū Sufyān then said, "We knew he had not come for any good reason!" But (ʿUthmān) was not able to tell them where we were; he was at his last gasp and died. They were distracted from seeking us by their (dead) comrade and carried him away.

"'We remained in our place for two nights until the search for us had died down; we then left for al-Tanʿīm. My companion asked me, "'ʿAmr b. Umayya, would you like us to go for Khubayb b. ʿAdī, to bring him down?" "Where is he?" I asked. "Over there, crucified," he replied, "with a guard around him." I answered, "Leave me here awhile, and you go on. If something frightens you, then move over to your camel and sit on it. Then proceed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and tell him the news. Leave me here; I know the town." I then searched for him (Khubayb's body) until I found him and carried him away on my back. I had not walked more that 20 arms' lengths before they all woke up and set off after me. I threw down the wooden scaffold, and I'll never forget the sound it made. Then I piled earth up over it with my feet and took off on the Ṣafrāʾ road. Eventually they tired (of following) and went back, leaving me much relieved. My companion hurried over and mounted his camel, which he rode off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him what had happened. I then travelled on until I was overlooking al-Ghalīl, al-Ghalīl Ḍajnān; there I went into a cave carrying my bow, arrows and dagger. While I was there a man of Banū al-Dīl b. Bakr arrived; he was tall, one-eyed and herding sheep and goats. He came inside the cave and asked, "What man is here?" I replied, "A man of Banū Bakr." "I too am of Banū Bakr," he said. He then made himself comfortable, and raised his voice in a song,

> "I'll be not Muslim so long as I live; I'll never
> profess the Muslims' faith."

"'I said to myself, "By God, I hope I get to kill you!" When he was asleep, I went over to him and killed him more brutally than I ever have anyone.

"'I then left there and proceeded on down. When I got to the road, there were two men who had been sent by Quraysh to gather news. I told them, "Consider yourselves prisoners!" One of them refused, so I shot and killed him. When the other saw this, he gave himself up and I bound him and took him on in to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

"'When I reached Medina, *anṣār* children gathered around me, playing, and they heard their elders say, "This is ʿAmr." The children raced off to tell the Prophet (ṢAAS), and I took the prisoner in to him, having bound his thumbs together with my bow string. I noticed that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was laughing. He then said a prayer for me.'"

The arrival of Salama was three days before that of ʿAmr.

Al-Bayḥaqī related this.

It is stated above that after ʿUmar cut Khubayb down, he saw no cadaver or body. Perhaps he was buried where he fell; God knows best.

Ibn Hishām merely added this expedition to the text of Ibn Isḥāq, his being similar to that of al-Wāqidī. However, his account gives the companion of ʿAmr b. Umayya on this expedition as Jabbār b. Ṣakhr. But God knows best; and all praise be to God.

THE EXPEDITION TO BPR MAʿŪNA.

It took place in Ṣafar of that year, 4 AH. The late Makḥūl, may God have mercy on him, is unique in stating that it occurred after the battle of al-khandaq, "the ditch".

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Maʿmar related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārith, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from Anas b. Mālik who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out 70 men, known as *al-qurrā'*, on a mission. Their way was blocked by two tribes of Banū Sulaym, Riʿl and Dhakwān, at a well called Maʿūna. The Muslims told them, 'We have not come out to fight you; we're sent on a mission for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' But the tribesmen killed them.

"Consequently, the Prophet (ṢAAS) spoke against them for a month at each morning prayer. This began the practice of saying the *qunūṭ*;[26] previously we had not done so."

26. The word, used in the Qur'an, has associations of being humble and submissive to God, and also to stand up, or to remain standing. The term *duʿā al-qunūṭ*, the prayer of supplication or of standing, is given in Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon* in Arabic and with an English translation, as follows, "O God, verily we beg for Thy aid to be obedient and to forsake disobedience, and we beg of Thee forgiveness of sins (and we believe in Thee, and we rely upon Thee) and we laud Thee well, and we will not be unthankful to Thee for Thy favour, and we cast off and forsake him who disobeys Thee: (O God Thee we worship. And to Thee we perform the divinely appointed act of prayer, and prostrate ourselves); and we are quick in working for Thee and in serving Thee; we hope for Thy mercy, and we dread Thy punishment; verily, Thy punishment overtakes the unbelievers."

Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from Anas in similar words.

Al-Bukhārī then stated, "ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Ḥammād related to us, quoting Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, quoting Saʿīd, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, that Riʿl, Dhakwān, ʿUṣayya and Banū Liḥyān asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for assistance against an enemy and so he provided them the help of 70 of the *anṣār*. We used at that time to name them the *al-qurrā'*; they would collect wood by day and pray by night. Eventually, when they were at Bi'r Maʿūna the tribesmen killed them, having betrayed them. After this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said the *qunūt* prayers for a month, each morning saying prayers against these bedouin tribes of Riʿl, Dhakwān, ʿUṣayya and Banū Liḥyān." Anas stated, "And we would recite Qur'ān verses too, but these were later rescinded. These words were, 'Inform our people about us – that we have met our Lord. And He is pleased with us and has pleased us.'"

Al-Bukhārī went on, "Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl related to us, quoting Hamām, from Isḥāq b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ṭalḥa, quoting Anas b. Mālik, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out Ḥarām, the brother of Umm Sulaym, in charge of a party of 70 mounted men. The pagan chief ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl had proposed three choices to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He had told him, 'You can have control over the bedouin, while I will control the townspeople. Or I could be appointed as your successor. Otherwise, I will do battle with you at the head of 2,000 men of Banū Ghaṭafān.'

"But ʿĀmir contracted typhoid at the home of Umm So-and-So. He then said, 'Shall I suffer from a swelling like that of a she-camel in the home of a woman from the So-and-So family? Bring me my horse.' And subsequently he died on the back of his horse.

"Ḥarām, Umm Sulaym's brother, along with one man who was lame and another man of Banū So-and-So then went further on. Ḥarām told his companions, 'Stay close by me until I get near them; if they are peaceful, you'll be right there, but if they kill me, then you can go back to your comrades.'

"Ḥarām then went out to them and asked them, 'Will you let me deliver in peace a message to you from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?'

"He then began addressing them, but they signalled to a man who came up to him from behind and stabbed him. Ḥarām cried out, 'God is very great! I have succeeded, by the Lord of the *kaʿba*!'

"The tribesmen then attacked and killed all Ḥarām's companions except for the man who was lame, and escaped up into the mountain. It was then that God revealed to us the verses, later rescinded, 'We have met our Lord. And He is pleased with us and has pleased us.'

"Each morning for the following 30 days the Prophet (ṢAAS) spoke prayers against Riʿl, Dhakwān, Banū Liḥyān and ʿUṣayya, who had disobeyed God and His messenger."

Al-Bukhārī also said that Ḥibbān related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, who said that Maʿmar informed him as follows, "Thumāma b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Anas related to me that he heard Anas b. Mālik say, 'When Ḥarām b. Milḥān – who was Anas's uncle – was stabbed at al-Maʿūna, he said, "Thus I do with my blood!" And he began wiping it all over his face and head. Then he said, "I have succeeded, by the Lord of the *kaʿba*!"'"

Al-Bukhārī also recounted, from ʿUbayd b. Ismāʿīl, from Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, who said, "My father told me as follows, 'When the men were killed at Bi'r Maʿūna and ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī was taken prisoner, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl asked the father, pointing to a corpse, "Who is this?" ʿAmr replied, "This was ʿĀmir b. Fuḥayra. And after he was killed, I saw him raised up into the sky until I could actually see sky between him and the earth. He was then brought back down." When news of them reached the Prophet (ṢAAS), he announced their death, saying, "Your comrades have been killed; they asked their Lord, 'O God, inform our brothers about us, and of how we are pleased with You and You are pleased with us.'" And so it was that He had informed them (the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions) about them. On that day ʿUrwa b. Asmā' b. al-Salṭ, who was among them, was killed. And ʿUrwa (b. al-Zubayrẓ) was named after him, while Mundhir (b. al-Zubayrẓ) was named after Mundhir b. ʿAmr (also killed that day).'"

These, then are the accounts related by al-Bukhārī on a line of transmission back to ʿUrwa.

Al-Bayhaqī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father, from ʿĀ'isha. That account proceeds from the Hijra and relates at its conclusion what is told here by al-Bukhārī. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidī recounted it from Muṣʿab b. Thābit, Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa. He related the story of ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra, and how ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl reported how he was raised up to heaven. His account tells that the person who killed him was Jabbār b. Salmā al-Kilābī.

He stated, "And when the man pierced him with the spear, he exclaimed, 'I have succeeded, by the Lord of the *kaʿba*!'

"Then Jabbār asked, 'What did he mean when he said, "I have succeeded?"' People replied, 'He meant with paradise.' And so he then said, 'He was right, by God!' Thereafter Jabbār accepted Islam, for that reason."

In the *Maghāzī*, the military chronicle, of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, ʿUrwa is quoted as saying, "The body of ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra was not found; it is said that the angels hid it."

Yūnus (b. Bukayr) stated, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there – following Uḥud, that is – for the rest of Shawwāl, through Dhū al-Qaʿda, Dhū al-Ḥijja and Muḥarram. Then, in Ṣafar, he sent out the men who died at Bi'r Maʿūna, four months following Uḥud."

He went on, "Ibn Isḥāq b. Yasār related to me, from al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, along with scholars other than these two men, as follows, 'Abū Barā' ʿĀmir b. Mālik b. Jaʿfar, (known as) *mulāʿib al-asinna*, "He who Toys with Spears", came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina, who explained Islam to him and invited him to accept it. But Abū Barāʾ neither did so nor refused, but said, "O Muḥammad, if you were to despatch some of your Companions to the people of Najd, inviting them to join you, I would hope they would respond positively to you."

"'But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "But I would fear for them from the people of Najd."

"'Abū Barāʾ replied that he would give them protection.

"'And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) despatched al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr, brother of Banū Sāʿida, (known as) *al-muʿniq li yamūt*, "Eager for Death", with a party of 40 of his companions, some of the best of the Muslims. They included al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma, Ḥarām b. Milḥān, brother of Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār, ʿUrwa b. Asmāʾ b. al-Ṣalt al-Sulamī, Nāfiʿ b. Budayl b. Warqāʾ al-Khuzāʿī, ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra, the freed-man of Abū Bakr, along with other warriors of the Muslim elite.

"'They travelled as far as the well at Maʿūna, between the territory of Banū ʿĀmir and the *ḥarra*, "the lava field", of Banū Sulaym, where they halted. Having made camp, they sent out Ḥarām b. Milḥān with a letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), addressed to ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl. When Ḥarām reached him, ʿĀmir did not look at the document but attacked and killed the man. He then invited Banū ʿĀmir to attack, but they refused to do as he wanted, responding, "We'll not betray Abū Barāʾ; he has given them a pledge and his protection."

"'ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl then invited the tribes of Banū Sulaym, ʿUṣayya, Riʿl, Dhakwān and al-Qāra, and they agreed to attack the Muslims. They came out against them by surprising and surrounding them while the Muslims were with their baggage. When they saw the enemy attacking, they drew their swords and fought them until all the Muslims were killed, except for Kaʿb b. Zayd, brother of Banū Dīnār b. al-Najjār. The left him there barely alive; he was picked up from among the dead and lived on until he was killed at the battle of al-khandaq.

"'ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī and another Muslim, one of the *anṣār*, of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, were out grazing the camels and did not know of the death of their comrades until they saw vultures circling over their camp. They assumed something was wrong when they saw the birds and when they came in to see, they found them lying in their blood while the horsemen who had killed them were still there. The man of the *anṣār* asked ʿAmr b. Umayya what they should do; ʿAmr suggested they return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to give him the news. But the *anṣārī* could not bring himself to leave the place where al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr had been killed, and he also did not want to be the one to inform the others of the bad news. He therefore fought the enemy until he was

killed. ʿAmr was taken prisoner, but when he told them he was of Banū Muḍar, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl released him, after cutting off his forelock. It is claimed that he let him go because of a pledge his mother had made.

"'ʿAmr then left, travelling on till he reached al-Qarqara, before Qanāt; there he was met by two men of Banū ʿĀmir, who made a halt at the shady place where he had stopped. The two ʿĀmir men had made a pact of peace and protection with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of which ʿAmr b. Umayya was unaware. When the two men dismounted, ʿAmr asked them who they were and they replied that they were of Banū ʿĀmir. He left them alone until they were asleep and then he attacked and killed them, believing that by doing so he was taking revenge against their tribe for the attack they had made against the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"'When ʿAmr b. Umayya reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), however, and told him the news, the latter told him, "You have killed two men for whom I must pay the bloodwit." He then went on to comment, "This must be the work of Abū Barā'; I was reluctant and apprehensive about this."

"'When news of it reached Abū Barā', he was very upset at how ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl had betrayed him, and at what had befallen the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) because of him and while under his own protection.

"'Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses about ʿĀmir's betrayal of Abū Barā' and to incite the latter's tribe against ʿĀmir,

> "O tribe of Umm al-Banīn, does it not distress you,
> fine men of Najd,
> That ʿĀmir has treated Abū Barā' with scorn in
> betraying him?
> And making a mistake is not the same as acting
> deliberately.
> Won't you ask Rabīʿa, a man of deeds, 'What things have
> you accomplished after I left you?
> Your father, Abū Barā', is a man of war, while your
> uncle Ḥakam b. Saʿd is a nobleman.'"'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "The Umm al-Banīn referred to was Abū Barā''s mother; she was the daughter of ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa.

"Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Mālik attacked ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl and pierced him in the thigh, but not fatally, though he did fall from his horse. ʿĀmir then said, 'This is the work of Abū Barā'. If I die, I award my blood to my uncle, and he is not to be pursued for it (in revenge). If I live, I will later decide what to do.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba recounted from al-Zuhrī in approximately the same words as those of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. He also stated that the leader of the Muslim party was al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr; he is also said to have been Marthad b. Abū Marthad.

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses eulogizing those killed at Bi'r Maʿūna; at least, that is what Ibn Isḥāq stated, may God be pleased with him. However, God knows best:

"For those killed at Maʿūna weep endless, copious tears.
For the Prophet's cavalry who met their death, (God's) fate.
Annihilation struck them because of men who broke their pledge in treachery.
Alas for Mundhir who passed away, who accepted his death with willing stoicism!
What a lot of fine men of ʿAmr's people died then!"

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST BANŪ AL-NAḌĪR.

It was about this expedition that God Almighty revealed *sūrat al-Ḥashr* (LIX). In the *ṣaḥiḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī there is a quotation from Ibn ʿAbbās that he used to refer to it as the (*sūrat*) *Banū al-Naḍīr*.

Al-Bukhārī related from al-Zuhrī, who quoted ʿUrwa as saying, "The expedition against Banū al-Naḍīr came six months after (the battle of) Badr, and before (the battle of) Uḥud."

Ibn Abū Ḥātim, in his *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), traced this from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, from al-Layth, from ʿUqayl, back to al-Zuhrī.

Ḥanbal b. Isḥāq related similarly, from Hilāl b. ʿAlāʾ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Raqī, from Muṭrif b. Māzin al-Yamānī, from Muʿammar, from al-Zuhrī; he gave the date for the battle of Badr as the 17th of Ramaḍān, 2 AH.

He went on, "He attacked Banū al-Naḍīr, then fought the battle of Uḥud, in Shawwāl, 3 AH. In Shawwāl of 4 AH he fought the battle of al-khandaq."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Zuhrī used to say that it took place before the battle of Uḥud."

He went on, "Others maintained that it occurred thereafter, and after the expedition to Biʾr Maʿūna as well."

I would comment that this was what Ibn Isḥāq related, as stated above. He referred to it following his account of Biʾr Maʿūna and after the return of ʿAmr b. Umayya and his killing of those two men of Banū ʿĀmir. (This occurred because) he was not aware of the pact they had with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), this leading to the latter's statement, "You have killed two men for whom I must pay the bloodwit."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went to Banū al-Naḍīr to ask their help in paying for the bloodwit for the two men of Banū ʿĀmir who had been killed by ʿAmr b. Umayya; this was because of the pact of protection he had given the two men. There was, moreover, a pact and a treaty between Banū al-Naḍīr and Banū ʿĀmir. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to them, they replied, 'Yes, Abū al-Qāsim, we'll help you as you wish.'

"But then some of them met secretly and concluded that they would never have a better opportunity to attack the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since he was

seated at the wall of one of their houses. They asked for a volunteer to climb up on to the house to drop a rock down on him so that they would be rid of him.

"'Amr b. Jaḥāsh b. Ka'b volunteered to do this and climbed up to drop the rock as suggested. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been accompanied by his Companions, who included Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Alī. He received information from heaven about what the enemy intended, so he got up and set off back to Medina. When his Companions tired of waiting for him, they set about looking for him and met a man arriving from Medina. When they asked him about the Prophet (ṢAAS), he replied, 'I saw him entering Medina.' The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went to him and told him of the treachery Banū al-Naḍīr had planned against him."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth Muḥammad b. Maslama to tell them (Banū al-Naḍīr) to leave his territory and protection. But the hypocrites sent messages to them giving them their support, urging them to stay and promising them aid. This encouraged Banū al-Naḍīr, and Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab became adamant. They then sent word to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that they would not leave and warned him against breaking the agreements.

"It was then that the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent his forces out against them."

Al-Wāqidī continued, "They kept them besieged for 15 days."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that preparations be made to go forth to war against them."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina; this took place in Rabī' al-Awwal."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He journeyed forth and besieged them for six days. It was then that the prohibition of wine came down. The enemy set up defences in their forts and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that their date-palms be cut down and burned. They appealed to him, saying, 'Muḥammad, you used to forbid causing destruction and criticized those who did so. Why are you cutting down and burning our date-palms?'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "A group of Banū 'Awf b. al-Khazraj, including 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, Wadī'a, Mālik, Suwayd and Dā'is, had advised Banū al-Naḍīr as follows: 'If you stay firm and resist, we will not give up on you. If you fight, we'll fight along with you, and if you are expelled, we will leave with you.' And so Banū al-Naḍīr waited for their help, but they did nothing. And so God cast fear into Banū al-Naḍīr, and they asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to evacuate them and to spare their blood, allowing them to depart with whatever of their belongings they could transport, except for their armour."

Al-'Awfī quoted Ibn 'Abbās as saying, "He gave one camel to each three persons, along with a baggage carrier."

Al-Bayhaqī related this, quoting Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad, from al-Zuhrī, from Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Maslama, from his father and his

grandfather, from Muḥammad b. Maslama, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had dispatched him to Banū al-Naḍīr with instructions to delay their withdrawal for three days.

Al-Bayhaqī also related, as did others, that they had debts outstanding to them that were due. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, "Hurry up and pay them!"

There is dispute over the veracity of this. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "They therefore loaded their belongings on their camels to the extent they could bear. Some of their men tore down their houses and removed the door lintels which they mounted on the backs of their camels and took away. Some of them left for Khaybar, while some went to Syria. Among their leaders who went to Khaybar were Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, Kināna b. al-Rabiʿ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, and Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab. When they arrived there the people of Khaybar accepted their control.

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him that they were received by women and young men and gifts, with tambourines, flutes and girls walking behind them singing boldly and with pride; nothing similar is related of any tribe of people in their era.

"They left their properties for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); these consisted of their palm trees and their farms. These became his personal property to dispose of as he wished. He divided them up among those who first migrated with him, to the exclusion of the *anṣār*, except for Sahl b. Ḥanīf and Abū Dujāna. These both complained of poverty and so he gave to them."

Some authorities add al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma to these two men. Al-Suhaylī related this.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Only two men of Banū al-Naḍīr accepted Islam: Yāmīn b. ʿUmayr b. Kaʿb, the cousin of ʿAmr b. Jaḥāsh, and Abū Saʿd b. Wahb; these men retained their properties.

"A member of Yāmīn's family related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked Yāmīn, 'Did you see how your cousin treated me, and what he intended to do to me?' Yāmīn therefore gave a fee to a man to kill ʿAmr b. Jaḥāsh, God damn him, and he did so."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "God revealed *sūrat al-Ḥashr* in its entirety about them, telling in it of the vengeance he took on them, how He empowered His messenger over them and what He did to them."

Ibn Isḥāq then detailed this. We have spoken of this at length and in clarity in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*); and to God be all praise.

God Almighty stated, "All in the heavens and all on earth declare God's glory; He is the Almighty and All-wise. He it is who drew forth from their homes for the first deportation those people of the scriptures who disbelieved. You did not think they would leave; and they thought that their forts would protect them from God. But God came at them from where they did not expect, casting fear

into them. They demolished their houses with their own hands and with those of the believers. Consider this, you who have eyes! Had God not decreed for them that they should leave, He would have punished them severely on earth; and in the hereafter, they shall have the torture of hellfire. That is because they opposed God and His messenger. And for those who oppose God, God shall be severe in His punishment. Whatever palm trees you might cut down or leave standing over their roots shall be by God's permission, so that He may humiliate the evil-doers" (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.1-5).

God Almighty, may He be praised, declared His own glory and related how all creatures, high and low, glorify Him. He stated that He is All-Powerful, and unassailable, His greatness and majesty insurmountable, and that He is All-Wise in all He has created and in all He has planned and purposed. It is from all this that stem the empowerment, management and effectiveness (He gave) to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and to the believers who serve Him, in their victory over their enemies the Jews who disobeyed God and His messenger and opposed His messenger and His law, all of which was the cause leading to conflict with them, as told above, until he with (God's) support encompassed them with fear and dread for a month. In addition, he imprisoned them by besieging them with his forces and his own noble self for six days. Their terror put them to total confusion, so that they ultimately co-operated and made peace to spare their blood, removing of their property what their mounts would carry. This was conditional upon their not bearing away any of their weapons, a shameful and humiliating circumstance. They proceeded, moreover, to demolish their homes, by their own hands and by those of the believers. Consider this, you who have eyes to see!

The Almighty then stated that if they had not suffered withdrawal and the remove into exile from the protection of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and from Medina, then He would have afflicted them with far worse punishment here on earth, namely execution, along with what He had in store for them in the after-life, namely the painful punishment He has decreed for them.

The Almighty went on to refer to the wisdom that was evident in the burning of their palm trees and their abandonment of the rest of their property, all of this being palatable. He stated, "Whatever palm trees you might cut down ..." The word used here, *līna*, "palm trees", refers to palms giving much fruit. And He went on, "... or leave standing over their roots shall be by God's permission." (This implies) the following, that all of this was permitted by law and by authority, and that they should not object to it but (recognize) that it was all for their own good, not some iniquity, as some evil-minded men have said. It was, on the contrary, an expression of power, and purposed the disgrace of the shameless unbelievers.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim both related from Qutayba, from al-Layth, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) burned and cut down the date-palms of Banū al-Naḍīr, this being at al-Buwayra, and so God

revealed, "Whatever palm trees you might cut down or leave standing over their roots shall be by God's permission, and so that He may humiliate the evil-doers" (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.5).

Al-Bukhārī quotes from Juwayriyya b. Asmāʿ, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cut down and burned the date-palms of Banū al-Naḍīr at al-Buwayra and that on that occasion Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the verses,

"It left unmoved the nobles of Banū Luʾayy that there
was a terrible fire at al-Buwayra."

In response to this Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith composed the following,

"May God bless that action and set aflame all its
(Medina's) parts.
You will learn which of us it is who gains thereby, and
which of our lands it will harm."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Kaʿb b. Mālik recited, in reference to the withdrawal of Banū al-Naḍīr and the killing of Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf, (though) God knows best (whether the verses are authentic),

'The rabbis were dishonoured by their treachery; thus
it is that the vicissitudes of fate revolve.
This was because they disbelieved in a great Lord whose
orders are of great import.
They were brought understanding and knowledge combined,
and the warner came to them from God.
A truthful warner, who brought a book and verses that
were plain and illuminating.
But they said, "You did not bring truth, and you are
more worthy of being denied than are we."
He said, "Not so; I tell the truth. Those who are
understanding and knowledgeable believe me."
Those who follow him will be guided to all that is
true; those who disbelieve in him will be shamed for
disbelief.
When they were made to drink of deceit and disbelief,
and rejection of him turned them from the truth
God made the Prophet see accurately, and God deals
wisely and does not deceive.
He aided him and empowered him over them; He was his
helper, a fine helper.
Of them, Kaʿb was left there prostrate, and al-Naḍīr
were humbled after his downfall,
There on his two hands; flashing swords in our hands
overwhelmed him

By God's command, when he sent Ka'b's brother secretly
to go by night to Ka'b.
He tricked him, defeating him by guile; and Maḥmūd is
brave and trustworthy.
Those of Banū al-Naḍīr were in a state of evil; the
Destroyer ruined them for the crimes they committed.
That morning when the Messenger of God came slowly
towards them, he being well aware of them.
Ghassān, the defenders, were helping him against his
enemies, as he would aid them.
He told them, "Peace – or woe to you!" But they
rejected him; and deceit and corruption allied with
them.
So they tasted the outcome of their actions in
distress, each three of them having one camel.
They were expelled and headed for Qaynuqā', abandoning
their homes and date-palms.'"

Ibn Isḥāq also gives the response made by the Jew Sammāl; we have intentionally omitted it.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The following verses of Ibn Luqaym al-'Absī were also spoken about Banū al-Naḍīr. It is also said that they were spoken by Qays b. Baḥr b. Ṭarīf al-Ashja'ī,

'May my people be a ransom for that man who will never
die who resettled the Jews in territories not their
own.
They siesta in embers of thorn trees, having exchanged
uplands where young date-palms sprouted.
If my view about Muḥammad is correct, you will see his
cavalry between al-Ṣallā and Mt. Yaramyam,
Directing them towards 'Amr b. Buhtha. They are an
enemy; and an honest tribe is unlike one that is evil.
On the horses are heroes as they race on to battle,
waving their straight wooden lances.
And each of their fine thin-bladed swords inherited
from the eras of 'Ād and Jurhum.
Who will deliver to Quraysh a message from me? Shall
anyone succeed them in being so honoured,
For the fact – know this well – that their brother
Muḥammad, is of the line of those between al-Ḥajūn and
Zamzam?
If you serve him in truth, you will prosper and you
will rise from below to the very heights.
He is a prophet, with mercy ordained him by God; do not
ask of him anything undisclosed (by God) or improper.

By my life, there was a lesson for you, Quraysh, in
what happened at Badr, and at the crowded well.
That morning he came among the Khazrajīs, heading for
you in obedience to God, the Powerful and Much-Honoured.
Being helped by the holy spirit, striking his enemies,
a true messenger with knowledge from the All-Merciful.
A messenger from the All-Merciful reciting His Book,
not having hesitated.
I see his authority rising everywhere, in accord with a
command decreed by God.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on to quote the following verses from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib. Ibn Hishām, however, stated, "These were spoken by a Muslim man, but I do not know anyone who attributes them to ʿAlī,

'I know, and whoever judges well does know, and I am
truly sure and do not waver from
The specific words that came from God, the Kind and the
Kindest of all,
In messages that are studied by the believers and in
which he selected Aḥmad, the One Chosen.
And so Aḥmad was honoured among us, honoured in status
and role.
You who threaten him foolishly, though he has done no
wrong or violence,
Are you not fearful of imminent punishment? And those
who are secure with God are not like those afraid!
And afraid of falling beneath his swords, felled like
Kaʿb Abū al-Ashraf
That day when God saw his tyranny as he disobeyed like
a refractory camel?
And Gabriel kindly brought down revelation about his
death to His servant.
And so the Messenger secretly sent an envoy to him with
a sharp blade.
Eyes then began flowing in lament for him, when news of
Kaʿb's death was announced.
They asked, "Aḥmad, leave us awhile, for we have not
yet recovered from our mourning."
He did leave them, then said, "Go away, in banishment,
despite your wishes."
He despatched al-Naḍīr into exile, though they had
enjoyed comfortable homes,
Away to Adhriʿāt, riding double on their mounts, any
emaciated old camels they could find.'"

We have intentionally also omitted the response to these verses from the Jew Sammāl.

God Almighty then went on to refer to the awarding of *al-fay'*[27] and to the fact that God had judged that the property of Banū al-Naḍīr should go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He therefore gave him possession of it and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) disposed of it as God Almighty wished.

It is similarly established in both *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from the Commander of the Believers, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who said, "The properties of Banū al-Naḍīr were awarded by God to His messenger from whatever the Muslim forces, mounted on horse or camel, had not themselves taken." These were specifically for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He would set aside his family's expenses for a year and then whatever riding beast or weapons remained he would treat as military supplies to be used in the cause of God, the Almighty and Glorious.

The Almighty then made clear His judgement about the *al-fay'*, to the effect that it was for the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* as well as for their dependants in whatever ways and manner was customary to them. (God stated) "... and for those close in kin, orphans, the needy, wayfarers, so that it not be something taken in turns by those of you who are wealthy. Whatever the Messenger gives you, you should take. And from whatever he forbids you, keep away. And fear God; God is severe in punishing" (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.7).

Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Ārim and 'Affān quoted Mu'tamir as having related to them both, 'I heard my father say, "Anas b. Mālik related to us, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), that a man might donate to him his palms, or whatever else God might wish, up to when Qurayẓa and al-Naḍīr were conquered for him; thereafter he began giving it back."'"

Mu'tamir's father went on, "My family told me to go to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and to ask him back for all or part of what they had given. But the Prophet (ṢAAS) had given some of the trees to Umm Ayman – or he had done whatever it was that God had wanted."

He went on, "So I asked the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he gave me some of them.[28] Then Umm Ayman came up angrily, pulled my clothing up around my neck and began saying, 'No! By the One and Only God, I won't give them to you! He gave them to me!' – or some such comments. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, 'But you can have so-and-such.' She responded, 'No! By God!' He repeated, 'Then I'll give you so-and-such.' 'No! By God!' she replied. 'Then I'll give you so-and-such!' he offered until he had given her in full. I think he must have given her ten times as much as she had formerly owned."

27. The word comes from a verb meaning "to restore", "to give back". It refers here to a category of property acquired from an enemy who has not engaged in actual warfare but has acknowledged Muslim supremacy.

28. Presumably some of the date-palms referred to above.

This is derived in similar terms in various lines of transmission from Muʿtamir.

God Almighty then stated that blame was due the hypocrites who were secretly sympathetic towards Banū al-Naḍīr, as we have mentioned above, promising them victory, though none came. In fact they abandoned them completely, having misled them about themselves. And so God stated, "(Have you not) seen those who were hypocritical, telling their disbelieving brethren from among the people of the scriptures, 'If you are driven out, we will go forth with you. We will never obey anyone concerning you. If you are attacked, we will certainly assist you.' But God bears witness that they are liars. If they were expelled, these people would not leave with them. If they were attacked, these would not help them. Even if they did help them, they would then turn their backs. Then they will not be helped."

The Almighty condemned them for their cowardice, ignorance and foolishness. He then drew an ugly and awful comparison regarding them and Satan, "... who says to mankind, 'Disbelieve!' But when they disbelieve, he (Satan) tells them, 'I am innocent of (responsibility for) you! I fear God, the Lord of the worlds.' And the outcome for them both is to enter hell-fire, to live therein forever. That is the reward of the unjust" (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.16, 17).

The Story of ʿAmr b. Suʿdā al-Qurazī.

He passed by the homes of Banū al-Naḍīr and found them laid to waste and completely abandoned. The fact that Banū al-Naḍīr had been of higher status than (his own) Banū Qurayẓa stimulated his interest in Islam and he brought forth a description of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from the Old Testament.

Al-Wāqidī quoted Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar as stating that his father said, "When Banū al-Naḍīr left Medina, ʿAmr b. Suʿdā arrived and when he viewed their houses and saw their destruction, he went into deep thought. When he returned to Banū Qurayẓa, he found them assembled in the temple. He blew on their horn and when they had gathered together, al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā asked him, 'Abū Saʿid, where were you? You've never been away before this.' ʿAmr used never to leave the temple and absolutely worshipped Judaism.

"He replied, 'Today, I have seen things that should be a lesson for us. I have seen our brothers' houses empty that before were places of honour, comfort, great virtue, prestige and intellectuality. They have abandoned their possessions, given them away to others, and gone into humiliating exile. By the Torah, the fact is that God never before gave such power to a people with whom He was dissatisfied. Previously, he had been in dispute with Ibn al-Ashraf, their respected leader, and then had kept him secure in his house. He was also at odds with their chief, Ibn Sunayna, and with Banū Qaynuqāʿ. These people, of the greatest prestige among the Jews, he expelled, even though they were possessed of much arms and equipment and support. Then he besieged them, taking prisoner any one of

them who emerged. He then addressed them, telling them he would leave them alone if they moved out of Medina. 'My people, you have seen what you have seen! Obey me! Come, let us follow Muḥammad! You well know, by God, that he is a prophet; Ibn al-Hayyibān Abū ʿUmayr and Ibn Ḥirāsh foretold us of him, these being the most learned of Jews. They expected him to come and told us to follow him. They came to us from Jerusalem and ordered us to deliver him their greetings. They then died in their faith, and we buried them in this piece of land of ours.'

"His people were silent at this, not one of them speaking. He then repeated something similar and warned them of warfare, capture and exile. Al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā then said, 'By the Torah, I have read the description of him in Bāṭā's book, the Torah that was revealed to Moses, though it is not in the works we instituted.'

"Kaʿb b. Asad then asked him, 'Well, what's preventing you, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from following him?' 'You, Kaʿb, are preventing me,' he replied. 'Why so?' Kaʿb asked. 'I have never, I swear by the Torah, come between you and him.'

"Al-Zubayr insisted, 'On the contrary, you are the custodian of our pacts and pledges; if you followed him, so would we. If you refused, so will we.'

"At this ʿAmr b. Suʿdā approached Kaʿb and referred to discussion between them on that. Eventually, ʿAmr stated, 'I've said all I'm going to about him; I would not feel comfortable being his follower.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST BANŪ LIḤYĀN DURING WHICH HE PERFORMED, AT ʿUSFĀN, THE ṢALĀT AL-KHAWF, THE "PRAYER OF FEAR".

Al-Bayhaqī related this in his *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*). Ibn Isḥāq, so far as I have seen, related it through Hishām, from Ziyād, to the effect that it happened in Jumādā al-Uwlā of the year 2 AH, after the battle of al-khandaq, "the ditch", and after the expedition against Banū Qurayẓa. This is similar to the account given by al-Bayhaqī. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, related to us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār and others, as follows: 'After Khubayb and his companions had been struck down, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to revenge them by making a surprise attack against Banū Liḥyān. He took the route to Syria to give the impression that he was not attacking them, then headed for their territory. But he found that they had taken the precaution of moving into defensive positions in the mountain heights. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "If we go on down to ʿUsfān, Quraysh will think we're going on to Mecca." And so he proceeded on with 200 men and encamped at ʿUsfān. He then sent on two horsemen to Kurāʿ al-Ghamīm; they then left there.'"

Abū ʿAyyāsh al-Zurqī narrated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ṣalāt al-khawf*[29] at ʿUsfān.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting al-Thawrī, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, from Ibn ʿAyyāsh, who said, 'We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at ʿUsfān. The unbelievers met us, under the command of Khālid b. al-Walīd. They were positioned between us and the *qibla*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) led the noon prayer and the enemy told themselves, "In the position they were in we could have taken them unawares." They then observed, "They have a prayer approaching that is more dear to them than their children or themselves."

"'But between the noon and the early evening prayer Gabriel brought down the verse, "When you are among them and lead the prayer for them' (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*'; IV, v.102).

"'Then time for prayer arrived and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his men to take up their weapons. We lined up in two rows behind him. He then performed a *rakʿa*, and we all did the same. After that he stood upright and we all did the same. He then made the prostration with the line next to him, while the others stood guarding them. When these had made their prostrations and stood up again, the others prostrated in their place. Then those others occupied the lines of the former who exchanged places with them. Thereafter, he performed one *rūkūʿ* and they all did so too, after which he stood up, as did all of them. Following that, the next row prostrated while the others remained standing guarding them. When they sat, the others did so too, then they prostrated. He then delivered the *salām* greeting to them, after which he left.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the prayer this way twice – once at ʿUsfān and again in the territory of Banū Sulaym.'"

Aḥmad related this from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from Manṣūr in similar terms.

Abū Dāʾūd related it from Saʿīd b. Manṣūr, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; al-Nasāʾī related it from al-Fallās, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā and Bundār, from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, all three deriving it from Manṣūr.

This chain of authorities is in accord with the criteria of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; (yet) neither of them included it.

However, Muslim related through Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Muʾāwiya, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "We went forth on an expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), against a tribe from Juhaynam. They engaged in a fierce battle. When he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) led the noon prayer, the unbelievers said, 'If we had attacked them (then) we would have decimated them!'

29. A prayer performed in turn by various contingents of Muslim forces who are about to do battle with an enemy confronting them; those not praying protect those engaging in prayer against the possibility of a surprise attack.

"Gabriel then informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of this and he said, 'They said, "A prayer is coming for them that is dearer to them than their children."'" The *ḥadīth* is then recounted in similar words as above.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī stated, "Hishām related to us, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the noon prayers among his Companions at Nakhl. The polytheists observed this, then said, "Leave them alone; they have a prayer coming after this one that is dearer to them than their children."

"'Gabriel then made a revelation to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), informing him of this comment. When, therefore, he led the evening prayer he lined up his men in two rows with himself standing in front of them and the enemy out in front of him. He spoke the words *Allāhu Akbar*! "God is most Great", and all his men said the same. Then they all performed a *rak'a*. After that those in front performed the prostration, while the rest remained standing. When they brought their heads up, the others made their prostration. Then that group went forward, while the next group stayed back. They all then proclaimed the *takbīr* and performed their bows. Thereafter the ones next to him made their prostrations while the others stood, and when they raised their heads the others prostrated.'"

Al-Bukhārī testified to this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, giving this account of Hishām from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Abd al-Ṣamad related to us, from Sa'īd b. 'Ubayd al-Hunā'ī, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Shaqīq, quoting Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a halt between Ḍajnān and 'Usfān and that the polytheists commented, 'They have a prayer to come that is dearer to them than their sons and daughters – the evening prayer, that is. Prepare to have everyone attack them all together (then).'

"But Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him to divide up his men into two groups; some would perform the prayer while the others would stand at the ready behind them. He told them to be careful and to have their weapons prepared. The troops would perform a single *rak'a* each, in groups in sequence with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he would perform two."

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī related this from an account of 'Abd al-Ṣamad. Al-Tirmidhī categorized the tradition as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

I comment that for Abū Hurayra to have witnessed this, it must have happened after Khaybar. Otherwise it would have to be considered of the *mursalāt al-ṣaḥāba*.[30] This categorization does not diminish the authority of such a *ḥadīth* in the view of most. But God knows best.

30. That is, accounts attributed to Companions that, because of possible gaps in the lines of transmission or the reputation of the transmitters, do not meet the full criteria of *aḥādīth* that can be viewed as *ṣaḥīḥ*.

In the text of the *ḥadīth* of Jābir in the works of either Muslim or Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālisī there is no reference to ʿUsfān, nor to Khālid b. al-Walīd. However, it is apparent that they are one and the same.

The question remains as to whether the expedition to ʿUsfān was before or after the battle of al-khandaq, "the ditch". Some scholars, including al-Shāfiʿī, claim that the *ṣalāt al-khawf* was instituted only following that battle, on the basis that they deferred holding the prayer that day because of the fighting. But if practice of the *ṣalāt al-khawf* had been in force at that time, they would have performed it and not postponed it. Some scholars of the military engagements therefore maintain that the expedition against Banū Liḥyān, during which the *ṣalāt al-khawf* was said at ʿUsfān, took place after the expedition against Banū Qurayẓa.

Al-Wāqidī has a line of transmission back to Khālid b. al-Walīd, whom he quotes as saying, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to al-Ḥudaybiyya, I met him at ʿUsfān. I formed (my forces) before him and blocked his way. He performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer with his men there in front of us. We were about to attack him, but could not make up our minds to do so. God then made him aware of what we had been contemplating. And so he said the *ṣalāt al-khawf* with his Companions at the *al-ʿaṣr* prayers."

The *ʿumra* of al-Ḥudaybiyya took place in Dhū al-Qaʿda of 6 AH, after the battle of al-khandaq and the expedition against Banū Qurayẓa, as will be related hereafter.

The text of the account of Abū ʿAyyāsh al-Zarqī requires that the verse relating to the *ṣalāt al-khawf* was revealed during this expedition, at the fighting at ʿUsfān. This in turn necessitates that it was the first time he prayed the *ṣalāt al-khawf*. But God knows best.

We will, if God Almighty wills it, relate the manner in which the *ṣalāt al-khawf* was prayed and the various accounts about it in our work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*; and it is in God we trust and have confidence.

THE EXPEDITION TO DHĀT AL-RIQĀʿ

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in Medina following the expedition against Banū al-Naḍīr for the two months of Rabīʿ al-Awwal and Rabīʿ al-Thānī, and also for part of Jumādā. He then sent forces into Najd against Banū Muḥārib and Banū Thaʿlaba of Ghaṭafān. He placed Abū Dharr in command of Medina."

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is also said that he appointed ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān in command there."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He then went forth as far as Nakhl, this being on the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqāʿ."[31]

31. The word riqāʿ, pl. riqāʿ, means a piece of land, paper or cloth.

Ibn Hishām commented, "(It is so named) because they patched up their banners there. Others say it is so named because there was a tree there known as Dhāt al-Riqā'."

Al-Wāqidī stated that it was named after a mountain there that had patches of red, black and white.

In the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mūsā it is said that it was so named because of the rags they tied to their feet on account of the excessive heat.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "There he encountered a force of Ghaṭafān. The forces came close together without engaging in battle, each side being wary of the other; then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ṣalāt al-khawf* prayer."

For his account here of the *ṣalāt al-khawf* prayer, Ibn Hishām relies upon one line of transmission from 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd al-Tannūrī, from Yūnus b. 'Ubayd, from al-Ḥasan, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, and on another from 'Abd al-Wārith, from Ayyūb, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, and on a third from 'Abd al-Wārith, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar. However, in these three lines he makes no reference to either the expedition to Najd or to that to Dhāt al-Riqā'. Nor did he turn attention to any (particular) time or place.

There is, moreover, dispute over whether or not the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqā', which was in Najd and against Banū Muḥārib and Banū Tha'laba b. Ghaṭafān, came before the battle of al-khandaq.

Al-Bukhārī took the position that that took place after the expedition against Khaybar. As evidence for that, he refers to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī's presence there, as will be shown. His arrival occurred only during the nights of the Khaybar campaign, in the company of Ja'far and his men. The same is true of Abū Hurayra. He stated, "I prayed the *ṣalāt al-khawf* in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the expedition to Najd."

Evidence that it occurred after the battle of al-khandaq is that Ibn 'Umar was first authorized by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to participate in the fighting at that battle. It is established of him (Ibn 'Umar) in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that he stated, "I participated in a military expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before that to Najd during which he prayed the *ṣalāt al-khawf*."

Also there is al-Wāqidi's statement, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to Dhāt al-Riqā' with a force of 400 (it is also said 700) of his Companions on Saturday, ten days before the end of al-Muḥarram, 5 AH." But there is dispute over this.

Moreover, there is no escaping the fact that the *ṣalāt al-khawf* was only instituted after the battle of al-khandaq because that battle took place in Shawwāl of 5 AH, as is widely known (though some date it as in Shawwāl of 4 AH), this being substantiated by the gist of the *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Umar. However, the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mūsā and that of Abū Hurayra do not (suggest this).

The Story of Ghawrath b. al-Ḥārith.

Regarding this expedition, Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd related to me, from al-Ḥasan, from Jābir Ibn ʿAbd Allāh, that a man of Banū Muḥārib named Ghawrath said to his tribe of Ghaṭafān and Muḥārib, 'Shall I kill Muḥammad for you?' 'Yes indeed! And how will you kill him?' 'I'll assassinate him,' he replied.

"So he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was seated with his sword in his lap. Ghawrath asked him, 'Muḥammad, could I see that sword of yours?' 'Yes.' He took it and began to raise it to strike, but God prevented him. He asked, 'Muḥammad, don't you fear me?' 'No,' he replied. 'What should I fear from you?' 'You're not afraid of me even though I have a sword in my hands?' 'No; God is protecting me from you.'

"Ghawrath then returned the sword to him. Thereafter, God, Great and Glorious is He, revealed the verse, 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when a people intended to lay hands on you but He turned their hands away from you. Fear God; let believers place their reliance upon God!'" (*sūrat al-Māʾida*; V, v.11).

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me, however, that this verse was revealed about ʿAmr b. Jaḥḥāsh, brother of Banū al-Naḍīr, and what he had intended."

It is thus that Ibn Isḥāq related the story of this Ghawrath, from ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd al-Qadarī, the leader of the misled. He, although not deliberately engaging in falsehood in his *ḥadīth* accounts is one of those who should not be quoted as a source because of his innovations and support for them.

This *ḥadīth* is firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from other sources than him, thanks be to God!

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī recounted here a variety of lines of transmission for this *ḥadīth* from a number of places. It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from Sinān b. Abū Sinān, and Abū Salama from Jābir, that he accompanied the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the expedition to Najd. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on the way home, the time for the afternoon rest came when they were in a valley with many thorn trees. The force divided up as the men sought the shade of the trees. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped in the shade of a tree on which he hung up his sword.

Jābir said, "And so we slept. Then suddenly, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out to us; we responded and found that there was a bedouin seated near him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'This fellow unsheathed my sword while I was asleep. I awoke to find him brandishing it in his hand. He then asked me, "Who is there to protect you from me?" I replied, "God." He then sheathed the sword and sat down.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not punish the man for having done this."

Muslim also related this, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from ʿAffān, from Abān, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, from Jābir, who said, "We advanced with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and reached Dhāt al-Riqāʿ. Whenever we came across a shade-giving tree we would reserve it for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). (We did so now) and one of the polytheists came over to him while his sword was hanging on a tree. The man took the sword, unsheathed it, then asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Do you fear me?' 'No,' he replied. 'Who is to protect you from me?' 'God protects me from you,' he answered. Then the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) intimidated the man and he sheathed the sword and hung it up again."

He went on, "Then the call for prayer was made. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) prayed two *rakʿas* with one group, and they went aside while he prayed two *rakʿas* with the next group. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed four *rakʿas*, while the rest prayed two."

Al-Bukhārī also derived this report with absolute certainty from Abān.

Al-Bukhārī stated, quoting Musaddad, from Abū ʿAwāna, from Abū Bishr, that the name of the man was Ghawrath b. al-Ḥāriṯ

Al-Bayhaqī drew his account through Abū ʿAwāna, from Abū Bishr, from Sulaymān b. Qays, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) engaged Muḥārib and Ghaṭafān in battle at Nakhl. The enemy detected a deficiencey in the Muslim defences, and sent through one of their men, Ghawrath b. al-Ḥārith, who went and stood with his sword right over the head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ghawrath asked him, 'Who is there to defend you from me?' 'God,' he replied. And the sword fell from the man's grasp. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) picked up the sword and asked him, 'And who protects you from me?' 'Be compassionate!' 'Do you testify that there is no god but God?' he asked. 'No', Ghawrath replied, 'but I will give you my word that I'll not oppose you nor assist any others who do.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) released him, and when Ghawrath returned to his men, he commented, 'I come to you from the very best of men!'"

Al-Bayhaqī then went on to tell of the *ṣalāt al-khawf* and that four *rakʿas* were performed, two with each group.

Al-Bayhaqī related the methods of performing the *ṣalāt al-khawf* at Dhāt al-Riqāʿ on lines of transmission from Ṣāliḥ b. Khawwāt b. Jubayr, from Sahl b. Abū Ḥathma, along with a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from Salīm, from his father, concerning the *ṣalāt al-khawf* in Najd. This is given in my *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*. But God knows best.

The Story of the man whose wife was killed on this Expedition.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "My uncle Ṣadaqa b. Yasār related to me, from ʿUqayl b. Jābir, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqāʿ near Nakhl and

one of our men killed the wife of a polytheist. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had left to return home, her husband, who had been away, came back. When told the news, he swore he would never rest till he had taken blood revenge against Muḥammad's men.

"'So he followed the tracks of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who when he had made camp had asked, "Who will stand guard for us tonight?" A *muhājirī* and an *anṣārī* each volunteered and he told them to take up position at the entrance to the mouth of the valley. The two men were ʿAmmār b. Yāsir and ʿAbbād b. Bishr. When they reached the mouth of the valley, the *anṣārī* asked the *muhājirī*, "Which part of the watch do you want me to take care of, the first or the last?" "You take the first watch," the *muhājirī* told him and settled down to sleep, while the *anṣārī* prayed.

"'When the polytheist arrived and saw the watchman's form, he realized that he was on guard and shot an arrow at him which stuck in him. The *anṣārī* pulled out the arrow, laid it down and stood his guard, standing there in prayer. The polytheist then shot again and struck him, but the guard again removed it, laid it down and went on praying. A third time the polytheist struck him, and once more he withdrew it and put it down, continuing his prayer with a bow and a prostration. He then aroused his companion, saying, "Remain seated; I've been hit."

"'At this, his companion arose and when the polytheist saw both, he knew that they were on guard against him, and so he fled.

"'When the *muhājirī* saw that the *anṣārī* was bleeding, he exclaimed, "For God's sake, why did you not awaken me when he first struck you?"

"'The *anṣārī* replied, "I was reciting a *sūra* (of the Qurʾān) and did not want to break it off before I had completed it. When he continued shooting, I finished the prostration, then awoke you. I swear by God, that unless it meant losing a position the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered me to hold, he could have killed me before I would have interrupted a recitation before completing it!"'"

Ibn Isḥāq related it thus in reference to the military expeditions. Abū Dāʾūd recounted it from Abū Tawba, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Mubārak, from Ibn Isḥāq.

Al-Wāqidī related the account of the *ṣalāt al-khawf* in full from ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī, from his brother ʿUbayd Allāh, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, from Ṣāliḥ b. al-Khawwāt, from his father, as follows: "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had attacked some women in their (the enemy's) homes; among the prisoners taken was an attractive woman whose husband loved her. He swore an oath that he would pursue Muḥammad and not return until he had either taken blood revenge for her or had rescued her."

Al-Wāqidī then proceeds to recount the incident much as had Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh used to say, 'I was once with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when one of his Companions brought in a chick. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was looking at it when in came the chick's

parents (or one of them) and threw themselves down before the man who had taken it. I saw that everyone present was amazed at this. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'So you're surprised that this bird, whose chick you took, is bowing to offer itself to gain mercy for its chick? I swear by God, your god is more compassionate for you than this bird is for its chick!'"

The Story of Jābir's camel on this Expedition.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Wahb b. Kaysān related to me, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, 'I went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqā' at Nakhl, riding a feeble camel. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was returning home, I began falling behind my comrades who went on ahead. Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came up to me and asked, "What's wrong, Jābir?" I replied, "O Messenger of God, this camel of mine is slowing me down." "Make it kneel," he told me. I did so and he also made his camel kneel. He then said, "Give me that stick in your hand, or cut one from a tree." I did so and he took it and prodded my camel with it several times. He then said, "Mount up!" I did so. And, I swear by Him who sent him with the truth, my weak male camel competed with his female camel!

"'When I was talking with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he asked me, "Would you sell me this camel of yours, Jābir?" "I'll give it to you," I told him. "No; just sell it to me." "Make me an offer," I asked. "I'll take it for one dirham," he suggested. "No way!" I replied. "Then you would be cheating me, Messenger of God!' "Two dirhams then?" he offered. "No," I refused. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then set about raising the offer until he reached one ounce of gold. I asked him, "Would that be agreeable to you?" "Yes," he replied. "Then he's yours!" I told him. And he accepted it.

"'He then asked, "Jābir, are you married yet?" "Yes, I am," I told him. "To a woman previously married, or to a virgin?" "Previously married," I replied. "Why not a young girl with whom you could have much fun?" he asked. "My father", I explained to him, "was killed at the battle of Uḥud and left seven daughters. So I married a mature woman to look after them and bring them up well." "You did well, let's hope to God," he commented. "And when we get to Sirār we'll slaughter a camel and stay there the day with her and she'll hear about us and dust off her cushions for us." I replied, "I swear, Messenger of God, we don't have cushions." "You will have," he said. "When we get there behave wisely."

"'When we reached Ṣirār, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered camels be slaughtered; this was done. We remained there that day and in the evening the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went home, as did we all. I reported to my wife what he had said and she advised me to hurry up and do as I was told.

"'Next morning I led my camel up to the door of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), then sat down close to him in the mosque. Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came outside and, when he saw the camel, he asked to whom it

belonged. He was told that Jābir had brought it, and he asked where I was. Then they called for me to go to him, and he said, "Cousin, lead your camel away; it is yours." Then he called Bilāl over and told him, "Take Jābir away and give him an ounce of gold." So I went off with Bilāl and he did give me an ounce, and a little more as well. And, by God, my financial affairs improved constantly thereafter until they suffered recently in what befell us.'"

By this he was referring to the *yawm al-ḥarra.*[32] The author of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection derived this story from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-ʿUmarī, from Wahb b. Kaysān, from Jābir, in similar terms.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "There is in this *ḥadīth* reference to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) telling Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh that God had given new life to his father, had spoken to him and told him, 'Ask a request of me!' That was because he died a martyr. For Almighty God had said, 'God buys from believers their souls and their property.' He awarded them more in His statement, 'To those who do good there shall come good, and more too.' He then combined for them compensation and indemnity and restored to them their souls that He had purchased from them. He stated, 'Do not consider dead those who are killed in God's cause; no, they are alive, with their Lord, and will be provided for' (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.169).

"For human beings, the soul has the same role as a riding animal", as ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz said. He stated, "That is why the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) purchased from Jābir his camel, his riding beast, that is, first giving him the value of it and then returning it to him, with an additional amount as well."

He commented, "And in this there is fulfilment of what he related to him about his father."

Al-Suhaylī's observation here is a strange and imaginative departure. But God Almighty, praised be He, knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave an explanation relating to this *ḥadīth* about this expedition in his work *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa*. He has a section entitled "Chapter: On the blessings and signs of God evident in this expedition of his relating to the camel of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, God be pleased with him."

This *ḥadīth* has a number of lines of transmission from Jābir and many differences in phraseology. Also there is great variety in the value placed on the camel and the manner in which the sale provisions were made. The recording and interpretation of this is most appropriate in the section on sale in the works on law. But God knows best. This story is given pertaining to this expedition and elsewhere as well, as will follow. That this happened many times is unlikely; but God knows best.

ANOTHER EXPEDITION TO BADR.

This is the Badr engagement of which promise was made at Uḥud, as is told above.

32. The reference is to the rebellion in Medina during the reign of Yazīd, the son of Muʿāwiya.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to Medina from the Dhāt al-Riqā' expedition, he remained there for the rest of Jumādā al-Ūlā, Jumādā al-Ākhira and Rajab. In Sha'bān he left for Badr and his appointment with Abū Sufyān."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl in charge of Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to Badr and remained there for eight days waiting for Abū Sufyān.

"Abū Sufyān set out with his Meccan force and encamped at Majanna, near al-Ẓahrān. Some authorities state that he reached 'Usfān then decided to go back. He announced, 'Men of Quraysh, it is right for you to make such an expedition only in a fruitful year when you can pasture on trees and drink milk; this year it is barren. I am going back; you do the same.'

"So they all returned. The Meccans referred to them as the *sawīq*[33] army, saying to them, 'So you only went forth to drink *sawiq* then!'

"Makhshī b. 'Amr al-Ḍamrī, who had made a contract with the Prophet (ṢAAS) concerning Banū Ḍamra at the Waddān expedition, now arrived and said, 'Muḥammad, have you come here to this well to meet with Quraysh?' He replied, 'Yes, brother from Banū Ḍamra; but if you want, we'll release you from your agreement with us and we'll battle you until God decides between us.' 'No, by God, Muḥammad, there's no need for that!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to Medina without incident."

Ibn Isḥāq quoted 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa as having delivered the following verses as they waited for Abū Sufyān to arrive on his return that year to Badr. However, Ibn Hishām stated that this poetry was delivered to him by Abū Zayd who attributed it to Ka'b b. Mālik:

"We agreed on Badr with Abū Sufyān, but found him
untruthful and untrustworthy in his appointment.
I swear that had you and we met you would have returned
home humiliated and with your supporters gone.
There we previously left limbs of 'Utba and of his son,
along with 'Amr Abū Jahl whom we left prostrate.
You disobeyed the Messenger of God! How vile your
faith and your evil and misguided conduct!
If you were to belabour me, I'd still say, 'My wealth
and family be a ransom for the Messenger of God!'
We obey him, treating none other of us as his equal;
he is a flame guiding us in the dark of night!"

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on that occasion:

"Forget the streams of Syria! For intervening are
swords (blood-stained) like the mouths of pregnant
camels fed on (thorny) *arāk* trees.

33. A beverage, perhaps alcoholic, made of parched wheat or barley.

In the hands of men who have gone out to their Lord, to
His true helpers, and to the hands of angels.
If they pass on to the lowlands from the sandy valleys,
tell them that is not the route.
We remained eight days at the shallow well with a fully
equipped force and many camels tethered
And round-bellied horses, sleek sided stallions high of
withers,
The yearly *arfaj* plants being uprooted by tall,
speeding mounts.
If we should meet Farāt b. Ḥayyān in our journeyings,
he will be as good as dead.
If, after him, Qays b. Imr al-Qays, the pallor of
death will blacken his face even more!
Deliver to Abū Sufyān this message from me; for you
are the best of those beggar-like men!"

Ibn Isḥāq then quoted Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who later accepted Islam, as answering him with the following verses:

"Ḥassān, you son of a woman who eats offal, I swear we
devour great deserts like that!
When we go forth, young gazelles can't escape between
us, though seeking defence in full-speed flight.
When we leave after a halt you'd think it had been
trashed by crowds at a fair!
You remained at the shallow well, wanting us to come,
but leaving us in the date groves near by.
Our horses and mounts trample the vegetation underfoot,
levelling all into the sand.
We halted for three days between Salʿ and Fāriʿ, our
horses fine and our camels swift-paced.
You would have thought that attacking people near their
homes would be as easy as buying white lead with cash!
Don't vaunt your fine horses when you talk to them as
one who protects them and holds them back.
You express joy in them, but others should, such as the
knights with descent from Fihr b. Mālik.
You are not engaged in a migration, though you speak
thereof, nor do you respect the prohibitions of its
faith."

Ibn Hishām stated, "We have omitted from this certain verses since they did not match in rhyme."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba recounted from al-Zuhrī and Ibn Lahīʿa, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for men to go forth to meet Abū Sufyān, the hypocrites sent agents out to dissuade

them. But God kept His supporters from harm, and the Muslims did proceed in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Badr. They took various goods with them for sale, saying they would fight if they met Abū Sufyān, and that otherwise they would sell these at the Badr fair.

His account then proceeds as did the text of Ibn Isḥāq to describe Abū Sufyān's movement to Majanna, his return from there, the negotiation with al-Ḍamrī, the offer made by the Prophet (ṢAAS), and the repudiation which he refused.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) headed for it (Badr) with a force of 1,500 of his Companions. He placed ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa in command of Medina. His departure for there occurred early in Dhū al-Qaʿda." He means of 4 AH.

But Ibn Isḥāq's statement is what is authentic, namely that it took place in Shaʿbān of that year, 4 AH, and it is in agreement with the statement of Mūsā b. ʿUqba that it occurred in Shaʿbān, though he gives the year as 3 AH. This date is incorrect. For the agreement to meet at Badr had been made at Uḥud, which took place in Shawwāl of 3 AH, as is told above. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "They remained at Badr for the duration of the fair that lasted eight days. Then they returned home, having profited with two dirhams for each one invested."

Others say that they returned just as God, Almighty and Glorious is He, had said, "And so they returned with favour from God and His grace. No harm came to them. For they followed the pleasure of God, and God is He of mighty grace" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.173).

Section: A Review of the events that occurred in 4 AH.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "In Jumādā al-Uwlā of that year ʿAbd Allāh, son of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, God be pleased with him, by Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died. He was six years of age. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the funeral prayer over him, and his father, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, God be pleased with him, accompanied him down into the grave."

I would add that the same year Abū Salama ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī died; his mother was Barra, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, aunt of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was the foster-brother of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since both were suckled by Thuwayba, freed-woman of Abū Lahab.

Abū Salama, Abū ʿUbayda, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and al-Arqam b. Abū al-Arqam had accepted Islam long before, on the same day.

Abū Salama and his wife had emigrated to Abyssinia and then returned to Mecca. They had had children in Abyssinia. He then migrated from Mecca to Medina and Umm Salama followed him there, as is related above. He was

present at the battles of Badr and Uḥud and died following wounds he suffered at Uḥud. May God be pleased with him and give him pleasure. There is one *ḥadīth*, on the subject of *istirjā*ʿ[34] that is attributed to him. This will be related shortly in the text dealing with the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Umm Salama.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "Some days before the end of Shaʿbān that year, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was born to Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); may God be pleased with them all.

"In Ramaḍān of that year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Zaynab, daughter of Khuzayma b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Hilāl b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, a woman of Hilāl."

Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr quoted ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jurjānī as saying that she was the sister of Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith. Then he (Abū ʿUmar) stated that he had not been told this by anyone else.

She was known as Umm al-Masākīn, "mother of the poor", for the many donations she made to them and for her kindness and compassion towards them. The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave her a dowry of 12 and a half ounces of gold and consummated his marriage with her in Ramaḍān. She had previously been married to al-Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith who had divorced her.

Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr quoted ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jurjānī as saying, "Thereafter his brother ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf had married her."

Ibn al-Athīr stated, in his work *Al-Ghāba*, "It is said she was also the wife of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh who was killed at Uḥud while still married to her."

Abū ʿUmar stated, "There is no dispute over the fact that she died during the lifetime of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It is said that she remained living with him only for two or three months before she died; may God be pleased with her."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "In Shawwāl of that year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya."

I comment that previously she had been the wife of her children's father, Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad. He had been present at Uḥud, as is told above. He was wounded at that battle and nursed his wounds for a month until he was restored. He then went forth on a *sarīya*, a raid, at which he earned considerable booty. He then stayed home for seventeen days, but his wounds erupted again and he died, three days before the end of Jumādā al-Uwlā of that year.

When in Shawwāl it was permissible for her to remarry, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became engaged to her, sending ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to her several times to arrange this. She told him that she was a very jealous woman and

34. A supplication, derived from the Qurʾān, that one invokes during times of calamity.

that she had children; that is, that she had children who would divert her attention from him and for whose food and support she had to work. He responded, "Regarding the children, God and His messenger will care for them; that is, you won't be responsible for their expenses. As for the jealousy, I will pray to God and He will remove it."

She then gave her consent in the matter, finally telling 'Umar, "Off you go; arrange the marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS)." By this she meant that she had agreed and had given her permission.

Some scholars imagine her to have said this to her son 'Umar b. Abū Salama who was too young at that time to be involved with contracts. I have combined all that is correct into one specific account, all praise and trust being in God. (There is also an account that states) that the person who arranged her marriage with him was her oldest son Salama b. Abū Salama. This account is widely known because his father was her cousin and the son is eligible to be the guardian of his mother because he happens to be her means of subsistence and not because of filiation.

According to al-Shāfi'ī alone, the mere fact of being a son does not entitle him to act for his mother in a marriage contract. The three (other chief authorities on Islamic law) Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik (b. Anas) and Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal), God have mercy upon them all, disagree with him. This issue will, if God wills it, be examined further elsewhere in the *Kitāb al-Nikāḥ* (*Chapter on Marriage*) in my work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yūnus related to us, quoting al-Layth – that is, Ibn Sa'd – from Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Usāma b. al-Hād, from 'Amr b. Abū 'Amr, from al-Muṭṭalib, from Umm Salama, who said, 'Abū Salama came to me one day from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, "I heard something from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that greatly pleased me. He said, 'Any Muslim who suffers a loss should repeat, "To God we belong, and to Him we return," and then should pray, "O God, compensate me for my loss and give me better in exchange."'" She went on, 'And I learned this from him by heart.

"'When Abū Salama died, I spoke the words, "To God we belong, and to Him we return", then said, "O God, compensate me for my loss and give me better in exchange." But then I realized what I had said and wondered how I could ever have better than Abū Salama.

"'When my *'idda*, my waiting period, was over, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked to come to see me while I was tanning a hide I had. I washed my hands clean of the tanning solution, asked him to come in and set out a leather cushion stuffed with palm fronds for him to sit upon. He sat down on it and made me an offer of marriage. When he had finished speaking, I replied, "O Messenger of God! It's not fit for me to question your wanting this, but I'm an extremely jealous woman and I'm afraid you may see in me something for which

God will punish me. And I'm a woman who is getting on in years, and I have children."

"'He replied, "Regarding the jealousy, God will remove it from you. As for your reference to your age, I am afflicted just as you are. Regarding your children, they shall be as my own." So I consented to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And God did give me better than Abū Salama – the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!'"

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from ʿUmar b. Abū Salama, from his mother Umm Salama, from Abū Salama. Al-Tirmidhī classified it as a tradition that was both *ḥasan gharīb*, "good" but "unilateral". It is also given in an account of al-Nasāʾī from Thābit, from Ibn ʿUmar b. Abū Salama, from his father. Ibn Māja related it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Yazīd b. Hārūn, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Qadāma al-Jumaḥī, from his father, from ʿUmar b. Abū Salama.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left from Badr – where the appointment had been – to return to Medina. He remained there until the month of Dhū al-Ḥijja was over; the polytheists had charge of the pilgrimage that year, 4 AH."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "That year, 4 AH, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered Zayd b. Thābit to learn Hebrew script."

I would comment that it is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that he said, "I learned it in 15 days." But God knows best.

THE YEAR 5 AH. THE EXPEDITION TO DŪMAT AL-JANDAL IN RABĪʿ AL-AWWAL, 5 AH.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then made an expedition to Dūmat al-Jandal."

Ibn Hishām observed that it took place in Rabīʿ al-Awwal that year and that he appointed Sibāʿ b. ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī in charge of Medina.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He then, however, returned to Medina before reaching it, and without engaging in battle. He remained in Medina for the remainder of that year."

That is the statement made by Ibn Isḥāq.

Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī quoted lines of authority back to various early scholars who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had wanted to proceed to the closest areas in Syria but was told that this would alarm Caesar. He was also informed that there was a large force at Dūmat al-Jandal who maltreated passers-by and that it also had a substantial market; these people wanted him to approach the town.

He therefore organized his men and left with a force of 1,000 Muslims. They travelled by night, keeping under cover by day. He had a guide with him from Banū ʾUdhra named Madhkūr, who was a skilled tracker.

When they neared Dūmat al-Jandal, his guide directed him to the pasturing cattle belonging to Banū Tamīm. He went on and attacked their sheep and goats; some people were killed, while others fled in disarray. When news of this reached people in Dūmat al-Jandal, those there dispersed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded to encamp on their square, finding no one there. He remained there for several days, sending out raiding parties. They returned, with Muḥammad b. Salama having taken one of the enemy prisoner. He was brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him about his comrades. The man replied that they had fled the previous day. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then explained Islam to him, and he became a Muslim. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went back to Medina.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to Dūmat al-Jandal in Rabī' al-Ākhir, 5 AH. And the same year Umm Sa'd b. 'Ubāda died while her son was away on this expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Abū 'Isā al-Tirmidhī stated in his compendium, "Muhammad b. Bashshār related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, from Sa'īd b. Abū 'Urūba, from Qatāda, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, that Umm Sa'd died while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was absent. When he returned he prayed for her, a month having passed."

This *mursal ḥadīth* is excellent and requires the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to have been absent on this expedition for a month or more, according to what al-Wāqidī, God be pleased with him, reported.

THE BATTLE OF AL-KHANDAQ, 'THE DITCH', ALSO KNOWN AS THE GHAZWAT AL-AḤZĀB, 'THE BATTLE OF THE CLANS'.

It was about this event that the main part of *sūrat al-Aḥzāb* (XXXIII) was revealed. In it the Almighty stated, "O you who believe! Remember God's favour to you when enemy forces attacked you and We sent a wind against them, along with forces you could not see. God sees well what you are doing. (Remember) when they came at you from above and from below, and when your sight was blinded and hearts arose into your throats and you were confused in your thoughts about God. There believers were put to the test, and they were violently shaken. (Remember) when the hypocrites and those with disease in their hearts said, 'It was all misleading, what God and His messenger promised us!' And (remember) when one group of them said, 'O people of Yathrib, there is no place for you here, so go back!' And a group of them did ask the Prophet, saying, 'Our homes lie exposed.' Yet they were not exposed; all they wanted was to flee. And if they (the enemy) had gained entry from outside and had asked them to revolt, they would have done so without great hesitation. Whereas they had earlier promised God that they would not retreat; and promises made to God are answerable. Say: 'It will not avail you to flee, whether from death or from battle; in such case you will be allowed enjoyment only briefly.' Say:

'Who is it can protect you from God if He wishes to do you harm, or be merciful to you?' They shall not find anyone to help or aid them apart from God. God knows which of you hinder and which of you say to your brethren, 'Come over to us!' Yet they rarely go to battle. They are ungenerous to you; and when fear arrives you see them looking at you with their eyes rolling, like those who faint at death. But when the fear is gone, they pursue you with sharp tongues, greedy for the good (booty). Those people did not believe and so God nullified their action; and this was an easy thing for God. They consider that the clans have not gone; and if the clans should again come, they would wish to be among the bedouin asking for news of you; yet if they were among you, they would only do in battle a little. In the Messenger of God there has been for you an excellent model for those who have hope in God and in the last Day and who make frequent mention of God. When the believers saw the clans, they said, 'This is what God and His messenger promised us. God and His messenger spoke the truth.' And this only increased their faith and submission. The believers include some men who are true to what they promised God. Of them are those who have already fulfilled their vows, while some of them still wait but have not changed at all. God will reward those who are true in their sincerity; and He will punish the hypocrites, if He wishes, or will turn aside from them. God is very forgiving and merciful. God turned back those who disbelieved; by their rage they gained nothing good. Yet God gave satisfaction to the believers in the fighting; and God is strong and powerful. He brought down from their forts those of the People of the Book who allied with them, and cast terror into their hearts; some you killed, others you took captive. He made you heir to their land, properties and belongings, as well as to lands you have not yet trod. And God is capable of all things" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.9–13).

We have discussed all these noble verses in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*); and to God belong all praise and credit. Let us refer here to matters relating to the account – if God wills it and in Him we place reliance and trust.

The battle of al-khandaq took place in Shawwāl, 5 AH, according to Ibn Isḥāq, ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, Qatāda and al-Bayhaqī, along with various scholars of the earlier and later periods.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba quoted al-Zuhrī as stating, "Then the *waqʿat al-aḥzāb*, the 'battle of the clans', took place, in Shawwāl of 4 AH."

Imām Mālik b. Anas stated the same, according to a quotation attributed to him by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, quoting Mūsā b. Dāʾūd.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "There is in fact no dispute between them in this; this is because their intent was that this occurred after the passage of four years, but before the completion of five."

There is no doubt that when the polytheists left Uḥud they made an arrangement to meet the Muslims at Badr in the following year. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore went forth with his force in Shaʿbān of 4 AH, as told

above, while Abū Sufyān returned home with the Quraysh because of the drought that year. They would not have been likely to have gone to Medina two months later. And so it may be concluded that the battle of al-khandaq took place in 5 AH. But God knows best. Al-Zuhrī declared that the battle of al-khandaq took place two years following that of Uḥud. And there is no dispute over the fact that Uḥud occurred in Shawwāl of 3 AH, except in so far as some maintain that the dating system began with Muḥarram of the second year after the hegira, and they do not count the remaining months of that year, from Rabīʿ al-Awwal to its end, as al-Bayhaqī related it. Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān al-Fasāwī maintained this, declaring that Badr took place in the first year, Uḥud in the second, the "appointment at Badr" in Shaʿbān of year 3 AH, and al-khandaq in Shawwāl of year 4 AH.

This view is contrary to that of the majority, for it is widely accepted that the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, established the beginning of the era from Muḥarram of the year of the hegira, though Mālik states it to have been from Rabīʿ al-Awwal of that year. There are therefore the three views. And God knows best.

What seems true is what the majority hold – that Uḥud was in Shawwāl of 3 AH, while al-khandaq took place in Shawwāl of 5 AH. But God knows best.

(Also revelant) is the *ḥadīth* accepted in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections derived through ʿUbayd Allāh from Nāfiʿ, who quoted Ibn ʿUmar as saying, "I was presented to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the Battle of Uḥud when I was 14, but he would not give me permission to fight. I was also presented to him at al-khandaq when I was 15, and he then gave me permission." Some scholars, including al-Bayhaqī, respond to this by saying that he was presented at Uḥud at the beginning of his 14th year, and that al-Aḥzāb (al-khandaq) was at the end of his 15th year.

I would comment that it is probable that what he meant was that when he was presented at al-Aḥzāb he had already completed 15 years, an age at which youths are permitted to engage in battle; and so nothing more is to be added.

Therefore, when Nāfiʿ related this *ḥadīth* to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he said, "This constitutes the difference between a youth and a man." He then wrote this to the provinces and the mass of scholars thereafter relied upon it. But God knows best.

The following text of the account is derived from Ibn Isḥāq and others.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The battle of al-khandaq took place, in Shawwāl, 5 AH.

"Yazīd b. Rumān related to me, from ʿUrwa and another trustworthy source, from ʿUbayd Allāh[35] b. Kaʿb b. Mālik and Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī and al-Zuhrī, and ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and other scholars, some of these giving information not included by others, as follows. What happened at al-khandaq was that a group of Jews had divided up the clans

35. Ibn Hishām gives his name as ʿAbd Allah b. Kaʿb.

against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). These included Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq al-Naḍrī, Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab al-Naḍrī, Kināna b. al-Rabīʿ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, Hawdha b. Qays al-Wāʾilī, and Abū ʿAmmār al-Wāʾilī, along with groups from Banū al-Naḍīr and Banū Wāʾil. These went to Quraysh in Mecca and suggested they engage in warfare against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They told them that they would participate until they had completely destroyed him. Quraysh responded as follows, 'O Jews, you are the first people to receive scripture and knowledge in those matters in which we and Muḥammad differ. Which religion is better, ours or his?'

"They replied, 'Your religion is definitely better than his; you are closer the truth than he is.'

"It is of these people that God revealed the words, 'Have you not seen those who were brought a share of the Book? They believe in idols and evil powers, and say to those who disbelieve, "These are more rightly guided than those who believe!" Those are they whom God has cursed; and whomever God curses shall find none to help him' (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*; IV, v.51–2).

"This pleased Quraysh when they said it to them and they gladly accepted the suggestion of going to war against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They then assembled and made preparations.

"That group of Jews then visited Ghaṭafān of Qays ʿAylān and invited them to battle the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), telling them that they would themselves participate along with them, and that Quraysh would do so too. They therefore joined up with them.

"Quraysh then set out, their leader being Abū Sufyān. Ghaṭafān, under their leader ʿUyayna b. Ḥisn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr, also went forth with Banū Fazāra, as did al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf b. Abū Ḥāritha al-Murrī with Banū Murra, along with Misʿar b. Rukhayla b. Nuwayra b. Ṭarīf b. Suḥma b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hilāl b. Khalāwa b. Ashjaʿ b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān, along with those of his people from Ashjaʿ who followed him.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard of all this and what they had agreed, he dug the ditch around Medina."

Ibn Hishām commented that it is said that it was Salmān who suggested this.

Al-Ṭabarī and al-Suhaylī stated that the first man to dig ditches was Manushehr b. Ayraj b. Afrīdūn and that that happened in the time of Moses, peace be upon him.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) worked on this himself, inspiring the Muslims to seek reward in heaven, and they worked alongside him. Some hypocrites held back, complaining of their weakness. Some of these left surreptitiously and without his permission or knowledge.

"It was on this subject that Almighty God revealed, 'Believers are only those who believe in God and in His messenger. And if engaged with him in a joint effort they do not leave without seeking his permission. Those who do seek your permission are those who believe in God and in His messenger. If they do ask

your permission to attend to some affair, then permit it to whichever of them you wish. And ask God to forgive them; God is indeed Forgiving, Merciful. Do not consider the Messenger's appealing to you while among you the same as you making appeals to one another. God is well aware which of you steal away in hiding. Let those beware who oppose his orders, lest trouble or painful punishment afflict them. No indeed! All in the heavens and all on earth belong to God; He well knows what you do. On the day on which they will be returned to Him, He will inform them what it was they did. God is aware of all things!" (*sūrat al-Nūr*; XXIV, v.62–4).

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Muslims continued working on the trench until they had finished it. They made a rhyme about one of the Muslims, a man named Ju'ayl whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) referred to as 'Amr. They would repeat,

'To 'Amr from Ju'ayl he changed his name; and soon
"the weak are strong", he'll proclaim.'

"When they pronounced the name 'Amr', so would the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) do so along with them. When they said the word 'proclaim', so would he."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr, quoting Abū Isḥāq, from Ḥumayd, who said, 'I heard Anas say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to the trench and found that the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* were busy digging. It was a very cold morning and they had no slaves to do that work for them. When he saw what they were suffering from the hard labour and their hunger, he said, 'O God, their life is, indeed, that of the after-life; forgive the *anṣār* and the *muhājirīn*.' They responded in unison to this by chanting,

'We are those who gave allegiance to Muḥammad, for the
jihād, the holy work, forever, for as long as we live.'"'"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is similar wording given, on the authority of Mu'āwiya b. Qurra, from Anas.

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit and Ḥumayd, from Anas, in similar words.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Abū Ma'mar related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Wārith, from 'Abd al-'Azīz, from Anas, who said, 'The *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* set to work digging the trench around Medina carrying away the dirt on their backs, chanting,

"We are those who gave allegiance to Muḥammad, for
Islam, for ever, for as long as we live."

"'In response, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would say, "O God, there is no good except that of the hereafter, so bless the *anṣār* and the *muhājirīn*."

"'They would bring a handful of barley and some ill-smelling fat as a meal for them, hungry as they were; it stuck in their throats and smelled bad.'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "Qutayba b. Saʿīd related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Sahl b. Saʿd, who said, 'We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the trench while men were digging it. We would carry the dirt away on our shoulders. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "O God, there is no life but that of the hereafter; forgive the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār*."'"

Muslim also related this, from al-Qaʿnabī, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "Muslim b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Shuʿba, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was carrying away the dirt (before) the battle of al-khandaq till dust covered his stomach' (or 'his stomach became dust-covered'), 'and reciting,

"O God, without God we would not have been well-guided,
nor would we have been charitable; nor would we have
prayed.
So do send down tranquillity upon us and make us stand
firm when we meet the foe.
They have wronged us; if they want trouble, we'll
resist them!"

"'And he raised his voice at the words "resist them".'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān related to him, quoting Shurayḥ b. Maslama, quoting Ibrahīm b. Yūsuf, from his father, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who related the following *ḥadīth*: "At the (time of) the battle of *al-Aḥzāb*, 'the clans', and the trench of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I saw him carrying the dirt from the trench so much that it hid the skin of his stomach from me; and he had much body hair. I heard him reciting verses of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa as he moved the dirt,

'O God, without you we would not have been well-guided;
nor would we have been charitable, nor would we have
prayed.
So do send tranquillity upon us and make us stand firm
when we meet the foe.
They have wronged us; if they want trouble, we'll
resist them!'

"He would stretch out the final syllables."

Al-Bayhaqī stated in *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), "ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting Ismāʿīl b. al-Faḍl al-Bajalī, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Balkhī, quoting al-Musayyab b. Shurayk, from Ziyād b. Abū Ziyād, from Abū ʿUthmān, from Salmān, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) chanted as he dug the trench,

'In God's name, and through Him we were guided, and if
we had worshipped any but Him we would have suffered,
What a fine Lord! What a fine religion!'"

This *ḥadīth*, from this line, is *gharīb*, "unique".

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Sulaymān related to us, quoting Shu'ba, from Mu'āwiya b. Qurra, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the following while they were digging the trench,

'O God, there is no good except that of the hereafter,
so bless the *anṣār* and the *muhājirīn*.'"

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections derived this from a *ḥadīth* of Ghundar from Shu'ba.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Various anecdotes to which the Muslims were witness, have reached me relating to the digging of the trench that provide example of the truth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that confirm his Prophethood. One such is that Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh would relate how they had great difficulty digging one patch of hard ground, and so they complained about this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He called for a pitcher of water, spat in it and spoke over it some prayer that God wished him to say. He then sprinkled the water on the hard ground. Those present swear that it crumbled so much that it could not withstand an axe or a shovel."

Ibn Isḥāq related this thus, without a full chain of authorities, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, God be pleased with him.

Al-Bukhārī, God bless him, stated, "Khallād b. Yaḥyā related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Ayman, from his father, who said, 'I once went to Jābir and he told me, "At the Battle of the trench, when we were digging, a patch of extremely hard ground was in our way. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, when he was told of this, 'I'll come on down.' Then he arose; and there was a stone tied across his stomach – we had not tasted food for three days. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took the spade and struck the ground with it and it turned into soft sand.

"'"So I said, 'Please, Messenger of God, allow me to go home now.' Then I told my wife, 'I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) to be in an intolerable state. Do you have something (to eat)?' She replied that she had some barley and a goat. So I slaughtered the goat, and she ground up the barley. Then we put the meat into a pot. I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after the dough had risen and when the pot was on the stone trivet and almost cooked, and said, 'I have a little food; do come along, Messenger of God, with one or two of the men.' 'How much is there?' he asked, and I told him. He said, 'There's a great deal of good food. Let your wife not take off the pot nor remove the bread from the oven until I arrive.' Then he told the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* to get up, and they did so."

"'When the man went in to his wife, he told her, "There is a problem! The Prophet is coming with *muhājirīn*, *anṣār* and others." She asked, "Did he question you?" "Yes," I replied.

"'Then He told them all to come in, but not to push and shove, and he began to break up the bread and place meat on it. He covered over the pot and the oven when he took from them. He kept on serving the food to his Companions and taking it out. He did not stop breaking the bread and spooning the meat until they were satisfied; and some still remained. He then told her, "Eat yourself, and give to all; people are very hungry."'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad related it from Wakīʿ, from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ayman, from his father Ayman the Abyssinian, the freed-man of Banū Makhzūm, from Jābir in an account that combines reference to the hard ground with the stone being bound to the stomach of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-Bayhaqī related it in *Dalāʾil* (The Signs), from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from ʿAbd al-Wāhid b. Ayman, from his father, from Jābir, in an account combining reference to the hard ground and the food. That narrative is longer and more extensive than that of al-Bukhārī. In it he stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had learned of the quantity of the food, he told all the Muslims, 'Go along and see Jābir.' They began to do so. (Jābir) said, 'God only knows how embarrassed I felt! I told myself that he was coming with (many) people for a measure of barley and a she-kid! So I went in to my wife and told her, "You're going to be put to shame; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is coming to you with everyone from the trench!" She replied, "Did he ask you how much food you have?" "Yes." I replied. "Well then", she commented, "God and His messenger know best!"

"'And so she relieved my great concern. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in, he said to her, "You serve, but leave the meat to me." And then he set about serving the stew and dishing out the meat, giving it to everyone in turn. He kept on doing so until all were satisfied, yet the oven and pot were still more full than before!

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Now you eat and serve more." And she went on eating and serving all day.'"

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related this similarly, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī, from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ayman, from his father, from Jābir's account, and also at greater length. Finally, he stated, "He told me they were 800 in number. Or else the figure he stated was 300."

According to the account from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Hishām b. Saʿd, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, given only at length about the food, he stated that they were 300 in number.

Al-Bukhārī then stated, "'Amr b. 'Alī related to me, quoting Abū 'Āṣim, quoting Ḥanẓala b. Abū Sufyān, from Abū al-Zubayr, as follows, 'Ibn Mīnā' related to us that he heard Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh say, "When the trench was dug, I could see that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was suffering severe malnutrition, so I asked my wife what livestock she had, saying, 'Do you have anything? I have noticed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is suffering serious malnutrition.' She produced a bag containing a measure of barley, and we also did have a she-kid. I slaughtered it, while she ground the barley; we both finished at the same time. Then I cut it up and put it in the cooking pot and turned to go back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when she said, 'Don't disgrace me by having the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) come and bring others who are with him!' I went up to him and, speaking confidentially, I told him, 'Messenger of God, I've slaughtered a she-kid of ours and ground up a measure of barley we had. Please come, and bring another with you.'

"'"At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out, 'Hey, everyone at the trench! Jābir has made a feast for us! Let's go to it!' He then told me, 'Don't take down the pot or bake the bread before I get there.'

"'"So I went home and eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, leading his men. I went to my wife and she berated me, but I told her, 'I did just as you asked.' She then brought out the dough to us, and he spat on it and blessed it. After that he went over to our cooking pot and spat and blessed again. He told my wife, 'Call over a bakeress to bake along with you and keep on ladling out from the pot, but don't take it off the fire.' A thousand people were present. And, I swear by God, they ate, then stopped and went away and our pot was still bubbling as before, and our dough was still there too, as it had been."'"

Muslim related this from Ḥajjāj b. al-Shā'ir, from Abū 'Āṣim in much the same words.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related this *ḥadīth*, but his account has some unique aspects to it. He stated, "Sa'īd b. Mīnā' related to me, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, 'We worked with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the trench. I had a young goat, not fully fattened. So I said how nice it would be to serve it for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I told my wife to grind up some barley for us, and she made some bread with it. I slaughtered the goat and we roasted it for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"'When evening came and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to leave the trench (we were working in it during the day, then going home to our families each night) I told him, "We've cooked a young goat we had and baked some barley bread. I do hope you will accompany me home." I had only wanted him to come with me, but when I told him this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepted, but then he had someone call out, "Everyone is to go with the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to the home of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh!" At this I said, "O dear! We belong to God, and to Him do we return!"

"'Then along came the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), accompanied by his men. He sat down and we brought out the food which he blessed, invoking the name of Almighty God over it. He then ate and the others set about it too. When one group was finished another came until all those working at the ditch had done.'"

It is strange that Imām Aḥmad only gave this *ḥadīth* through Saʿīd b. Minā', *from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, from his father,* from Ibn Isḥāq, from Jābir, in exactly similar form.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Saʿīd b. Mīnā' related to me that it was related to him that a daughter of Bashir b. Saʿd, sister of al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr said, 'My mother, ʿAmra, daughter of Rawāḥa, invited me over and gave me a handful of dates, putting it in my dress, saying, "Daughter, take this to your father and your uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa for their lunch." So I passed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while I was looking for my father and my uncle. He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said to me, "Come over here, girl! What are you carrying?" I replied, "This, Messenger of God, is some dates my mother sent me to deliver for lunch to my father Bashir b. Saʿd and my uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa." He told me, "Bring it over here." So I poured out the dates into his hands and they did not fill them.

"'He then asked for a cloth and it was laid out for him. He piled up the dates on it and they towered above it. He then told one of his men there to shout out *to those working on the trench to come and* have lunch. The men all gathered around and began eating from it. But it grew in quantity and when they went off again, it was spilling over the sides of the cloth.'"

Ibn Isḥāq related it thus; there is a break in the line of transmission. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it thus through him and without addition.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It was related to me that Salmān the Persian said, 'I was digging in the trench and one rock was too tough for me. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was nearby, and when he saw me striking it and how difficult was all the trouble I was having, he came down, took the pickaxe from my hands and struck with it. A flash glowed from beneath the pickaxe. He then struck with it again and again it glowed beneath it. He struck it a third time and again it glowed. I said, "By my father and mother, Messenger of God! What is it I see glowing beneath your pickaxe when you strike with it?" He replied, "Did you see that, Salmān?" "Yes, I did," I replied. He explained, "The first glow was God opening up the gates to Yemen for me. The second was God opening up the gates of Syria and the *maghrib*, the west. The third was God opening up by it the gates of the East for me."'"

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "This is what Ibn Isḥāq related that Mūsā b. ʿUqba recounted in his work on the military expeditions; Abū al-Aswad recounted it from ʿUrwa."

Al-Bayhaqī went on to relate a *ḥadīth* through Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Kadīmī, a controversial source. However, Ibn Jarīr related it in his history from Muḥammad b. Bashshār and from Bandār, both giving a line of authorities from Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAthma, from Kathīr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf al-Muznī, from his father, from his grandfather. He recounts a *ḥadīth* which tells how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided up work on the trench in such a way that every group of ten men were to dig for forty arms' lengths. The account also says that the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* quarrelled about Salmān and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore stated, "Salmān is one of us – one of the *ahl al-bayt*, 'a member (honorary) of the household of the Prophet (ṢAAS).'"

ʿAmr b. ʿAwf stated, "I, Salmān, Ḥudhayfa, al-Nuʿmān b. Muqarrin and six of the *anṣār* were working on forty arms' lengths of the trench. We dug on until we reached al-Nadā, where we came across a huge, white rock. It broke our metal tools and gave us great difficulty. So Salmān went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was then in a Turkish pavilion, and told him of it. He came and took the pickaxe from Salmān and struck the rock so hard it split. From it there came a flash of light so strong as to illuminate all the way between the two lava fields – (at both ends) of Medina, that is. It was like a great lantern on a very dark night. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) invoked God's greatness, saying *Allāhu Akbar*, 'God is Most Great', as at a victory, and the Muslims did so as well. He then struck it again and the same thing happened, a third time with the same result. Salmān and the Muslims asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what the light meant. He replied, 'From the first, the castles of al-Ḥīra and cities of Chosroe were lit up to be seen like the fangs of dogs. Gabriel announced to me that my nation would be victorious over them. From the second, the red castles of Byzantium were illuminated, as though they were the fangs of dogs; Gabriel announced to me that my nation would be victorious over them. From the third, the castles of Ṣanʿā were lit up like the fangs of dogs; Gabriel announced to me that my nation would be victorious over them. So be joyful at this news!' The Muslims were delighted, and said, 'Praise be to God! A true omen!'

"When the enemy clans appeared for battle, the believers told one another that that was what God and His messenger had promised them and was true, and so their faith and determination were reinforced. The hypocrites said, 'He tells you he can see from Yathrib to the castles of al-Ḥīra and the cities of Chosroe, and that they will be rendered up to you, yet here you are digging the trench and can't even come out into the open!'

"And so it was that about them God revealed, '(Remember) when the hypocrites and those with sickness in their hearts say, "What God and His messenger promise us is mere fancy!"'"(*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.12).

This *ḥadīth* is unilateral.

The ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī stated, "Hārūn b. Malūl related to us, quoting Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād, from ʿAbd

Allāh b. Yazīd, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered a trench be dug around Medina and the work was underway, some men told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that they had come across a rock they could not dig up. He then went there, with us accompanying him, and when he reached the site, he took the pickaxe, struck a hard blow with it and spoke the words, *Allāhu Akbar*! "God is Most Great!" Then came a crashing sound the like of which I never heard before and he said, "Persia has been conquered!" He then struck again, and again invoked God's greatness. Again came a crashing sound the like of which I had never heard, and he said, "Byzantium has been conquered!" He then struck and invoked once more and again I heard a crashing sound the like of which I had never heard, and he said, "God has delivered Ḥimyar as (our) allies and comrades!"'"

This too is unique from this line of transmission. There is weakness in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. Anʿam al-Ifrīqī as a source. But God knows best.

Al-Ṭabrānī also stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal related to us, Saʿīd b. Muḥammad al-Jurmī related to me, Abū Numayla related to us, quoting Nuʿaym b. Saʿīd al-Gharrī, that ʿIkrima quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dug the trench, his Companions had tied stones to their stomachs they were so hungry. When he saw this, he said, "Can't you find someone who could give us a meal?" A man replied, "Yes." The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, "Since you didn't say no, then lead us to him." So off they went to the man's house, but he was doing his share of work in the ditch. His wife sent a message to him to come home because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had come to visit them. The man hurried home expressing his concern. He did have a goat with a kid, and the man sprang at the goat. But the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "No; there's the kid behind her. Slaughter the kid." The wife prepared some ground wheat she had and made it into dough and baked it. The pot was prepared and she crumbled the bread into the stew in her wooden bowl that served ten and offered it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed a finger in it, invoked God's name and asked Him to bless it, then told them to eat. They did so until they were satisfied. Yet all they had eaten was one-third; two-thirds of it remained. He then told the ten men with him to go and bring back a like number. They left and the next ten arrived and ate till they were satisfied. He then arose and said a prayer for the mistress of the house, invoking God's name over her and her family. They then returned to the trench. He asked them to accompany him to Salmān who had a rock in his way for which he had insufficient strength. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Let me be the first to strike it." He said God's name over it, struck it and one-third of it split away. He then said, "God is most great! It's the castles of Syria, by the Lord of the *kaʿba*!" He hit it again, and another section came away. He said, *Allāhu Akbar*! "God is most Great! It's the castles of Syria, by the Lord of the *kaʿba*!" He then hit it again and another section came away.

He said, *Allāhu Akbar*! "It's the castles of Persia, by the Lord of the *kaʿba*!" Thereupon the hypocrites commented, "So we dig a trench for ourselves while he promises us the castles of Persia and Byzantium!"'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated further, "ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, that Muḥammad b. Ghālib b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting Hawdha, that ʿAwf related to us, from Maymūn b. Ustādh al-Zuhrī, and al-Barā' b. ʿĀzib al-Anṣārī related to us, as follows, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered us to dig the ditch, a large, tough rock was in our way but the pickaxes made no impression on it. The problem was brought to the attention of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and when he saw it, he took the pickaxe and spoke God's name. Then he struck it hard and a third of it broke off. He then exclaimed, "*Allāhu Akbar*! I have been given the keys to Syria! I swear by God I can see its red castles, by God's grace!" He then struck it a second blow and cut off another third. Again he exclaimed, "I have been given the keys to Persia! I swear by God, I can see the castles of the white cities!" He then struck a third time, speaking God's name and broke the rest of the rock. He exclaimed, "*Allāhu Akbar!* I have been given the keys to Yemen! I swear by God, I can see the gates of Ṣanʿā from where I am now!"'"

This *ḥadīth* is also unique, one related only by this Maymūn b. Ustādh. He was of Baṣra, and related material from al-Barā' and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, and from him Ḥamīd al-Ṭawīl, al-Jurayrī and ʿAwf al-Aʿrābī. Abū Ḥātim stated, on the authority of Isḥāq b. Manṣūr and Ibn Muʿīn, that he was a *thiqa*, "a reliable source". ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī stated, "Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān would not relate traditions from him."

Al-Nasā'ī stated, "ʿIsā b. Yūnus related to us, quoting Ḍamra, from Abū Zarʿa al-Saybānī, from Abū Sakina, a man from Baḥrayn, from one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the digging of the trench, a large rock got in the way of their work. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went and took the pickaxe and placed his cloak down in the direction of the trench. Then he said the words, "The word of your Lord will be fulfilled in truth and justice. Nothing can alter His words. He it is who hears and knows" (*sūrat al-Anʿām*; VI, v.115). At this a third of the rock split off. Salmān al-Fārisī was standing watching. At the blow struck by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), there had been a flash of light. Then he hit it a second time and repeated, "The word of your Lord will be fulfilled in truth and justice. Nothing can alter His words. He it is who hears and knows." Another third broke off, and a light again flashed that Salmān saw. He then struck a third time, saying, "The word of your Lord will be fulfilled in truth and justice. Nothing can alter His words. He it is who hears and knows." At that the remaining third split up.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left, picked up his cloak and sat down. Salmān asked him, "Messenger of God, I noticed that each blow you struck was accompanied by a flash of light." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded,

"So, Salmān, you saw that?" "Yes, I did, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, Messenger of God." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on, "When I struck the first blow the cities of Chosroe and their surroundings, along with many other towns were raised up before me so that I saw them with my own eyes." One of his Companions present there then asked, "Messenger of God, please pray to God to grant us victory, give us their progeny as booty and to let us destroy their lands with our own hands." And he did speak that prayer.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on, "Then I struck the second blow and Caesar's cities and their surroundings were raised before me so that I saw them with my own eyes." Those present said, "Please, Messenger of God, pray to God to grant us victory, to give us their progeny as booty and to let us destroy their lands with our own hands." And he did so pray.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on, "When I struck the third blow, the cities of Abyssinia were raised before me, along with the villages there about, so that I saw them with my own eyes." Then he said, "Allow Abyssinia what they allowed you, and leave the Turks undisturbed for as long as they so leave you."'"

Al-Nasāʾī related it thus at length, whereas Abū Dāʾūd quoted from it the words, "Allow Abyssinia what they allowed you, and leave the Turks undisturbed for as long as they so leave you." His line of transmission was from ʿIsā b. Muḥammad al-Ramlī, from Ḍamra b. Rabīʿa, from Abū Zurʿa Yaḥyā b. Abū ʿAmr al-Saybānī.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A trustworthy source related to me from Abū Hurayra that when these territories were conquered in the eras of ʿUmar and of ʿUthmān and thereafter, he would say, 'You should conquer what seems appropriate to you; for, I swear by Him who holds Abū Hurayra's soul, you have not conquered any town, and you never will right on up to Judgement Day, the keys to which were not given beforehand to Muḥammad (ṢAAS).'"

This line of transmission for this *ḥadīth* is broken; but it is given in complete form from another line, thanks be to God. For Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Layth, that ʿUqayl b. Khālid related to him, from Ibn Shihāb, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, that Abū Hurayra said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "I was provided for my mission with words that united and I was made victorious through awe. And while I slept I was brought the keys of all the treasuries on earth and they were placed in my hand."'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in a *ḥadīth* unique to himself from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr and Saʿd b. ʿAfīr, both of them quoting al-Layth. According to him, Abū Hurayra said, "... and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on to say, '... and you are advancing to them.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yazīd related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as saying, 'I was made victorious through awe and was provided with words that united. The earth was made for me a mosque and a purification; and while I was

asleep, I was brought the keys to the treasuries of the world, and they piled up in my hand.'"

This chain of transmission is considered strong and excellent according to the criteria of Muslim, (yet) the chief authorities (on the traditions) did not include it. In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections are the words (of the Prophet (ṢAAS)), "And when Caesar expires there will be no other Caesar after him; when Chosroe expires there will be no Chosroe after him. And by Him in whose hand is my soul, the treasuries of both these shall be used in God's cause."

In the authentic *ḥadīth* it is stated, "God gathered up for me the earth, all its parts to the east and to the west; all of that He gathered up for me shall be the domain of my people."

Division.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed the trench, Quraysh advanced at the confluence of the streams from Rūma, between al-Jurf and Zaghāba. They were accompanied by 10,000 of their Abyssinian mercenaries and their allies of Banū Kināna and people from Tihāma. Ghaṭafān advanced as well, along with their allies from Najd. They came to a halt at Dhanab Naqamā, over by the side of Mt. Uḥud.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims, 3,000 strong, came forth until they had Mt. Salʿ behind them. There he encamped, with the trench between his forces and the enemy. The women and children were taken above into the forts."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina."

I would comment that this makes reference to the Almighty's words, "(And remember) when they came at you from above you and from below you, and when eyes turned dim and hearts rose into throats, and you were having doubts about God" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.10).

Al-Bukhārī stated, "ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba related to us, quoting ʿUbayd, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, 'The words, "when they came at you from above you and from below you" refer to the battle of al-khandaq.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "When al-Aḥzāb, the clans, positioned themselves around Medina, Banū Qurayẓa locked their fortresses against them."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab al-Naḍrī went to see Kaʿb b. Asad al-Qurazī, who was their designated contractor and trustee. When Kaʿb heard of his coming he locked the gate of his fortress against Ḥuyayy. When the latter asked permission to enter, Kaʿb refused to open up for him. Ḥuyayy called up to him, 'Kaʿb, open up for me, damn you!' 'Damn you, Ḥuyayy,' he replied. 'You're an evil man! I've made a pact with Muḥammad and I'm not going

to break my agreement with him. I've never found him to be anything but trustworthy and truthful.'

"Ḥuyayy insisted, 'Damn you, open up so I can talk to you!' 'I will not,' Kaʿb replied. Ḥuyayy then said, 'I swear, the only reason you're locking me out is that you're scared at losing your *jashīsha*, your cornbread, of having me eat it with you!'

"This so embarrassed Kaʿb that he did open up. Then Ḥuyayy told him, 'Kaʿb, I bring you fame forever, and a huge mass.' 'And what is that?' he asked. 'I bring you Quraysh with their chieftains and nobles whom I have left encamped at the confluence of the streams at Rūma, along with Ghaṭafān, with their chiefs and nobles whom I have positioned at Dhanb Naqmā, near Uḥud. They have made a treaty that they will not leave until we completely destroy Muḥammad and those with him.'

"Kaʿb responded, 'What you bring me, I swear by God, is shame forever and a cloud that has lost its water; it thunders and there is lightning, but there is nothing in it. Damn you, Ḥuyayy, leave me to maintain my pact with him; I have never found Muḥammad to be anything but trustworthy and honest.'

"ʿAmr b. Saʿd al-Qurazī spoke too, and did so well, according to the account given by Mūsā b. ʿUqba. He reminded them of the pact with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and of the treaty made by Kaʿb and them to aid him. He said, 'If you won't actually help him, then just leave him to his enemy.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Ḥuyayy continued badgering Kaʿb to the extreme until he gave way in agreeing to break his pact with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and fighting him alongside the *aḥzāb*, the clans. This was on the understanding that Ḥuyayy would guarantee him that if Quraysh and Ghaṭafān were to withdraw without destroying Muḥammad that he would join Kaʿb in his fort and they would share the same fate.

"And so Kaʿb b. Asad abrogated and dissolved the pact he had with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "Kaʿb b. Asad and Banū Qurayẓa required of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab that he take from Quraysh and Ghaṭafān hostages who would remain in custody so that no harm would come to themselves if his enemies were forced to retreat after failing to destroy Muḥammad. The hostages were to number 90 of their leading men, and Ḥuyayy agreed to this. Thereupon Kaʿb b. Asad and Qurayza did break their pact and tore up the document on which it was recorded; the tribes Banū Saʿna, Asad, Usayd and Thaʿlaba, however, went forth to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims, he sent out Saʿd b. Muʿādh, he being at that time the leader of al-Aws, along with Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, leader of Khazraj, accompanied by ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa and Khawāt b. Jubayr, telling them, 'Go to those people and determine whether what we have heard is true, then inform me by

some unintelligible remark I will understand but that will not weaken the resolve of the Muslims. If they are keeping to their pact, then you can report this openly to our men.' The emissaries then left and reached Kaʿb and his men."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba went on, "And so they went with them into their fortress and called upon them to make friends and to renew the pact. However, the Qurayẓa men replied, 'What now? When he has broken our wing and deported them' – meaning Banū al-Naḍīr. They criticized the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and Saʿd b. ʿUbāda began reviling them. This made them angry, so Saʿd b. Muʿādh told him, 'I swear, we did not come here for this! Our issue with them is too serious to settle with bad language.'

"Saʿd b. Muʿādh then spoke to them as follows, 'You know of the relationship between us, Banū Qurayza, and I'm afraid you might have happen to you the same as befell Banū al-Naḍīr, or even worse.' But they replied, 'You must have eaten your father's penis!' Saʿd b. Muʿādh responded, 'It would have been much more appropriate and much better if you had responded differently.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "They criticized the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Who is this "Messenger of God"? We have no pact with Muḥammad.' At this Saʿd b. Muʿādh, who was an excitable man, reviled them and they insulted him. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda told him, 'Don't insult them any more; our issue with them is too serious for name-calling.'

"Thereupon both Saʿds and those with them returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and, after greeting him, said, 'ʿUḍl and al-Qāra!' By this they were referring to their treachery towards those who had gone to al-Rajīʿ, Khubayb and his companions.

"At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced, '*Allāhu Akbar!* Rejoice, Muslims!'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) covered himself in his cloak, after receiving the news of Banū Qurayẓa, and went to lie down. He was absent a long time; and his men had become extremely concerned and fearful when they saw him lie down, for they realized no good news had come from Banū Qurayẓa. But eventually he raised his head and said, 'Rejoice at God's victory and for His help!'

"Next morning the two opposing sides closed and they exchanged fire with arrows and stones. Saʿīd b. al-Musayyad said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the words, 'O God, I beseech You to fulfil Your pact and promise! O God, if it pleases You, You will (no longer) be worshipped!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Thereupon the anxiety and fear increased. Their enemy came at them from above and below, so that the Muslims were very confused. Dissension arose, to the point where Muʿattib b. Qushayr, a brother of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, commented, 'Muḥammad used to promise us that we would eat the treasures of Chosroe and Caesar, yet now we don't feel safe going to the

toilet.' Similarly, Aws b. Qayẓī said, while in the presence of others of his people, 'O Messenger of God, our homes are open to the enemy. Give us leave to return to our homes; they are outside Medina.'

"It is these persons and those like them who are referred to in the words of the Almighty, '(Remember) when the hypocrites and those with disease in their hearts said, "it was all misleading, what God and His messenger promised us!" And (remember) when one group of them said, "O people of Yathrib, there is no place for you here, so go back!" And a group of them did ask the Prophet (ṢAAS), saying, "Our homes are undefended!" Yet they were not exposed; all they wanted was to flee.'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.12, 13).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in his forward position with the polytheists besieging him there for some 20 days, almost a month, but there was no actual warfare between them, apart from some discharge of arrows.

"It has been related to me by ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, and from another source I do not doubt, from al-Zuhrī, that when conditions there became worse, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn and al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf al-Murrī – these men being leaders of Ghaṭāfān – offering them a third of the dates of Medina if they were to go home and leave him and his men alone. And so peace talks were held between him and them, to the extent that they did sign a document. However, it was not properly witnessed with true intent for peace, but merely to reduce tension.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wished to do this, he sent for Saʿd b. Muʿādh and Saʿd b. ʿUmāra, informed them and sought their counsel. They responded, 'Messenger of God, is this something that you wish to do, something God has ordered you to do and which we must put into effect, or is it something you are doing for us?'

"He replied, 'It is something I am doing for you. I swear by God, I am only doing this because I see the Arabs shooting at you as if from one bow, and because they are attacking you from all sides. I want to break up their coalition against you.'

"Saʿd b. Muʿādh then told him, 'Messenger of God, we used to be disbelievers in God, and worshipped idols along with those people, not worshipping nor knowing God. At that time, they would never have dreamed of eating a single date of ours except as our guests or after purchase. Should we give them our property now, after God has honoured us with Islam, led us to Him and given us esteem through you and through Him? We'll have none of this! By God, all we'll give them is the sword, until God decides between us and them!'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'As you wish.' Thereupon Saʿd b. Muʿādh took the document and erased the writing from it, saying, 'Now let them fight us!'"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there with his men under siege but without warfare underway between them and their enemy, except that some

of the Quraysh cavalry, consisting of ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd b. Abū Qays, of Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy, ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl, Ḥubayra b. Abū Wahb, both of Banū Makhzūm, Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās, of Banū Muḥārib b. Fihr, donned their armour and then went forth on horseback to the positions held by Banū Kināna. There they called out, 'Banū Kināna, prepare for battle! You're going to discover who are the true knights today!'

"They charged forward on their mounts, but stopped at the trench saying, when they saw it, 'By God, this is a trick no Arab used before!' They then headed for a narrow part of the trench and beat their horses, which charged over it and carried them to swampy ground between the trench and a fissure. Thereupon ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and a group of Muslims came out and blocked the opening through which they had forced their horses. The enemy horsemen then charged at them.

"ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd had fought at Badr but been badly wounded and consequently had not been present at Uḥud. At al-khandaq he had come out to battle wearing his insignia so that his rank would be evident. Now there on his horse, he cried out, 'Who will accept my challenge to combat?' ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him, came forward and said, "ʿAmr, you used to swear by God that if any man of Quraysh offered you two choices, you would accept one of them.' 'That is so,' ʿAmr replied. ʿAlī then said, 'Well then, I invite you to God and to His messenger and to Islam!' 'I don't need that,' replied ʿAmr. 'Then', ʿAlī continued, 'I invite you to combat!' ʿAmr responded, 'Why this, nephew? I swear, I don't want to kill you.' ʿAlī replied, 'But, by God, I want to kill you!'

"This enraged ʿAmr and he leaped off his horse and hobbled it and beat its head. He then advanced at ʿAlī and they fought, circling around one another until ʿAlī, God be pleased with him, eventually killed him. Their horsemen left in defeat, charging back across the trench in flight."

According to Ibn Isḥāq, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses on that:

"He sought aid from the stone (idol) in his stupidity,
while I rightly sought support from the Lord of
Muḥammad.
I felt proud when I left him prostrate like a tree
stump amid the fine sand and rocks.
And refrained from taking his armour, though if I had
been defeated he would have had mine.
Do not think that God would abandon His faith and His
prophet, you clansmen!"

Ibn Hishām stated that most authorities on poetry doubt that this poetry was by ʿAlī.

Ibn Hishām also said that ʿIkrima tossed his spear away that day when he was defeated by ʿAmr, and that Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on that subject:

"He fled and threw his spear to us; perhaps, ʿIkrim,
you should not have done this.
You turned and ran like a male ostrich, looking only
straight ahead.
You did not turn your back like a man would; the nape
of your neck was like that of a *furʿal*."

Ibn Hishām explained that the word *furʿal* means a young hyena.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī recounted in his *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa*, quoting Ibn Isḥāq in another place in the *sīra*, the life of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as follows, "ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd went forth in full armour and called out, 'Who will meet me in combat?' ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib arose and said, 'I'll do it, Prophet of God.' 'But that is ʿAmr,' he replied. 'Sit down!' ʿAmr called out again, 'Will no man accept combat?' He then began teasing them, saying, 'What about that paradise of yours? Don't you claim that any of you who are killed will enter there? So will not any man of you accept combat with me?' ʿAlī again arose and asked, 'May I, Messenger of God?' 'Sit down!' he replied. Then ʿAmr called out a third time, speaking the verses,

'I'm hoarse from calling out to them. Won't
someone come forth?
While those thought brave are too cowardly, I've stood
here like an accomplished champion.
That is why I have always hastened forth before the
fighting begins.
In a warrior, it is bravery and generosity that are the
best qualities.'

"ʿAlī again arose and went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'May I go, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'But it is ʿAmr.' 'Even though it is ʿAmr!' he insisted. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave him permission and he walked out towards him, reciting the verses,

'Do not hurry away, for someone who is not weak is
responding to your challenge.
He is a man of determination and wisdom, and truth is
the resort of all who succeed.
I hope that I will make mourning women stand over you
From the thrust of a spear that will always be
mentioned in talk of warfare.'

"ʿAmr asked him, 'Who are you?' 'I am ʿAlī,' he replied.

"'You mean ʿAbd Manāf's son,' ʿAmr enquired. 'No; I'm ʿAlī son of Abū Ṭālib,' he responded. 'Nephew,' ʿAmr told him, 'you have uncles who are more mature than you; I am reluctant to shed your blood.' ʿAlī replied, 'But, by God, I'm not reluctant to shed your blood.' This angered ʿAmr and he dismounted and drew his sword like fire flashing. He then advanced furiously towards ʿAlī.

'Alī met him with his leather shield. 'Amr struck it and pierced it, his sword remaining stuck in it while it also struck 'Alī's head. Then 'Alī struck him in his neck vein and he fell down. The dust had risen and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard someone saying, '*Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great!' And so we knew that 'Alī had killed him. 'Alī then spoke the lines,

> 'Is it against me that the horsemen thus charge; my companions held me back from them.
> My zeal today and a resolve in my mind, not just in my (mouth) tooth.'

"He then went on to speak the line,

> 'He worshipped the stone (idol) in his stupidity, while I wisely sought aid from Muḥammad's Lord.'

"Then 'Alī went on towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), his face beaming, and 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked him, 'Did you strip off his armour? It's the best armour among the Arabs.' 'Alī responded, 'As I struck him, he shielded his private parts from me, and I felt embarrassed to despoil my own cousin.'

"'Amr's cavalry then left in defeat, charging back across the trench."

Ibn Isḥāq further stated, as quoted by al-Bayhaqī, that 'Alī struck him at the collarbone, his weapon going on down to emerge from his belly, and that 'Amr died in the trench. The polytheists then sent word to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), seeking to purchase his corpse for 10,000 (dirhams). But he responded, "He's yours. We don't profit from the dead."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Naṣr b. Bāb related to us, quoting Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'The Muslims killed at the trench a polytheist and were given money for his corpse. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said "Give them back the money for his corpse; his corpse is evil, and so would be the blood-money." He would not accept anything from them.'"

Al-Bayhaqī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Ḥajjāj, he being Ibn Arṭāt, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbās, whom he quoted as saying that a polytheist was killed at the battle of al-Aḥzāb and that a message was then sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) offering payment of 12,000 (dirhams) for his body. He responded, "There's no good in his body, nor in the price for it."

Al-Tirmidhī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbās. He categorized this *ḥadīth* as *gharīb*, "unilateral".

Mūsā b. 'Uqba recounted that it was actually the body of Nawfal b. 'Abd Allāh al-Makhzūmī they requested after he was killed, and that it was for him that they offered blood-money. But he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) responded, "He is evil, and so would be the blood-money; God has cursed him and his blood-money. We

have no intent to take blood-money for him. And we will not prevent you from burying him."

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Isḥāq as stating, "Nawfal b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī came forth and made a challenge for combat. Al-Zubayr accepted and went out to battle him, striking him so hard that he split him in two and badly dented his sword. He then left, reciting the line,

> 'I'm a man who protects and defends the Prophet, the
> chosen one, *al-ummī*[36], the untutored.'"

Ibn Jarīr stated that when Nawfal became trapped in the trench, the Muslims began hurling rocks at him. So he said, "A death better than this, I pray you, fellow Arabs!" At that ʿAlī went down and killed him. The polytheists then asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for his body, offering a price for it. But he refused to take anything from them and allowed them to remove it.

This *ḥadīth* is to be categorized as *gharīb*, "unilateral", from two sources.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through Ḥammād b. Yazīd, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who said, "At the battle of al-khandaq, I was put in the fortress with the women and children. With me was ʿUmar b. Abū Salama, who would bend over so that I could get on his back and observe. I saw my father charging first here, then there, attacking everything that came before him. That evening he joined us in the fortress, and I commented to him, 'Father, I watched what you did today!' He responded, 'So you saw me, son!' 'Yes,' I affirmed. 'Well, may my father and mother be your ransom!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Laylā, that is ʿAbd Allāh b. Sahl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sahl al-Anṣārī, brother of Banū Ḥāritha, related to me that ʿĀ'isha, mother of the faithful, was in the fort of Banū Ḥāritha, one of the most secure of the Medina forts, during the battle of al-khandaq. Umm Saʿd b. Muʿādh was with her there. ʿĀ'isha said, That was before the veil was imposed on us. Saʿd passed by wearing armour so small that his whole arm was exposed. He was carrying a spear and as he brandished it, he would call out,

> "Stay awhile and let Ḥamal watch the fight
> There's no harm in death when the time is right!"'

'His mother called out to him, "'Hurry along, son! By God, you're late already!" I commented to her, "Umm Saʿd, I just wish Saʿd's armour was larger." I was afraid he would be struck in those very places; and indeed an arrow was shot at Saʿd b. Muʿādh that severed the artery of his arm.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "'Āṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda told me, 'It was Ḥibbān b. Qays b. al-ʿAriqa of Banū ʿĀmir b. Lu'ayy who shot at him and when the arrow struck,

36. This adjective has been the subject of much study. Some consider it to refer to someone coming from Mecca, known as the Umm al-Qurā, "the mother of all cities". Others interpret it to mean unlettered, untutored and therefore a reference to the miraculous nature of the Qur'ān and the impossibility of its having been composed by someone who lacked education.

he called out, 'Take that from me; I'm Ibn al-ʿAriqa!' Saʿd responded, 'May God make your face sweat[37] in hell! O God, if You will prolong this battle with Quraysh, preserve me for it! For there is no people I would rather fight than those who have harmed Your messenger, disbelieved in him and expelled him. But if You decree (continued) war between us and them, then make me a witness to it, and do not make me die before letting me engage in battle with Banū Qurayẓa!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "A reliable source related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, that the latter would say, 'Actually, it was Abū Usāma al-Jushamī, an ally of Banū Makhzūm, who struck Saʿd that day.' And Abū Usāma composed the following verse on the subject that he recited to ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl:

'Ikrim, were you not blaming me when you said, "May Khālid be your ransom at the forts of Medina?"
Was it not I who struck Saʿd with an arrow in his elbow, causing a wound that would not congeal?
It caused Saʿd's death and made old women and well-breasted virgins mourn.
It was you who defended him when ʿUbayda called in his distress to a group of them,
Those times when they avoided his path, while at other times they were too scared to act.'"

Ibn Isḥāq commented, "God knows which account is correct."

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is also said that it was Khafāja b. ʿĀṣim b. Ḥibbān who struck Saʿd."

I would comment that God did respond to the plea of His servant Saʿd b. Muʿādh concerning Banū Qurayẓa. God did please him, and He thus ruled regarding them with strength and ease; and He made it be they who requested that, as will be explained hereafter. He decreed that their warriors be slain and their children be taken captive. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to him, "You issued judgement concerning them, by the decision of God above the seven heavens."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, quoting his father ʿAbbād as having said, 'Ṣafiyya, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, was in Fāriʿ, the castle of Ḥassān b. Thābit and she said, "Ḥassān was there with us along with the women and children. A Jew passed by and began circling around the castle. Banū Qurayẓa had begun fighting and had cut off its relations with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). There was no one there to protect us while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims were so engaged with the enemy that there was no one who could leave them and come to us if someone should attack us. So I said, 'Ḥassān, as you can see, that Jew is circling the castle

37. The word *ʿariqa* in the name of the Quraysh archer means to sweat; hence Saʿd's response.

and I am concerned that he might inform the Jews over behind us of where our weakness lies, now that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men are so busy. Go down to him and kill him!' He replied, 'God forgive you, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib! You must know I could never do such as thing as that.'"

"'She went on, "When he said this to me and I saw I could expect nothing from him, I put on a waist-wrapper then took a cudgel and went down from the fort towards him. Then I struck him with the cudgel till I had killed him. When I had finished with him, I returned to the fort and said, 'Hassān, now you go down and plunder him; the only thing that prevented me doing it was his being a man.' He replied, I don't need to plunder him, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib!'"'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "The polytheists surrounded the Muslims, so rendering them with their squadrons inside a kind of fortress. They besieged them for some 20 nights, coming at them from every side, so that they never knew whether or not (the attack) was over."

He went on, "They sent one large detachment towards where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was stationed, and they did battle all day until night came. When it was time for the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer, the enemy force was still at hand and so neither the Prophet (ṢAAS) nor any of the men with him could perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer in the manner they wished. When, at night, the enemy force turned away, people claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'They kept us from the *ʿaṣr* prayer; may God fill their bellies and their hearts ('and their graves,' according to one report) with fire!'

"When conditions worsened, so did the attitude of many people and they began saying ugly things. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw the state of his men and their ill mood, he tried to encourage them, saying, 'By Him who bears my soul in His hand, He will give you relief from the distress you are suffering. I certainly hope to circumambulate in safety around the Ancient House and that God will present me with the keys to the *kaʿba*, and that God will destroy Caesar and Chosroe and that we will expend their wealth in God's cause!'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Isḥāq related to us, quoting Rawḥ, quoting Hishām, from Muḥammad, from ʿAbīda, from ʿAlī, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having said at the battle of al-khandaq, 'May God fill with fire their houses above them and their graves, for them having kept us from the middle prayer until the sun set.'"

The rest of the narrators, except for Ibn Mājah, related it similarly from various lines back to Hishām b. Ḥassān, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, from ʿUbayda, from ʿAlī. Muslim and al-Tirmidhī related it through Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatāda, from Abū Ḥassān al-Aʿraj, from ʿUbayda, from ʿAlī. Al-Tirmidhī categorized the *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan, ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Then al-Bukhārī stated, "Al-Makkī b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Hishām, from Yaḥyā, from Abū Salama, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

came along, at the battle of al-khandaq, after the sun had set, and began cursing the Quraysh unbelievers. He said, 'Messenger of God, I could scarcely perform my prayers before the sun had almost set.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'By God, I didn't perform it!' We then went on down with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Buṭḥān, and he performed the prayer ablutions, as did we too. He then performed the *'aṣr* prayer after the sun had set and thereafter went on to perform the *maghrib*, after sunset, prayer."

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, and al-Nasā'ī, from various lines, back to Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Abd al-Ṣamad related to us, quoting Thābit, quoting Hilāl, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) engaged the enemy in battle and had not finished doing so when it became too late to perform the *al-'aṣr* prayer. When he realized this, he said, "O God, may you fill with fire the homes and graves of those who kept us from performing the *ṣalāt al-wusṭā*" ("the medial prayer").'"

Only Aḥmad gives wording like this; it comes to us from an account of Hilāl b. Khabbāb al-'Abdī al-Kūfī, a trustworthy source, vouched for by al-Tirmidhī and others.

Some scholars point to these *aḥādīth* as evidence for the prayer *ṣalāt al-wusṭā* being that of *al-'aṣr*, as is implied in them. The *qāḍī* al-Māwardī[38] accepted this for the "school" of al-Shāfi'ī because of the authenticity of this *ḥadīth*.

I have examined this carefully with quotations and evidences with reference to the words of the Almighty, "Attend well to the prayers, and to the *ṣalāt al-wusṭā*, and stand up before God, in humility" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.238).

Some authorities make reference to this action to justify delaying the prayer because of battle; this is the view of Makḥūl and al-Awzā'ī.

Al-Bukhārī devoted a section to this and used this *ḥadīth* and the statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he ordered his men into action against Banū Qurayẓa, as will be shown. He quotes the statement, "None of you should perform the *al-'aṣr* prayer unless it be at where the Banū Qurayẓa are." Some of the men actually performed the *'aṣr* prayer on the way, while others of them only did so after reaching there, following the sunset. He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) did not deal harshly with either of the two groups. He (al-Bukhārī) also quoted as his authorities the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and those others present with them at the siege of Tastur in 20 AH, in the time of 'Umar, where they performed the morning prayer after sunrise. This was due to the fighting and to the approaching defeat of the fortress.

Other scholars, in fact the majority of them, including al-Shāfi'ī, stated that this procedure at the battle of al-khandaq was abrogated by the legalization of

38. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī, known as al-Māwardī (974–1058 AD) of Basra was a scholar of the Shāfi'ī school. His work *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīya*, for which he is best known, examines theories and practices of government from the perspectives of Islamic law.

the *ṣalāt al-khawf* thereafter; at that time this had not been made legal and that was why they postponed it that day. But this is an undecided issue.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A group of scholars maintain that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-khawf* prayer at ʿUsfān."

Ibn Isḥāq, who is certainly the authority on the *maghāzī*, the military engagements, mentions this incident before al-khandaq, as he had with Dhāt al-Riqāʿ, to which he also referred before al-khandaq. But God knows best.

The statement that the postponement of the prayer at the battle of al-khandaq came about inadvertently, as the commentators on (the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection) of Muslim related from certain others, is problematical; for it is unlikely that this would have occurred for such a large group, bearing in mind their strong determination to observe the prayers. How could this be when it is related that on that day they put off the prayers of the *al-ẓuhr*, noon, the *al-ʿaṣr*, the late afternoon, and the *al-maghrib*, the sunset, until the whole group prayed at the time of the *al-ʿishāʾ*, the evening, according to the account of Abū Hurayra and Abū Saʿīd?

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Both Yazīd and Ḥajjāj related to us as follows, 'Ibn Abū Dhiʾb related to us, from al-Maqburī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Saʿīd al-Khuḍrī, who quoted his father as saying, "We were pinned down at al-khandaq until part of the night had gone by and eventually we were relieved." That relates to the statement, "God saved the believers in battle; and God is mighty, powerful"'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.25). So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for Bilāl, gave him his orders, and set about performing the *al-ẓuhr* prayer as he would do at its normal time. Then he performed in turn the prayers for *al-ʿaṣr*, *al-maghrib* and *al-ʿishāʾ*. He did this before he dismounted. Ḥajjāj stated, "This is in keeping with the instruction concerning the *ṣalāt al-khawf*: 'If you are afraid, it can be performed on foot or while mounted'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.239).

Al-Nasāʾī related this from al-Fallās, from Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, from Ibn Abū Dhiʾb. He said, "At al-khandaq the polytheists kept us from the *al-ẓuhr* prayer until the sun had set." He then related the *ḥadīth* as above.

Aḥmad stated, "Hushaym related to us, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, from Nāfiʿ b. Jubayr, from Abū ʿUbayda b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, from his father, to the effect that at al-khandaq the polytheists kept the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from performing four prayers until such part of the night had passed that God had determined. And so he gave orders to Bilāl, who gave the call to prayer. He then set about praying the *al-ẓuhr*, followed by the *al-ʿaṣr*, *al-maghrib* and then *al-ʿishāʾ*."

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, "Muḥammad b. Maʿmar related to us, quoting Muʾammil – meaning Ibn Ismāʿīl – quoting Ḥammād – meaning Ibn Salama, from ʿAbd al-Karīm – meaning Ibn Abū al-Mukhāriq – from Mujāhid, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was kept at al-khandaq from performing the prayers of *al-ẓuhr*, *al-ʿaṣr*, *al-maghrib*, and *al-ʿishāʾ*. Eventually

he gave orders to Bilāl who made the call for prayer, and then he performed the *al-ẓuhr*. Thereafter, he ordered Bilāl to again make the call and then performed the *al-'aṣr*. Again he ordered Bilāl to make the call and then performed the *al-maghrib*, after which he once more ordered him to make the call and then performed the *al-'ishā'*. He then stated, 'There is not upon the face of the earth any people but you making mention of God's name at this hour.'"

Al-Bazzār was alone in giving this *ḥadīth*. And he stated, "We know of this only through this line of authorities; however, some others relate it from 'Abd al-Karīm, from Mujāhid, from Abū 'Ubayda, from 'Abd Allāh."

CONCERNING THE PRAYERS SPOKEN BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) AGAINST THE AḤZĀB, THE CLANS.

And how God used His might and power to deal with them in response to His messenger (ṢAAS), and to guard his noble person. He therefore sent their minds into turmoil and thereafter turned a fierce wind upon them and shook their bodies.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abū 'Āmir related to us, quoting al-Zubayr – meaning Ibn 'Abd Allāh – quoting Rabīḥ b. Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī, from his father, who said, 'At al-khandaq, we asked, "Messenger of God, is there something we should speak? For the hearts have reached the throats!" He replied, "Yes: 'O God protect our weaknesses and pacify our fears.'" And then God smote with wind the faces of His enemies.'"

Ibn Abū Ḥātim related this in his *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), from his father, from Abū 'Āmir – meaning al-'Aqadī – from al-Zubayr b. 'Abd Allāh, freed-man of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, from Rabīḥ b. 'Abd Al-Raḥmān b. Abū Sa'īd, from his father, from Abū Sa'īd, who related it, and this is the correct (line).

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥusayn related to us, from Ibn Abū Dhi'b, from a man of Banū Salama, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) came to the place of prayer at the battle of *al-Aḥẓāb*, took off his cloak, and stood with his hands raised and outstretched invoking God against them; and he did not pray." He (Jābir) then said, "After that he again came and invoked God against them, then prayed."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from *aḥādīth* of Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) invoked God against the clans, saying, 'O God, Revealer of the Book, Quick to take account, defeat the clans! O God, defeat them, and shake them!'"

In one account the wording is, "O God, defeat them and give us victory over them!"

Al-Bukhārī related from Qutayba, from al-Layth, from Sa'īd al-Maqburī, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, "There is no god but God alone; He gave power to His forces, gave victory to His slave and overcame the clans by Himself. There is nothing after Him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men remained in that state of fear and difficulty as God described at the attacks of their enemy who came at them from above and from below. Eventually Nuʿaym b. Masʿūd b. ʿĀmir b. Unayf b. Thaʿlaba b. Qunfudh b. Hilāl b. Khalāwa b. Ashjaʿ b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Messenger of God, I have accepted Islam, but my people do not know of this. Give me whatever orders you wish.' He replied, 'You are only one man; use trickery to relieve us of them, if you can. War is deception.'

"Nuʿaym b. Masʿūd then left and went out to Banū Qurayẓa whose close companion he had been before Islam. He reminded them of his friendship and association with them. They accepted this and expressed their confidence in him. He then told them that Quraysh and Ghaṭafān were not in the same situation as themselves. The battle area, he reminded them, was their territory and the site of their property, wives and children. He observed that they had nowhere else to go, whereas Quraysh and Ghaṭafān had come in to do battle against Muḥammad and his men from elsewhere. Banū Qurayẓa, he observed, had joined in battling him even though territory, women and property of the other tribes were elsewhere. This meant that Quraysh and Ghaṭafān would take any opportunity they could, but if they were unsuccessful, they would return home, leaving the lands of Banū Qurayẓa between themselves and their enemy. And then Banū Qurayẓa would have insufficient power to withstand him if they were left alone. He advised them, therefore, not to participate with Quraysh and Ghaṭafān in the fighting without taking some of the leaders of the two tribes as hostages to guarantee that they would fight on against Muḥammad until they defeated him. Banū Qurayẓa agreed to this.

"Nuʿaym then went to Quraysh and reminded Abū Sufyān and those with him of his friendship for them and alienation from Muḥammad. He then told them he had some information he thought he should impart to them and he asked them to keep it confidential. They said they would.

"He told them that the Jews had regretted the way they had behaved towards Muḥammad and had sent him a message telling him of this. They had asked him if he would like them to take hostage some of the leaders of Quraysh and Ghaṭafān and then hand them over to him for execution. After that, the Jews promised him their support in annihilating them and the Prophet (ṢAAS) had agreed to this. 'Now therefore,' he went on, 'if the Jews should send asking for some of their men as hostages you should not agree to hand over a single one.'

"Nuʿaym then went to Ghaṭafān, reminded them of his close ties and friendship and of their trust he enjoyed. They agreed that they trusted him, and he asked them to keep his remarks confidential. They accepted this, and he then told them what he had told Quraysh and advised them to be cautious.

"When the night of the sabbath of Shawwāl in 5 AH arrived, God so arranged it for His messenger (ṢAAS) that Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and the leaders of Ghaṭafān sent ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl and some other Quraysh and Ghaṭafān men

to Banū Qurayẓa and told them that they were not in permanent quarters and that their horses and camels were dying. They asked them to prepare for battle that would destroy and rid them of Muḥammad. Banū Qurayẓa replied that it was a day when they could do nothing; they referred to the fate of some of them who had acted previously on that day (the sabbath). They also refused to participate in fighting Muḥammad until they received hostages who would guarantee continued action until he was defeated. They expressed their fear that if their allies suffered severe losses in the fighting, they would retreat home, leaving themselves alone with the enemy on their territory and that they would not have the power to defeat him.

"When their messengers returned with news of the response made by Banū Qurayẓa, Quraysh and Ghaṭafān believed in what Nuʿaym b. Masʿūd had told them. And so they sent the message back that they would not deliver a single man over to Banū Qurayẓa, and that it was up to them whether or not to come out to engage in battle. When the messengers brought them this response, Banū Qurayẓa believed that what Nuʿaym b. Masʿūd had told them was true. They were sure that Quraysh and Ghaṭafān would seize any opportunities they had, but otherwise would disperse into their own territories, thus leaving them alone to cope with the Muslims. They therefore sent back to Quraysh and Ghaṭafān that they would only do battle along with them if they were to hand over hostages to them.

"Quraysh and Ghaṭafān refused this; God thus created dissension between them and then that night He sent a fierce wind against them, on an extremely cold winter's night that overturned their cooking pots and vessels."

This account related about Nuʿaym b. Masʿūd by Ibn Isḥāq is better than that related by Mūsā b. ʿUqba.

Al-Bayhaqī gave it in his *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*). The gist of his narration was that what had reached him was that Nuʿaym b. Masʿūd would spread abroad whatever news he learned. And it so happened that one evening the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) beckoned to him to come over as he passed by and asked him what he had heard. Nuʿaym replied that Quraysh and Ghaṭafān had sent to Banū Qurayẓa asking them to come forth in battle to finish off the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Banū Qurayẓa had agreed to this on condition that hostages be given over to them. It had previously been related that they had only abrogated the pact at the hands of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab on condition that hostages would be brought to them as security.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to Nuʿaym, "I wish to tell you something in confidence; do not repeat it. They sent to me seeking peace if I would restore Banū al-Naḍīr to their homes and property."

Following this, Nuʿaym b. Masʿūd left for Ghaṭafān and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "Warfare is deception; perhaps God will act on our behalf."

Nuʿaym went to Quraysh and Ghaṭafān and told them this news and they hastily despatched ʿIkrima and a group of men to Banū Qurayẓa asking them to join in the fighting alongside them. It happened to be a sabbath, however, that the Jews held sacred; moreover, they asked for hostages as security. And so God came between them and they disagreed with one another.

I would comment that it is likely that when Banū Qurayẓa gave up hope of settling their difficulties with Quraysh and Ghaṭafān, they did send to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), requesting peace on condition that he restore Banū al-Naḍīr to Medina. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) learned of their dispute and how God had broken their unity, he despatched Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān over to them to see what the enemy was doing that night."

He went on, "Yazīd b. Ziyād related to me, from Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī, who said, 'A man from Kūfa asked Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, 'Abū ʿAbd Allāh, have you actually seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and were you really a Companion of his?' 'Oh yes, nephew,' he replied. 'And how did you get by?' he asked. Ḥudhayfa replied, 'It was difficult for us, I swear by God.' 'I swear', commented the Kūfan, 'if we'd lived at his time, we'd never have let his foot so much as touch the ground; we'd have carried him on our shoulders.' Ḥudhayfa responded, 'Nephew, I swear I see us now with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-khandaq, and after he had prayed for part of the night, he turned to us and asked, "Who will volunteer to go and see what the enemy is doing, and then come back?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stipulated that if the volunteer would come back, he would ask God that the man be his Companion in paradise. But so severe was the fear, cold and hunger, that not one person volunteered. Since no one had risen, he called upon me, and once he had done so, I had no alternative but to do so. He then told me, "Ḥudhayfa, go and infiltrate the enemy. Go and see what they are doing, but don't cause any trouble; then return to us."

"'So I did so. The gale and God's soldiers were greatly damaging them, leaving them no fire nor pots, nor tents upright. Abū Sufyān arose and said, "Quraysh, every man check out the person sitting next to him."

"'At this I took the hand of the man next to me and asked him his name. He told me who he was. Abū Sufyān then said, "We're not in a permanent camp, our horses and camels are dying, and Banū Qurayẓa are at odds with us, and we've heard things about them that we don't like. You can see what we've lost due to the gale, how our cooking pots won't stay upright, and we can't keep fires burning and our tents standing. You should leave, as I am about to do." He then went to his camel which was hobbled, mounted it, struck it so that it arose on three legs since he only unhobbled it when it was standing. If it had not been for the promise the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made me make not to cause trouble, I could have shot him with an arrow.'"

Ḥudhayfa went on, "So I returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and found him standing in prayer shrouded in a wrap belonging to one of his wives. When he saw me, he asked me to come in (to sit) at his feet and threw an end of the wrap over me. He then bowed and prostrated, while I was under it. When he was finished, I related the news to him. When Ghaṭafān heard what Quraysh had done, they hurried off home."

This *ḥadīth* is *munqaṭiʿ*, incomplete in its line, in this version.

Muslim b. Ḥajjāj related this *ḥadīth* in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from an account of al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Taymī, from his father, who said, "We were with Ḥudhayfa when a man told him, 'If I had been alive with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) I would have fought alongside him heroically.' 'Would you, indeed?' Ḥudhayfa asked him and went on, 'Once we were there at the battle of *al-Aḥzāb* with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It was night time and there was a fierce, cold gale blowing. He asked us, "Is there no man who will bring me news of the enemy and be with me at Judgement Day?" When none of us responded, he asked the same question a second and a third time. Then he said, "Ḥudhayfa, you go and bring us news of the enemy." Since he had called upon me by name, I had no alternative but to get up. He then said, "Bring me news of them without giving them any cause for alarm about me." So I left and made my way to them, feeling as if I was walking through a public bath! I found Abū Sufyān there warming his back to the fire. I placed an arrow in the centre of my bow and was about to release it when I remembered how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told me not to give them any alarm about him. If I had shot it, I would have hit him. I then left to return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and again the feeling of walking in a public bath overcame me. When I arrived back, I felt very cold and chilled once again. I told this to him and he put over me part of the cloak he was wearing as he prayed. I slept right on through till morning, when he spoke to me, saying, "Up you get, sleepy-head!"'"

Al-Ḥākim related this *ḥadīth*, as did the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī in his *Dalāʾil*, in an extended form from a *ḥadīth* of Ikrima b. ʿAmmār, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Duʾalī, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the nephew of Ḥudhayfa, who said, "Ḥudhayfa related the events in which they had participated with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Those sitting listening to him commented how they would have behaved in various ways if they had been present. Ḥudhayfa then said, 'You shouldn't wish for that. There we were, drawn up in battle array, keeping down, while Abū Sufyān and his forces were above us, while the Jews of Banū Qurayẓa were down below us, making us fear for our families. We never experienced any night so black and violent as that; the winds blew fiercely with great explosions like thunderbolts. It was so dark we couldn't even see our fingers.

"'The backsliders began asking the Prophet (ṢAAS) permission to withdraw, saying that their homes were exposed – though they were not exposed. He gave

his permission to leave to each person who asked and so they would slip away. We were some 300 men in number. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received us one by one until eventually my turn came; I had nothing on to protect me from the enemy and the cold except a woollen coat of my wife that came down no further than my knees. When he came to me I was kneeling down. He asked, "And who is this?" "Ḥudhayfa," I replied, "Ḥudhayfa, eh?" "Yes, Messenger of God," I responded, keeping down close to the ground and unwilling to get up. But I did rise and he said, "There's activity among the enemy; bring me news of them." Actually, I was the most terrified of our men and certainly the coldest.

"'When I left, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the words, "O God, protect him from danger from his front and rear, from his left and his right, from above him and from below him." And, I swear, I felt from then on entirely empty of the fear and cold God had previously created inside me! As I was turning to leave, he called out, "Ḥudhayfa, don't cause any disturbance in the enemy before you come back to me."

"'As I approached the enemy camp, I saw the light of a fire they had burning. There I saw a dark-skinned, heavy-set man holding his hands out above the fire and then wiping them on his waist, saying, "Get the mounts ready!" I had not known Abū Sufyān before that; I took out an arrow with white feathered flights from my quiver and positioned it in my bow to shoot it in the light of the fire, but then remembered how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told me not to cause any disturbance before I returned to him. So I stopped and returned the arrow to my quiver. Then I mustered up my courage and entered their camp. Those men closest to me were of Banū ʿĀmir, and they were saying that they should mount up and leave, since they had no permanent quarters there and that the wind was blowing straight through their camp. I could hear the sounds of the stones raised by the wind striking their mounts and their equipment. I left and went on my way back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Half way or thereabouts, I came across 20 or so horsemen, fully shrouded, who told me, "Tell your master that God has saved him!"

"'So I returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and found him wrapped up in a blanket, praying. No sooner was I back than I felt terribly cold again and began shivering. As he prayed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gestured to me and when I drew near him, he spread his blanket out over me. When something troubled the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he would pray. I made my report about the enemy and how they had been moving out when I left the camp. Then Almighty God revealed, "O you who believe, remember God's favour to you, when troops came to you and We sent down against them a wind and (Our) troops you could not see. God is fully aware of what you do ..." up to and including, "And God was sufficient for the believers in battle. God is Almighty, Powerful"'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.9–25).

That is, God removed their enemy from them by the wind He sent against them and the troops of angels and others He sent to them. And so, "God saved

the believers from battle." That is, they did not need to face them in fighting and in combat because the Almighty and All-Powerful drew them away through His power and strength.

This is why it is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, 'There is no god but God alone; He was sincere in His promise and aided His servant, gave power to His troops and defeated the *Aḥzāb* all by Himself. After Him there is nothing.'"

Regarding His words, "God saved the believers from battle", this is a reference to the cessation of war between the two sides. That is what occurred; thereafter, Quraysh never again instituted warfare against the Muslims. As Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, God be pleased with him, stated, "When the troops at al-khandaq left there, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, so it has been related to me, 'After this year, Quraysh will not go to war against you, but you will against them.'"

He went on, "And Quraysh did not attack thereafter, whereas they (the Muslims) did attack them, until God gave him victory over Mecca." This report comes from Ibn Isḥāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yaḥyā related to us, from Sufyān, that Abū Isḥaq related to him, 'I heard Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, God be pleased with him, say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Now we will attack them, but not they us.'"'"

Al-Bukhārī related this thus from a *ḥadīth* of Ismāʿīl and Sufyān al-Thawrī, both of whom quoted Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī, from Sulaymān b. Ṣard.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Three Muslims of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal were martyred at the battle of al-khandaq; they were Saʿd b. Muʿādh" – extensive information about his death will follow – "Anas b. Aws b. ʿAtīk b. ʿAmr, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Sahl. Also killed were al-Ṭufayl b. al-Nuʿmān, Thaʿlaba b. Ghanama, both of Jashm and of Sulaym, and Kaʿb b. Zayd al-Najārī, who was killed by a stray arrow.

"Three of the polytheists were killed. These were Munabih b. ʿUthmān b. ʿUbayd b. al-Sabbāq b. ʿAbd al-Dār, who was struck by an arrow and later died from his wound in Mecca, Nawfal b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughīra who charged across the trench on his horse and became bogged down and killed there; the polytheists offered a large sum for his body, as is related above. And there was ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd al-ʿĀmirī, who was killed by ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib."

Ibn Hishām stated, "A trustworthy authority related to me that al-Zuhrī said, 'ʿAlī that day killed ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd, whose son was Ḥasl b. ʿAmr."

Ibn Hishām also stated, "He is known both as ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd and ʿAmr b. ʿAbd."

Section: On the Expedition against Banū Qurayẓa.

On the severe violence God Almighty brought down upon them, along with the painful punishment He had prepared for them in the hereafter.

All that was due to their disbelief, their breaking of the pacts between themselves and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and their allying themselves with the *aḥzāb*, the clans, against him. None of that did them any good and brought the wrath of God and His messenger down upon them, a bad bargain for them in this world and the next.

God Almighty had stated, "And God turned back in their rage those who disbelieved, and they obtained no good advantage. God saved the believers from battle; and God is mighty, powerful. And He brought down those of the people of the Book who supported them from their fortresses, and He cast terror into their hearts; you killed one group (of them) and took prisoner another. And He made you inherit their lands, homes and property, along with a land you had not yet trodden. And God has power over all things" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.25–27).

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Muḥammad b. Muqātil related to us, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim, and Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said that whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from a military expedition, the pilgrimages of the *ḥajj* or the *al-ʿumra*, he would first affirm the greatness of God, and then he would say, 'There is no god but God alone! He has no associate. All dominion is His. All praise is due to Him. He has power over all things; we (return) repenting, seeking forgiveness, praying, prostrating and praising our Lord. God is true to His promise; He gave aid to His servant and defeated the *aḥzāb* by Himself.'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, God be pleased with him, stated, "Next morning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left the trench accompanied by the Muslims and returned to Medina, there laying down their arms.

"At the noon prayer, Gabriel, so al-Zuhrī told me, came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), wearing a turban embroidered in silk and gold, riding a mule with a saddle adorned with a brocade cloth, and asked, 'Have you put down your weapons then, Messenger of God?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'Well,' Gabriel informed him, 'the angels have not yet put down theirs; I've come to you now from pursuing the enemy. God commands you, Muḥammad, to go against Banū Qurayẓa. I myself am heading for them and am going to shake them up!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then summoned a muezzin and an announcement was made: 'All those who hear and obey should perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer only among Banū Qurayẓa.'"

Ibn Hishām stated that he placed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command over Medina.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "It was related to me by ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Shayba, quoting Ibn Numayr, from Hishām, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, 'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) returned from the trench and he had put down his arms and taken a bath, Gabriel came to him and said, "So you have put down your arms! We've not done so, I swear by God! Go forth to them!" "Where to?"

he asked. "Over here." Gabriel said, gesturing towards Banū Qurayẓa. And so the Prophet (ṢAAS) did go forth.'"

Aḥmad stated, "Ḥasan related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had disposed of the *aḥzāb*, he entered the bathhouse to bathe. Then Gabriel came and I could see, across the house, that his head was reddened with dust. He said, "Muḥammad, you've laid down your arms then!" "We have laid down our arms," he replied. Gabriel said, "Well, we've not laid down ours yet. Get up after Banū Qurayẓa!"'"

Al-Bukhārī then stated, "Mūsā related to us, quoting Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, from Ḥūmayd b. Hilāl, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'It was as though I could see the dust rising in the street of Banū Ghanm (in Medina) due to the marching of Gabriel's troops when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out against Banū Qurayẓa.'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Asmā' related to us, quoting Juwayriyya b. Asmā', from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated at the battle of *al-Aḥzāb*, "Let no one perform the *al-'aṣr* prayer unless it be among Banū Qurayẓa!" Time for the *al-'aṣr* prayer came for some, while they were still travelling. And some of these decided not to perform the prayer before arriving, while others decided to pray then and that they had not been required to wait. This was reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but he was not severe with any one of them.'"

Muslim related it thus from 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Asmā'.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayḥaqī stated, "Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī both stated, 'Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Khālid b. 'Alī, from Bishr b. Ḥarb, from his father, (who said) "Al-Zuhrī related to us that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik informed him that his uncle 'Ubayd Allāh told him that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from fighting the *al-aḥzāb*, he took off his breast-plate, washed and bathed. then Gabriel, upon whom be peace, appeared before him and said, 'Some warrior you are! It seems you have taken off your breast-plate! Well, we haven't done that yet!'"'

"At this, the Prophet (ṢAAS) got up in a fright and insisted that everyone should refrain from performing the *al-'aṣr* prayer unless it be among Banū Qurayẓa.

"And so the Muslims dressed in their armour. However, they arrived at Banū Qurayẓa only after the sun had set. At sunset, disputes arose. Some maintained that since the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told them not to pray the *al-'aṣr* unless it be at Banū Qurayẓa, there could be no sin in them complying. One group did pray out of their caution, while others refrained from praying until the sun had set, after which they prayed among Banū Qurayẓa; they too acted out of caution. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not berate either one of the groups."

Also, al-Bayhaqī related, through ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī, from his brother ʿUbayd Allāh, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, from ʿĀ'isha, (who stated) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was with her, "... and while we were there inside the house, in came a man who greeted us. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) got up in a fright, and I arose too; suddenly, there was Diḥya al-Kalbī. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), said, 'This is Gabriel! He has ordered me to attack Banū Qurayẓa. He said to me, "You have put down your arms, but we have not."' We had pursued the polytheists until we reached Ḥamrā' al-Asad, following the return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-khandaq. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose in great concern and said to his Companions, 'I require you not to perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer until you arrive at Banū Qurayẓa.' The sun set before they reached them and one group of the Muslims thought that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not wanted them to wait to say the prayer and so they prayed. Another group maintained that they were acting in accord with the requirement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that they would not be considered guilty of a sin for not praying. And so one group did pray, in their faith and as a precaution, while another group did not, for the same reasons. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not berate any person from either group. He then went forth and as he passed by any group of people, on his way to Banū Qurayẓa, he would ask them, 'Did anyone pass by you?' They responded, 'Diḥya al-Kalbī passed by on his grey mule, mounted on a piece of brocade cloth.' He responded, 'That was Gabriel; he has been sent to Banū Qurayẓa to shake them up, and to cast terror into them.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then besieged them, telling his Companions to protect him with their shields so that he could hear their response. He called out to them, 'Hey, you, you brothers of monkeys and pigs!' They replied, 'Abū al-Qāsim, you used not to employ bad language!'

"And so he besieged them until they came down, following the judgement of Saʿd b. Muʿādh, whose allies they were. He decreed for them that their warriors should be killed and that their children and women should become captive."

This *ḥadīth* has excellent lines of transmission from ʿĀ'isha and others.

The scholars differ over which of the two groups was correct that day. In fact the consensus is that each of them was worthy and justified in their actions and not to be severely criticized.

One group of scholars, however, maintains that those who postponed the prayer from its predetermined time until they could perform it among Banū Qurayẓa were correct, because their order to postpone it that day was specific and special and therefore should have been given precedence over the normal time for which it was determined under the law.

Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥazm al-Ẓāhirī stated in his biography (of the Prophet (ṢAAS)), "God knows that had we been there we would not have performed the

al-'aṣr prayer unless it had been among Banū Qurayẓa, even if it would have had to be several days thereafter!"

This statement of his accords with the principle he holds fundamental, to act in accord with what is apparent.

Another group of scholars considered, on the contrary, that those who performed the prayer at its regular time while they were travelling were the ones who were correct because they had understood that the intent was to hasten their journey to Banū Qurayẓa and not to postpone the prayer. They acted in accord with the precepts suggesting the superiority of prayer being performed at its proper time, even though they understood what the legislator had wanted. Because of this, he did not berate them or order them to repeat the prayer at the time to which it had been changed that day, as the others claimed. Those who did postpone it were forgiven, since they acted in accord with their understanding; most things they were ordered to do they did in fact accomplish.

As for those who maintain that it is permissible to postpone prayer because of warfare – as al-Bukhārī understood and justified from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Umar referred to previously – (in this case) neither those who performed the prayer earlier nor those who did so later ought to be considered suspect. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq then stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thereafter sent forward 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib bearing his banner and the men hurried towards it."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated in his work on the *maghāzi*, the military expeditions, quoting al-Zuhrī, "While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in his bathroom, so they claim, having combed out one side of his hair, Gabriel came to him riding a horse and dressed in his breast-plate. He halted at the door of the mosque where the funeral biers are placed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out to him, whereupon Gabriel said, 'May God forgive you, have you put down your arms?' 'Yes,' he replied. Gabriel commented, 'Well, we've not put ours down ever since your enemy came at you; and I'm continuing to pursue them until God defeats them.' And they say that there was actually dust present upon Gabriel's face. He then went on to say, 'God commanded you to fight Banū Qurayẓa, and I will pursue them along with the angels accompanying me; we will make their fortresses shake around them. Go forth you too, with your men!'

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did follow after Gabriel. He passed by a seated group of Banū Ghanam who were awaiting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he asked them whether a horseman had recently passed them. They replied that Diḥya al-Kalbī had passed them on a white horse, seated on a saddle cloth or a piece of velvet brocade, and wearing his breast-plate. They say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'That was Gabriel!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to liken Diḥya al-Kalbī to Gabriel. He then said, 'Join me at where Banū Qurayẓa are, and perform the *al-'aṣr* prayer among them.'

"And so they arose, along with those other Muslims God wished, and they set off for Banū Qurayẓa. The time for the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer came while they were *en route*, and they remembered the prayer. Some of them asked others, 'Don't you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered you to perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer among Banū Qurayẓa?' Others said, 'It's the prayer (time).' And so some did pray while others postponed it until they could perform it among Banū Qurayẓa, after the sun had set. They informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) which of them had performed it earlier and those who had postponed it, and people say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not berate either of the two groups.

"When ʿAlī saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) approaching, he met him and said to him, 'Go back, Messenger of God, God will take care of the Jews for you.' ʿAlī had heard from them some ugly talk with reference to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his wives, may God be pleased with them, and he disliked for him to hear this. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him why he was advising him to go back, but ʿAlī concealed from him what he had heard of them. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'I think you have heard them say something harmful about me; I will go on, for if the enemies of God saw me they would not say any of what you heard.'

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) alighted at their fortresses, they being high above him, he addressed a group of their nobles at the top of his voice so that they could hear him saying, 'Respond, you tribe of Jews, you brothers of apes, for disgrace from God, Almighty and Glorious is He, has come down upon you!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then besieged them with legions of the Muslims for some ten nights. God had brought back Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab and he had entered the forts of Banū Qurayẓa. God cast terror into them, and the siege was very hard on them. They eventually shouted for Abū Lubāba b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir – they had been allied to the *anṣār* – but Abū Lubāba stated, 'I will not go to them until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gives me permission.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave him permission.

"And so Abū Lubāba went to them and they complained to him and asked him what he thought they should do since they did not have the power to engage in warfare. Abū Lubāba gestured at his throat across which he brought his fingers, showing them that it was their execution that was wanted.

"When Abū Lubāba left them, he was suddenly aghast, realizing that some urge had overcome him. He told himself that he could not look the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the face until he did some loyal act as repentance that God would appreciate.

"And so he went back to Medina and tied his hands to one of the tree trunks (supporting the roof) of the mosque. It is said that he remained tied there for some 20 days.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, when Abū Lubāba absented himself, 'Hasn't Abū Lubāba yet finished dealing with his allies?' When it was related to him what Abū Lubāba had done, he said, 'After (he left) me some urge overcame

him; if he had come to me, I would have sought forgiveness for him. Since he has now done what he has, I will not move him from where he is until God decrees His will upon him.'"

Ibn Lahi'a related this thus, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq recounted this in this way in his work on the *maghāzī*, in the same line of authorities as Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from al-Zuhrī, and (it appears) similarly in the account given by Abū al-Aswad from 'Urwa.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made camp at one of the wells of Banū Qurayẓa; called the Annā well; it was among properties they owned. He besieged them for 25 days, by which time the siege was causing them great hardship and much anxiety.

"Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab had joined them in their fortress when Quraysh and Ghaṭafān had withdrawn, thus fulfilling the pact he had made with Ka'b b. Asad. When they were sure that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had no intention of departing before he had utterly defeated them, Ka'b b. Asad addressed Banū Qurayẓa. He told them, 'You well know the crisis you face. I suggest three alternatives; choose the one you like best.' 'What are they?' they asked. He replied, 'First, that we follow and believe this man. I swear, it is clear to you now that he is a prophet who has been sent, and that it is he whom you find mentioned in your scripture. You should give him control over your lives, properties, children and women.' They replied, 'We will never abandon the law of the Torah, nor exchange it for another!'

"He then said, 'If you refuse me this, let us kill our children and our women and then go forth to Muḥammad and his companions with our swords drawn; that way we will not leave any responsibilities behind us, and God will decide between us and Muḥammad. If we perish, we perish; but we won't be leaving behind any children to worry about. And if we are victorious, we'll certainly acquire other women and children.'

"They replied, 'Shall we kill these unfortunates? What good would there be in living on after them?'

"He continued, 'If you refuse this, then tonight it is the sabbath. It may well be that Muḥammad and his men feel secure now. Let's go forth and seek to take Muḥammad and his men by surprise.'

"They replied, 'Should we desecrate our sabbath; if we do, there will befall that metamorphosis[39] you well know has always befallen those who have done so.'

"He commented, 'Not one of you men has ever, since the day you were born, acted decisively.'

"They then sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking him to dispatch to them for consultations Abū Lubāba b. 'Abd al-Mundhir, a brother of Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf who were allies of al-Aws.

39. An allusion to the references in several places in the Qur'ān to those who profaned the sabbath. See, for example, *sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.63.

"He did dispatch Abū Lubāba and when they saw him, the men arose to meet him. The women and children broke into sobs before him. He felt very sorry for them; they asked him whether they should submit to Muḥammad's judgement. He said that they should. He then gestured with his hand across his neck, indicating that execution was coming.

"Abū Lubāba (later) commented, 'I swear by God, my feet had not left that place before I knew I had betrayed God and His messenger.

"Abū Lubāba then left hurriedly. He did not, however, return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but tied himself to one of the supports of the mosque, saying, 'I will not leave here until God forgives me for what I have done. I swear to God that I will never again go to Banū Qurayẓa, nor ever be seen again in any place where I have betrayed God and His messenger!'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "According to Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Qatāda, God revealed concerning this, 'O you who believe, do not betray God and His messenger; (and do not) knowingly break your trust'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.27).

Ibn Hishām also stated, "He remained tied there for six days. His wife would come to him at each prayer time and untied him so that he could perform the ablutions and pray. He would then be tied up again. Eventually forgiveness did come down for him, in the Almighty's words, 'And others confessed their sins, having mixed good deeds with bad; God may well forgive them. God is indeed forgiving, merciful'" (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barāʾa*; IX, v.102).

According to Mūsā b. ʿUqba he remained bound for 20 days. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq related that God revealed His forgiveness to His messenger at the very end of the night, while he was in the home of Umm Salama. He began to smile and when Umm Salama asked him why, he told her that God had forgiven Abū Lubāba. She asked his permission to leave to inform him. He agreed, and she went and told him the good news. People crowded around him joyfully, wishing to untie him from his bonds. But he said, "No one but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shall untie me." When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out to perform the dawn prayer, he did untie him, may God be pleased with him.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Thereafter Thaʿlaba b. Saʿya, Usayd b. Saʿya and Asad b. ʿUbayd, all of Banū Hadal and not from either Qurayẓa or al-Naḍīr, their own pedigree being superior to that, they being Banū ʿAmm al-Qawm, accepted Islam that night during which Qurayẓa had come under the control of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Also that night ʿAmr b. Suʿdā al-Qurazī came out and passed by the guard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); Muḥammad b. Maslama was in charge of them that night and when he saw ʿAmr, he called out and asked him his name, which he gave. ʿAmr had refused to participate in Banū Qurayẓa treachery towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having said, 'I will never betray Muḥammad!' When

he recognized him, Muḥammad b. Maslama said, 'O God, do not forbid me to set aside the minor sins of noble men!' He then let him pass. 'Amr then hurriedly left and spent that night in the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in Medina. Thereafter he departed for some still unknown destination. When what had happened to him was mentioned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he commented, 'That is a man whom God saved because of his trustworthiness.'"

He went on, "Some people claim that he was tied up with rope along with others of Banū Qurayẓa. The rope to which he had been tied was later found thrown away, and it was not known where he had gone. And it was then that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made the above statement about him. But God knows best which of the accounts is correct."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Next morning they came under the authority of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Banū Aws promptly claimed that Banū Qurayẓa had been allied with them rather than with Khazraj. They also referred to how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had given control over Banū Qurayẓa to 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy when he had requested this, as is related above.

"When Aws had spoken to him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded to them, 'O Aws, will you be content to have one of your men decide about them?' When they agreed to this, he placed them under the charge of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had placed Sa'd b. Mu'ādh inside his mosque in a tent belonging to an Aslam woman named Rufayda; she was caring for the wounded. When he placed Sa'd in charge of Banū Qurayẓa, his people approached him and mounted him on a donkey bearing a leather cushion; he was a handsome, large man. They then brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), telling him to treat his charges kindly, since it was with that expectation that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had appointed him over them. When they insisted upon this, he responded, 'It is now time for Sa'd to take no account of anyone's criticism for what he does in God's cause!' One of those of his people who was accompanying him returned to Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal and told them of the death of the men of Banū Qurayẓa even before Sa'd reached them, because of what he had heard him say.

"When Sa'd arrived at where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims were, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Arise to greet your master.' The Quraysh *muhājirīn*, said he was referring to the *anṣār*, while the latter thought that his order had been directed towards all the Muslims, and so they stood up. They told him, 'Abū 'Amr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has delegated to you the question of deciding what to do with your charges.' Sa'd replied, 'Is it your duty to swear by a pact with God that whatever decision I reach about them will be enforced?' 'Yes,' they agreed. Sa'd then asked, 'And does that apply to him who is over here?' He was referring to the direction where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was, while looking away from him out of his respect for him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) answered, 'Yes.' Sa'd then said, 'I therefore decree that the men among them shall be executed,

while their properties shall be liquidated and their offspring and women shall be taken captive.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Muʿādh, from ʿAlqama b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Saʿd, 'You have judged them with the decision of God, from seven heavens above.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "A reliable scholar related to me that ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib exclaimed as they were besieging Banū Qurayẓa, 'O Army of the Faith!' He and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām then advanced and ʿAlī said, 'I will taste what Ḥamza tasted, or I will storm their fortress!' But they replied, 'Muḥammad! We will submit to the judgement of Saʿd b. Muʿādh.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Abū Umāma b. Sahl, who said, "I heard Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī say, 'Banū Qurayẓa agreed to submit to the authority of Saʿd b. Muʿādh. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for Saʿd who came to him on a donkey. When he drew near the mosque, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Stand up for your master" (or "your better"). He then said, "These people have submitted to your authority." He (Saʿd) stated, "We shall execute their warriors and take their children prisoner." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "You have given judgement with God's decree." He may have said, "You have given judgement with the *mālik's* ('the ruler's') decree." According to another account, the word used was *malak*, "angel".'"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is derived by various lines of authority from Shuʿba.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥujayn and Yūnus related to us, saying, 'Al-Layth b. Saʿd related to us, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "At the battle of *al-Aḥzāb* an arrow was shot at Saʿd b. Muʿādh and the medial vein in his arm was severed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cauterized it with fire. Saʿd's hand then swelled up and he bled it. Seeing this, Saʿd said, 'O God, do not extract my soul before you settle Banū Qurayẓa for me.' At this the flow ceased, with not another drop falling, until Banū Qurayẓa submitted to Saʿd's authority. A message was sent to him to this effect and he decreed that their men should be executed and that their women and children should be made captive and should serve the Muslims. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'You have correctly given God's judgement regarding them.' They were 400 in number. When their execution was over, Saʿd's artery burst and he died."'"

Both al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related this from Qutayba, back to al-Layth Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ibn Numayr related to us, from Hishām, saying, 'My father quoted ʿĀʾisha to me as having said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came back from the Battle of al-Aḥzāb and had put down his arms and bathed, Gabriel, his face dust-covered, came to him and said, 'So, you've put

down your arms! I swear by God, we have not! Go out and battle them!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Where to?' 'Over here,' Gabriel responded, gesturing towards Banū Qurayẓa. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth against them."' Hishām stated, 'My father informed me that they accepted the authority of the Prophet (ṢAAS) over them and that he then delegated that authority to Sa'd. He then stated, "I judge that the warriors be executed, that their women and offspring be taken captive and that their properties be divided up."'"

Hishām went on, "My father stated further, 'I was told that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "You have judged them by God's judgement."'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā related to us, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Numayr, quoting Hishām, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, who said, 'At al-khandaq Sa'd was wounded. One of Quraysh, a man named Ḥibbān b. 'Ariqa, shot an arrow at him and hit him in the main vein in his arm. The Prophet (ṢAAS) set up a tent for him in the mosque so that he could visit him from nearby. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had returned from al-khandaq and had put down his weapons and had bathed, Gabriel, shaking dust off his head, came to him and said, "So, you have put down your weapons? I swear by God, I've not done that! Go forth against them!" The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked, "Where to?" Gabriel then gestured towards Banū Qurayẓa. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then did go out against them and they accepted his authority; he then delegated this authority to Sa'd. The latter decreed, "I judge that their warriors be executed, that their women and offspring be taken captive and that their properties be divided up."'"

Hishām went on, "My father quoted 'Ā'isha as saying that Sa'd stated, 'O God, You well know that there is no one I would rather fight on your behalf than a people who have called Your messenger a liar and have exiled him. O God, I believe You have put an end to warfare between us and them. Give me life for so long as there is any warfare against Quraysh, so that I may fight against them for You. And if You have brought the war to an end, recommence it and place my death therein.' Then there was an explosive emission from his upper chest, but this did not alarm anyone. But there was a tent (for the wounded) belonging to Banū Ghifār in the mosque. And, when the blood began streaming down towards them, they shouted, 'Hey, you in the tent, what is this coming down to us from you?' It was from Sa'd; his wound was streaming blood and he died of it."

This was related by Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allāh b. Numayr.

I would comment that Sa'd first spoke this prayer before he passed judgement on Banū Qurayẓa. This is why he prayed that his death not occur before he had settled with Banū Qurayẓa. And God did answer his prayer. After issuing his judgement on them, and God had pleased him greatly thereby, he prayed a second time in this way and God then gave him martyrdom, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure. Reference to his death will come shortly, if God so wills it.

Imām Aḥmad related it also from another line at great length; in that account there are other interesting aspects. He stated that Yazīd related to him that Muḥammad b. ʿAmr narrated to him, from his father, from his father ʿAlqama b. Waqqāṣ, who said, "ʿĀʾisha stated to me as follows, 'I was leaving on the day of the battle of al-khandaq, following after our forces, when I heard the sound of movement behind me. Then I saw it was Saʿd b. Muʿādh, accompanied by his brother al-Ḥārith b. Aws, carrying his child. I sat down on the ground and Saʿd passed by, wearing an iron coat of mail from which his arms and legs protruded. I was concerned about injury to these limbs of Saʿd; Saʿd was one of the greatest and tallest of men. As he passed, he was speaking the verse,

> "Remain awhile; let Ḥamal see the battle. How fine is
> death when its time has come!"'"

She continued, "I got up and ran into a garden. There I found a group of Muslims; among them were ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. One of the men had on a *subgha*" (by which she meant a *mighfar*, a "helmet"). "ʿUmar asked, 'Why are you here? I swear, you're bold! What's to protect you if some disaster should happen or you got cut off?' He went on criticizing me until I wished the earth would open to swallow me on the spot! Then the man lifted the helmet off his face and I saw that it was Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh. He commented, 'Hey, ʿUmar, shame on you! You're overdoing it! From today on, whatever aligning or taking refuge there is will be to God, Almighty and Glorious is He!'"

ʿĀʾisha went on, "Then a Quraysh man named Ibn al-ʿAriqa shot at Saʿd, saying, 'Take that! I'm Ibn al-ʿAriqa!' It struck and severed the main artery in his arm. Saʿd then prayed, 'O God, do not make me die before you give me satisfaction over Banū Qurayẓa!' These people had been his allies and colleagues before Islam. Then his wound stopped bleeding and God sent the gale against the polytheists and spared the believers engaging in battle; God is indeed powerful, strong. Abū Sufyān and his force then went to Tihāma, while ʿUyayna b. Badr and his force withdrew to Najd.

"Banū Qurayza then returned home and sought protection in their fortresses. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to Medina where he ordered a leather tent be set up in the mosque for Saʿd. Then Gabriel came, the folds of his clothing covered with dust, and he said, 'Have you put down your weapons, then? By God, the angels haven't put down their weapons yet. Go forth and do battle with Banū Qurayẓa!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then put on his breast-plate and had it announced that the men should prepare to depart for battle. He passed by Banū Ghanam who were his neighbours close by the mosque. He asked them, 'Who was it passed by you?' They replied, 'Diḥya al-Kalbī went by.' Now Diḥya al-Kalbī was similar in beard, age and face to Gabriel, upon whom be peace.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on to Banū Qurayẓa and besieged them for 25 days. When their suffering from the siege grew intense, a message

was sent telling them to accept the authority of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They sought advice from Abū Lubāba b. 'Abd al-Mundhir, and he made a sign to them indicating execution. Banū Qurayẓa then said they would accept the authority of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'Then do accept the authority of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh!' He was brought to him on a donkey, seated on a saddle stuffed with palm fronds and with his people all around him, who were telling him, 'Abū 'Amr, they are your allies and colleagues, your family in times of crisis, people you know well.' But Sa'd did not respond to them at all, nor did he turn towards them. When he arrived close by the homes of Banū Qurayẓa, he turned to his entourage and said, 'It's time for me to disregard any possible criticism in serving God!'"

'Ā'isha went on, "Abū Sa'īd said that when he appeared, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'Arise for your master and help him dismount!' At this 'Umar commented, 'Our "master" is God!' (But) he said, 'Help him dismount.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Render your judgement over them.' Sa'd responded, 'I decree that their warriors be executed, their offspring be taken captive, and their properties be divided up.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Your decree accords with the judgement of God and with that of His messenger.'

"Thereupon, Sa'd spoke the following prayer, 'O God, if you have left for Your prophet any further warfare against Quraysh, then let me remain for it. But if You have now ended the warfare between him and them, then take me to Yourself.'"

'Ā'isha went on, "His wound then burst; up to then he had been free of it, nothing being visible except for a small circular spot. He went back to the tent that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had set up for him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to him, along with Abū Bakr and 'Umar. And I swear by Him in whose hands is Muḥammad, that I could well differentiate the weeping of 'Umar from that of Abū Bakr while I was there in my room. They were, as God said, '... compassionate among themselves'"(*sūrat al-Fatḥ*; XLVIII, v.29).

'Alqama stated, "I then asked, 'How did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) react?' 'Ā'isha replied, 'His eyes never wept for anyone. However, if he was deeply moved, he would take hold of his beard.'"

The chain of authorities for this *ḥadīth* is excellent, and there are testimonials to its veracity from other sources. In it there is the clear statement that Sa'd prayed twice, once before he passed judgement on Banū Qurayẓa, and once thereafter, as we stated earlier. And all praise and credit go to God. We will report, after finishing the narrative, the manner of his death and burial, and the credit to him therefore, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "They (Banū Qurayẓa) were then brought down and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) imprisoned them in the home of the daughter of al-Ḥārith, a woman of Banū al-Najjār."

I comment that the reference is to the daughter of al-Ḥarith b. Kurẓ b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Shams; she was the wife of Musaylima al-Kadhdhāb,[40] who had by her a son named ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurīz.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out into the Medina market and had some trenches dug. Then he sent for Banū Qurayẓa men to have their heads severed in those trenches. They came out in groups. Among them was that enemy of God Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, along with Kaʿb b. Asad, their leader. They were 600 or 700 in number. Some estimate their number to have been as many as 800 or 900."

I comment that according to al-Layth, quoting Abū al-Zubayr from Jābir, as given above, they numbered 400. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "As they were being taken in groups to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), they asked Kaʿb b. Asad, 'Kaʿb, what do you think he will do to us?' He replied, 'Will you not understand anywhere? Can't you see that the one calling never stops, and that those of you who go never return? It means, by God, execution!'

"This continued until he had finished with them. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab was brought to him wearing a flowered robe all over which he had made finger-size holes so that it not be taken from him; his hands were drawn up and tied by a rope to his neck. When he looked over at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, 'Well, I swear by God, I don't blame myself for being your enemy, but whoever abandons God will be abandoned!'

"He then went forward to the men and said, 'O people, there is no harm in the command of God; a decree, fate and a massacre have been written by God against Banū Isrāʿīl!' He then sat down and he was struck in the neck.

"Jabal b. Jawwāl al-Thaʿlabī then spoke the verses,

> 'By your life, I swear that it was not himself that Ibn Akhṭab blamed, but whoever abandons God will be abandoned
> He strove hard, pushing himself to the limits, exerting himself vigorously to achieve glory.'"

Ibn Isḥāq then related the story of al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā, an old man who had become blind. "At the battle of Buʿāth he had been given over to the charge of Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās who had cut off his forelock. On this day Thābit had wanted to repay him,[41] so he went to al-Zubayr and asked, 'Do you know me, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān?' 'Would the like of me not know the like of you?' he responded. Thābit then said, 'I want to pay you back!' 'Well,' replied al-Zubayr, 'an honourable man would repay an honourable man.'

40. Musaylima al-Kadhdhāb, i.e. "the great impostor" of Yamāma and a leader of Banū Ḥanīfa, claimed prophethood for himself following the death of the Messenger of God, (ṢAAS). He was ultimately defeated and killed by the Muslims in 12 AH, *supra*, p.25n.

41. Ibn Kathīr here omits from his narrative the important fact given in Ibn Isḥāq's account that al-Zubayr had spared Thābit's life on an earlier occasion, before the coming of Islam.

"Thābit then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked permission to release him, and he did release al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā. When he informed him of this, al-Zubayr responded, 'What would an old man who would have no son and no family do with his life?' Thābit then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him to restore to the man his wife and his son, and to this he agreed. When he returned to al-Zubayr with this news, the old man now said, 'What's to become of a household in Hijāz that has no property; how could they survive?' Again Thābit went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked that the property of al-Zubayr be released to him, and he did so.

"When he went back and told him this, al-Zubayr asked, 'Thābit, what became of Kaʿb b. Asad, whose face was like a Chinese mirror that reflects the faces of the tribe's virgins?' 'He has been killed,' he replied.

"'And what of our vanguard in the attack and our protector in flight, ʿAzal b. Shamwāl?' 'He has been killed,' Thābit replied.

"'What became of the two counsel' – meaning that of Banū Kaʿb b. Qurayẓa and Banū ʿAmr b. Qurayẓa. 'They have dispersed and been killed,' he replied.

"'I ask you then, Thābit, by your obligation to me, to let me join my own people. There is no good in life for me now that they have gone and I can't stand postponing joining my loved ones for so long as it would take to fill and empty a bucket being borne along by a camel!'

"At this Thābit went over to him and cut off his head.

"When al-Zubayr's phrase 'joining my loved ones' reached Abū Bakr, the trusting, he commented, 'He'll meet them, by God, in the fire of hell where he will dwell for ever!'"

Ibn Isḥāq used the word *fayla* in his account, to refer to the filling of a bucket; Ibn Hishām said the word should be *qabla*. Regarding the word used for camel here, *nādiḥ*, Ibn Hishām said it referred to a camel that bears water used to irrigate date-palms.

Abū ʿUbayda, however, said that the word refers to the emptying of a bucket.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered the execution of all of their adults. Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj related to me, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr, from ʿAṭīyya al-Qurazī, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that all grown-up Banū Qurayẓa should be executed. I was a youth and since they decided I was not fully grown they let me go.'"

Authorities of all four *sunan*[42] codices of *ḥadīth* relate this account from ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr, from ʿAṭīyya al-Qurazī, with similar wording.

Certain scholars make reference to this who maintain that establishing the presence of coarse hair in the genital region proves maturity. Indeed this does constitute maturity in the most authoritative statements on the subject made by al-Shāfiʿī.

42. The term used here, *aṣḥāb al-sunan*, refers to the four authoritative codices of *ḥadīth* from among the *ṣiḥāḥ* collections. Their authors were al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dāʾūd, Ibn Mājah and al-Nasāʾī.

There are some scholars who differentiate Muslim from non-Muslim youths, saying that that can indicate maturity, but only in the case of the latter. This is because a Muslim (youth) may be disadvantaged to some purpose because of that.

Isḥāq recounted from Ayyūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, that Salmā, daughter of Qays, mother of al-Mundhir, had asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to release Rifāʿa b. Shamwāl, who was adult and had taken refuge with her; he had known them before this. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), did release him for her. She had said, "Messenger of God, Rifāʿa claims that he will pray and eat camels' meat." And so he granted her wish and released him.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "He only executed one of their women. She was talking with me and laughing heartily all the time the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was executing her menfolk in the market-place. Then a voice called out asking where was so-and-so. She exclaimed, 'It's me, by God!' I asked her, 'For pity's sake, what's wrong?' She said, 'I'm to be killed!' 'Why?' I asked. 'For something I did,' she told me. Then she was taken away and beheaded."

The account continues, "ʿĀʾisha used to say, 'I swear, I'll never forget how high-spirited she was and how much she laughed when she knew she was to be killed.'"

Imām Aḥmad related this the same way, from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It was she who had thrown down the millstone on to Khallād b. Suwayd and had killed him." He is inferring that it was for him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had her executed.

Ibn Isḥāq stated elsewhere, "He named her as Nabāta, wife of al-Ḥakam al-Qurazī."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then divided up among the Muslims the property, wives and children of Banū Qurayẓa, after he had taken out one-fifth. He awarded each horseman three shares, two for the horse and one for its rider. He gave one share to each foot soldier. The horses numbered thirty-six at that battle. This was the first time the booty was divided into division of two shares and the first in which it was divided into five parts.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Saʿid b. Zayd with the captives taken from Banū Qurayẓa to Najd, where he sold them in exchange for horses and weapons. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had chosen for himself one of their women, Rayḥāna, daughter of ʿAmr b. Khanāfa, of Banū ʿAmr b. Qurayẓa. He stayed intimate with her until he died, she still being at that time in his household. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had suggested that she accept Islam, but she had refused. Eventually she did accept Islam and this brought great pleasure to him. He suggested releasing and marrying her, but she chose to

continue in slavery, considering that easier for her. She remained with him until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died."[43]

Ibn Isḥāq then commented upon the verses of the Qur'ān that relate to the battle of al-khandaq, from early in *sūrat al-Aḥzāb*. We have given reference and explanation to that in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), and to God be all praise and credit.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Those Muslims martyred in the conflict with Banū Qurayẓa were Khallād b. Suwayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr al-Khazrajī, who was crushed when a millstone was cast down on him. They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'He will receive the reward of two martyrs.'"

I would observe that it was that woman mentioned above, the only woman of Banū Qurayẓa executed, who had thrown the stone down at him. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Sinān b. Miḥsan b. Hurthān of Banū Asad b. Khuzayma died while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was besieging Banū Qurayẓa; he was buried in their cemetery that (same) day."

THE DEATH OF SA'D B. MU'ĀDH, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM.

It has been related above that Ḥibbān b. al-'Ariqa, God damn him, had shot an arrow at him and struck him in the vein of his arm. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then cauterized him with fire and stopped up the wound. Sa'd prayed to God not to make him die before he had been relieved of Banū Qurayẓa. This occurred following their breaking of the pacts and agreements they had made with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and their alignment with the *aḥzāb*, the enemy clans. When the latter withdrew, dispersing away from Medina, Banū Qurayẓa were totally left to disaster, both on earth and in the after-life. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to them and besieged them, as told above. When they were in real suffering, beset from all sides, they decided to submit to the authority of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to do with them as ever God wished. He delegated that authority to the chief of Aws, who had been allied with them before the coming of Islam; he was Sa'd b. Mu'ādh. Banū Qurayẓa were pleased with this. It is said that they initially gave themselves over to Sa'd's authority because they had high hopes of his kindness and partiality towards them. They did not know that they were more hateful in his view than the apes and pigs that were their peers! This was because of the intensity of his faith, and his high trust. May God be pleased with him and give him pleasure.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for him; Sa'd was in a tent in the mosque. He was brought on a donkey riding on a soft saddle placed under him because of his injury. When he drew near the tent of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the latter ordered all there to rise for him. It was said that this was so that he would dismount because of the severity of his injury; also it was said

43. The latter part of this paragraph, apparently a paraphrase of Ibn Isḥāq's account, seems to contradict what was stated earlier.

that this was to accord him respect in the presence of those about whom he was to decide, so that he would be more effective in carrying out his judgement. But God knows best.

When he decreed death and captivity for them and God had pleased and satisfied him by relieving him of them, and he had returned to the tent in the mosque accompanied by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he prayed to God the Almighty and Glorious that he have martyrdom. And God had chosen his reward; his wound burst open that night. Blood went on escaping from him until he died. May God be pleased with him.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Banū Qurayẓa affair was concluded, the wound of Saʿd b. Muʿādh burst open and he died of it, a martyr.

"Muʿādh b. Rifāʿa al-Zurqī related to me as follows, 'It was related to me by whomever you like of my people, that Gabriel, wearing an embroidered turban, came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when Saʿd b. Muʿādh was taken late at night. He said, "Muḥammad, who is that dead man for whom the gates of heaven were opened and for whom the throne shook?"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose hurriedly, dragging his clothing behind him, and went to Saʿd, whom he found to have died; may God be pleased with him.'"

This is how Ibn Isḥāq related this.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated in his *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related to us, from Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b.ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, who said, 'My father and Shuʿayb b. al-Layth related to us as follows, "Al-Layth b. Saʿd related to us, from Yazīd b. al-Ḥādd, from Muʿādh b. Rifāʿa, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked, "Who is that fine worshipper of God who, when he died, had the gates of heaven opened up for him, and for whom the throne moved?"'

"'He went on, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out and found it was Saʿd b. Muʿādh. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat down by his grave as he was being buried. While thus seated, he twice recited, *subḥāna Allāh*, "God be praised". So everyone said the same. He then spoke the words, "*Allāhu Akbar*! *Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great! God is most great!". So everyone spoke the same. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I was amazed at this fine worshipper who was constrained in his grave until this (time), when he was relieved."'"'"

Imām Aḥmad and al-Nasāʾī related, quoting a line of transmission through Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Usāma b. al-Ḥādd, and Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Muʿādh b. Rifāʿa, from Jābir, who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Saʿd the day he died and while he was being buried, 'Praise be to God for this fine man for whom the throne of the All-Merciful moved, and for whom the gates of heaven were opened; he was constrained, and then God released him.'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Muʿādh b. Rifāʿa related to me, from Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr b. Jumūḥ, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'We were there while Saʿd was being buried, in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who spoke the invocation *subḥāna Allāh*, God be praised, which was repeated by all there. He then said *Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great, and everyone joined him in saying this. Then they asked him, 'Why did you praise God, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'His grave constrained this fine man until God relieved him.'"

Imām Aḥmad related it thus, from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, from his father, from Ibn Isḥāq.

Ibn Hishām stated, "The figurative meaning of this *ḥadīth* is shown in ʿĀ'isha's words, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "The grave constrains; if anyone were to escape from it, it would be Saʿd b. Muʿādh."'"

I would comment that this *ḥadīth* is given by Imām Aḥmad as follows, "Yaḥyā related to us, from Shuʿba, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, from Nāfiʿ, from ʿĀ'isha, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, 'The grave exerts pressure; if anyone were to escape from that, it would be Saʿd b. Muʿādh.'"

The line of authorities for this *ḥadīth* would meet the criteria for the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, except for the fact that Imām Aḥmad related it from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, from "a person", from ʿĀ'isha.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār related it from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar. He said, "ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Ḥammād related to us, quoting Dā'ūd, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (who said), 'ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar related to us, from Nāfiʿ, who quoted Ibn ʿUmar as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'The day Saʿd b. Muʿādh died 70,000 angels descended to earth; they had never done so before. The grave was severely constraining him!' Then Nāfiʿ wept."'"

This chain of authorities is excellent. However, al-Bazzār said, "Others related this from ʿUbayd Allāh from Nāfiʿ, but with an incomplete chain.

Al-Bazzār also narrated it, from Sulaymān b. Sayf, from Abū ʿItāb, from Sukayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'seventy thousand angels who had never before touched the earth came down at the death of Saʿd b. Muʿādh.' And as he was being buried, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also said, 'Praise be to God! if anyone escaped the pressure of the grave, it was Saʿd.'"

Al-Bazzār stated, "Ismāʿīl b. Ḥafṣ related to us, from Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, quoting ʿAṭā' b. al-Sā'ib, from Mujāhid, from Ibn Umar, who said, 'The *al-ʿarsh*, the throne, shook at the pleasure of God's meeting Saʿd b. Muʿādh.' It is said that he meant the *al-sarīr*, the couch. (As is the case in the following verse.) 'And he raised his two parents up on to the *al-ʿarsh*' (*sūrat Yūsuf*, XII, v.100). As for the shaking, that referred to its frame. He went on, 'And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went into his grave and stayed there awhile. When he emerged, he was asked, "Messenger of God, what kept you?" He replied, "Saʿd was very

much constrained in the grave; and so I prayed to God, and it was widened for him.'"'"

Al-Bazzār stated, "ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib was alone in giving this *ḥadīth*." I would observe that it was who was being addressed in this matter.

Al-Bayhaqī, may God be pleased with him, following his having told how constrained Saʿd, God be pleased with him, was by the grave, related a strange tradition about it. He said, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related to us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Isḥāq, who said, 'Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh related to me that he asked some of Saʿd's family, "What have you heard that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said on this subject?" They replied, "We were told that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about that and said, 'He' (Saʿd) 'would cut short some of the ablutions for urination.'"'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related to us, quoting al-Faḍl b. Musāwir, quoting Abū Muʾāwiya, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir, who said, 'I heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) say, "The throne shook at the death of Saʿd b. Muʿādh."'"

Also from al-Aʿmash, "Abū Ṣāliḥ related to us, from Jābir, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) the same words. A man asked Jābir, 'How is it that al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib says (that the statement was) "the *al-sarīr*, the couch, shook?" He (Jābir) replied, "There was some animosity between these two tribes; I heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) say, 'The *al-ʿarsh*, the throne, of the *al-Raḥmān*, the Merciful One, shook at the death of Saʿd b. Muʿādh.'"'"

Muslim related this, from ʿAmr al-Nāqid, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs and Ibn Māja, from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, from Abū Muʾāwiya, both of whom quoted al-Aʿmash. Their version does not add anything to the account as given by al-Aʿmash from Abū Sāliḥ, from Jābir.

Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, from Ibn Jurayj, 'Abū al-Zubayr informed me that he heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, while the bier of Saʿd b. Muʿādh was there in front of them, 'The throne of the Merciful One shook for it.'"'"

Muslim related it from ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd, as did al-Tirmidhī from Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān, both quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd related to us, quoting ʿAwf, quoting Abū Naḍra (who said) 'I heard Abū Saʿīd quote the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having said, "The throne shook at the death of Saʿd b. Muʿādh."'"

Al-Nasāʾī related it from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, from Yaḥyā.

Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Wahhāb related to us, from Saʿīd, (who quoted) Qatāda as saying, 'Anas b. Mālik related to us that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, his bier having been put down, "The throne of the Merciful One shook for it."'"

Muslim related it from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī, from ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of al-Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān, from his father, from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who said, "The throne of the Merciful One shook with joy for his spirit."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār stated, "Zuhayr b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, 'When Saʿd's bier was carried, the hypocrites said, "How light his bier is! That's due to his having passed judgement over Banū Qurayẓa." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about this, and he said, "No; but the angels carried him."'"

(This has) an excellent line of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to us, quoting Ghundar, quoting Shuʿba, from Abū Isḥāq (who said), 'I heard al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib say, "I was presented with a silk robe for the Prophet (ṢAAS), and his Companions began touching it and admiring its softness. He said, 'Are you admiring the softness of this? The kerchiefs of Saʿd b. Muʿādh are better than them, or softer.'"'"

He (the source) then said, "Qatāda related this, as did al-Zuhrī who reported hearing it from Anas, from the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Aḥmad stated, "'Abd al-Wahhāb related to us, from Saʿīd, he being the son of Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, that Ukaydir Dūma made a present of a *jubba*, a long outer garment, to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); this was before the wearing of silk was prohibited. He put it on and when people admired it, he said, 'By Him in whose hands is my soul, the kerchiefs of Saʿd in heaven are finer than this!'"

This *ḥadīth* accords with the criteria of both al-Bukhārī and Muslim, but they did not include it. Al-Bukhārī, however, quoted it as commentary.

Aḥmad stated that Yazīd quoted Muḥammad b. ʿAmr as follows, "Wāqid b. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. Muʿādh related to me (and Muḥammmad said that Wāqid was one of the finest, best and tallest of men) as follows, 'I went in to Anas b. Mālik and he asked me who I was. I replied that I was Wāqid, son of ʿAmr, the son of Saʿd b. Muādh. He then said, "You take after Saʿd." He then wept copiously, saying, "May God grant Saʿd His mercy! He was one of the finest and tallest of men." He then went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched an army out to fight Ukaydir Dūma, who sent to him a *jubba* of brocade woven with gold thread. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put it on, went up on to the *minbar*, the pulpit, and sat down without speaking. He then came down again. People felt and gazed admiringly at the *jubba*, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them, 'So you admire this then? The kerchiefs of Saʿd b. Muʿādh in heaven are much finer than what you can now see.'"'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus, as did al-Nasāʾī, from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. ʿAmr. Al-Tirmidhī classified it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

After making reference to the throne having shaken after the death of Saʿd b. Muʿādh, Ibn Isḥāq went on to quote a line of verse from one of the *anṣār*, the Helpers:

"The only person whose death we ever heard caused the throne of God to shake was Saʿd b. Muʿādh."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "His mother – Kubaysha, daughter of Rāfiʿ b. Muʾāwiya b. ʿUbayd b. Thaʿlaba al-Khudariyya al-Khazrajiyya, that is – spoke the following elegy when Saʿd was being borne away on his bier,

'Saʿd's mother grieves for Saʿd, the fierce and impetuous,
A man of leadership and glory, an eager knight.
He would fill every breach, active in cutting off enemy heads.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'All mourning women exaggerate – except for she who mourned for Saʿd b. Muʿādh!'"

I would comment that Saʿd's death came some 25 days after the withdrawal of the *aḥzāb*, the enemy clans. They had assembled in Shawwāl of 5 AH, as is told above, and remained there for approximately 1 month. Thereafter, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth and besieged Banū Qurayẓa for some 25 days. They then accepted the authority of Saʿd, who died shortly after he had passed judgement on them. This would have occurred at the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda or early in Dhū al-Ḥijja of 5 AH. But God knows best.

Similarly, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "The conquest of Banū Qurayẓa took place in Dhū al-Qaʿda and the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijja. The polytheists took charge of that pilgrimage."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses eulogizing Saʿd b. Muʿādh, may God be pleased with him,

"My tears descended in a stream, and it was right for my eyes that they should weep for Saʿd.
Lying dead, prostrate on a battlefield. Eyes grieving at his loss flowed copiously, in constant pain.
A member of the religion of the Merciful, he will inherit paradise along with the (other) martyrs; theirs is the most noble of groups.
Even though you have said good-bye to us and left us and went into the dust of the dark grave
You have, Saʿd, through your noble martyrdom, gone back (to God) clothed in finery and glory.
By your judgement on both Qurayẓa tribes with what God had decreed, you did not decide wilfully.
The decree of God matched your judgement on them; you did not absolve them when you were reminded of a former pact.
Even though fate has placed you with those others who exchanged this life for heaven's eternal gardens

Happy is the end of the trustworthy who one day are
called to God in honour and glory."

Section: Poetry spoken on the battles of al-khandaq and Banū Qurayẓa.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ḥajjāj b. Minhāl related to us, quoting Shu'ba, quoting 'Adī b. Thābit, as saying that he heard al-Barā' b. 'Āzib state, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) told Ḥassān, "Satirize them; and Gabriel is with you!"'"

Al-Bukhārī also said, "Additional material was given by Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, from al-Shaybānī, from 'Adī b. Thābit, from al-Barā' b. 'Āzib, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS), at the battle of Qurayẓa, told Ḥassān b. Thābit, "Satirize the polytheists, for Gabriel is with you."'"

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim and al-Nasā'ī, with lines of transmission from Shu'ba, but without the addition related above by al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Isḥāq, may God have mercy on him, stated, "Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās, brother of Banū Muḥārib b. Fihr, spoke the following on the battle of al-khandaq."

I would add that this was prior to the acceptance by Ḍirār of Islam.

"Many were the sympathetic women who doubted us, though
we commanded a formidable force.
Its size was almost as large as Mt. Uḥud when the
onlooker saw its dimensions.
You saw their short armour amply fitting their heroes
and their tough leather shields.
And their fast horses charging like arrows we aimed at
the misguided sinners.
It was as if, when we and they charged, they were
shaking hands with us, at the entry to the trenches.
Men among whom you could find not one wise, even
though they would ask, 'Are we not rightly-guided?'
We besieged them for an entire month, standing above
them like conquerors.
We attacked them morning and evening every day, fully
accoutred in our armour.
With sharp, cutting swords in our hands, we used them
to slice their skulls and head-bones.
The gleam of their drawn blades shining in the hands
of those who unsheathed them
Was like the flash of lightning on clouds brightening
the night that you sould see with full clarity.
Had it not been for the trench where they were, we
would have demolished them all.
It, however, protected them; they took refuge with it
from us for fear of us.

Even though we withdrew, we left Sa'd laying dead by your tents.
When darkness came, you could hear the women chanting their lamentation for Sa'd.
We will revisit you shortly, assisting one another as we did before,
A group of men of Kināna who will not be unarmed, acting like lions of the forest, defending their dens."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "He was answered by Ka'b b. Mālik, brother of Banū Salama, may God be pleased with him,

'Many were the questioning women who asked us how we battled, though if they had been witness to it they would have seen us stand firm.
We did stand fast, seeing nothing equal to God against what faced us, relying on Him.
On our side was the Prophet, a trustworthy ally; with him we can overcome all mankind.
We were fighting a people who did wrong and were disrespectful and who were waiting a chance to attack us.
When they arose against us, we fought them hard with blows that destroyed the over-hasty.
The women would have seen us in full, long chain-mail gleaming like streams in the desert,
Bearing light swords in our hands with which to puncture the zeal of the trouble-makers.
At the entrance to the trenches like lions whose thickets protect their dens.
And our cavalry attacking by morning and evening gazed at the enemy in disdain and wore insignia
In support of Aḥmad and God, so that we may be sincere in worship of truth.
And the people of Mecca should know when they travel, and the tribes who came in clans,
That God has no partner, and that God is the Lord of those who believe.
Though you may have killed Sa'd impudently, God it is who best determines.
He will enter him in fine gardens which shall be the abode of the righteous,
Just as He repelled you, defeated, in flight, for all your anger, shamed and in failure.
Shamed, you gained no good there, and came close to being destroyed.
By a gale that blew upon you so that you were rendered blind beneath it."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. al-Ziba'rā al-Sahmī spoke the following verses on the battle of al-khandaq."

I would add that this poet had not yet accepted Islam.

"Greetings to a home whose features have been
obliterated by lengthy neglect and the passage of time.
It is as though Jews had written their tracing, except
for the corrals and tent pegs.
A wasteland, as though you had not sported there,
pleasantly, with girls of your own age.
Think no more of a life now gone and a place in ruins
and abandoned.
And remember with thanks the trials of those people who
went out together past the stone monuments,[44]
The monuments at Mecca, heading for Yathrib, multi-
voiced, numerous, many in number.
Avoiding the high ground and usual routes in all the
heights and passes
Leading along with them their lean steeds, their
bellies thin, their flanks trim,
All offspring of long-bodied mares and stallions,
(moving stealthily) like a lion attacking an
inattentive watchman.
An army with whose banner 'Uyayna led, while Ṣakhr
commanded the *aḥzāb*, the clans.
Two leaders, splendid like full moons, in them the
rescue of the poor, the refuge of those in flight
Until when they arrived in Medina and dressed for
death, bearing sharp swords.
For a month and ten days they fought Muḥammad, his
Companions in the fighting being the very best.
They announced their withdrawal that morning, and you
said, 'This has almost finished us off!'
Had it not been for the trenches, they would have left
their forces lying dead, the prey for birds and
wolves."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "He was answered by Ḥassān b. Thābit, God be pleased with him,

'Do the effaced remains of a deserted campsite respond
to one who addresses them?
A wasteland, its traces wiped away by frequent rain and
constant gusts of wind?
There I once saw dwellings made lovely by fresh-faced
women of high ancestry.

44. Presumably the stone markers delineating the holy areas of Mecca.

But enough reminiscence of fair maidens, sweet-talking and full-breasted,
And complain to God of your cares and what you think of a people who maltreated the Messenger in anger.
Who attacked him *en masse*, gathering townsmen and bedouin tribesmen to fight,
An army including ʿUyayna and Ibn Ḥarb, combining with the cavalry of the clans.
And when they arrived at Medina, they hoped to kill the Messenger and to gain much plunder.
They attacked us in the morning with all their strength but were repelled into retreat for all their rage
By a gale that broke them apart and by the forces of your Lord, the Lord of Lords.
God spared the believers their doing battle and assured them the greatest of rewards
After they had despaired; the sending down of our generous Lord's assistance broke them apart.
He gave relief to Muḥammad and to his Companions and disgraced all the doubting defamers.
Hard in heart, aggressive, doubt-filled, disbelieving men, impure.
May failure cling to them, for they maintained their disbelief until the end.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Kaʿb b. Mālik also answered him, saying,

'The battles have given us to keep the finest gift of our bountiful Lord
White forts, well-watered camel pastures, dark green, where milk is plentiful.
(Abundant) as lava fields, their bounty and plenty goes to neighbour, relative and guest
With captured horses as swift as light, raised on barley and cut fodder.
Their feet unshod, firm-fleshed, lean of body and legs
Long-necked, responding eagerly to the call, like hunting dogs obeying their master
Now circling the grazing livestock and then bringing down the enemy and retrieving the kill,
Chasing wild beasts, light-footed, in war, grim in battle, their pedigree evident,
Fed with kindness and so well-bodied and fleshed, but slim bellied.
They (the warriors) arrive wearing double-meshed coats of mail and bearing strong, accurate spears.
And sharp swords, their tarnish removed by the polishers, borne by fine men of high birth.

His right hand gripping a slim spear at the ready, its making entrusted to Khabbāb.
There is a bright blue in the spear and it is like a flaring flame in the dark of night,
A squadron whose chain-mail repels the arrows and turns aside their blows,
Dark red, all gathered together, as though their spears in each engagement were a forest on fire,
Heading for the shade of the banner as though they were an eagle's shadow, a straight lance of al-Khaṭṭ.
Their heroism overcame Abū Karib, Tubba' and the bedouins.
It was admonitions from our Lord that guided us, through the tongue of one splendid and good.
They were presented before us and we wanted to remember them after they were set out before the clans,
Wise words that the criminals thought too severe but men of wisdom understand.
Sakhīna came to defeat their Lord, but those seeking to overcome the All-Conquering will be overcome!'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "Someone I trust related to me, quoting 'Abd al-Malik b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'When he heard this verse from him, he said, "O Ka'b, God thanks you for having spoken those lines!"'"

I would comment that by the above word *sakhīna* Quraysh were meant. The Arabs would use this word, meaning "hot", in referring to them because of their liking for eating hot food, unusual for the desert dwellers. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ka'b b. Mālik also spoke the following verses,

'May he who enjoys the clash of battle when its noise resembles that of the crackling of flaming reeds
Come to a battle site where swords were whetted, between al-Madhād and the trench's sides.
They were skilled in striking at the emblazoned knights and entrusted their lives to the Lord of the East
In a force God employed to aid His prophet, and He was gracious to His servant thereby.
They all wore suits of armour the full lengths of which rippled like wind on the surface of a pool.
Of white, finely-wrought steel, its rivets (protruding) like locusts' eyes in the tight-woven links.
Held up by the belt of an Indian-crafted sword, its steel pure, sharp and shining.
That along with our piety, was our dress on the day of the battle, and every hour a trial.

If our swords were unable to reach we would step orward to make them do so.

And you could see skulls with their tops exposed, as well as hands severed as though never created.

We met the foe with a strong, united force that drove off their army as though heading for the heights of Mt. al-Mashriq.

We prepared against the enemy every light-bodied, white-footed piebald horse,

Swiftly bearing riders whose steeds seemed in the fray as (speedy) as lions on a damp hillside.

Trusted steeds which bring death to the brave from deadly spears amidst the dust.

God ordered that the horses be tied to his enemy in the warfare; God is indeed the best to bring success.

That they should harass the enemy and protect the homes if the evil-doers' cavalry approached.

God the Almighty aided us with His power and reliable endurance at the time we met them.

We obey the order of our Prophet and respond to him; if He calls us to an unpleasant task, we are not to be outpassed.

When there is a summons to engage in dangerous acts, we attend them, and when we see fighting rage, we take part.

Those following the Prophet's words (are right), for among us his orders are obeyed, and He is fully believed.

By that He will give us aid and show our glory and ensure thereby that we achieve a pleasant life.

Those who deny Muḥammad are disbelievers and have strayed from the path of the God-fearing.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Kaʿb b. Mālik also spoke the following,

'The clans well knew, when they joined against us and attacked our faith, that we would not give up

Joint forces of Qays b. ʿAylān and Khindif united, but they did not know what was going to happen.

They seek to turn us from our religion, while we seek to turn them from disbelief; and the All-Merciful sees and hears.

When they stormed against us in battle, broad help from God helped us against their rage;

That was God's grace and protection for us; and whomever God does not protect is lost.

He led us to the religion of the truth, and chose it for us; and God has deeds above those of all others.'"

Ibn Hishām commented, "These verses are in a *qaṣīda* of his" – by which he meant a long ode.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following lines on the execution of Banū Qurayẓa,

'Qurayẓa encountered what harmed them and found no aid
against disgrace.
Disaster hit them equal to that which struck Banū
al-Naḍīr
That day when the Messenger of God came down at them
like the light-giving moon.
He had eager horses bearing riders like eagles.
We left them having gained nothing, their blood smeared
on them like perfume,
Prostrate, vultures circling above them; thus are the
evil and obstinate paid back.
So warn Quraysh of the like from the All-Merciful, if
they will take my advice.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Ḥassān b. Thābit also spoke the following verses about Banū Qurayẓa,

'A people who helped Quraysh had made a pact, and they
shall find no aid in their land.
The Book was brought them, but they neglected it; they
are blind to the Torah, ruined.
You disbelieved in the Qur'ān, though you had been
brought proof of what the Warner spoke
But the leaders of Banū Lu'ayy ignored the great
conflagration at al-Buwayra.'

"Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib answered him as follows,

'May God eternalize such a deed as that! And may the
fire blaze on in its parts!
You shall learn which of us is sin-free, and the lands
of which of us it will harm.
If the palm trees there had been riders, they would
have told you, "There's no place for you here, so
leave!"'"

I comment that Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith spoke this verse before he accepted Islam. Some of these lines are also given by al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Isḥāq recorded also the response of Ḥassān on this subject addressed to Jabal b. Jawwāl al-Thaʿlabī; that we have purposely omitted.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit also spoke the following eulogizing Saʿd and those men who achieved martyrdom fighting Banū Qurayẓa,

'My people, is there defence against matters ordained?
And will good times now gone ever return?
I remembered a time now gone, my emotions were
disturbed and my tears flowed down.
The pain of sorrow reminded me of brethren and of dead
now gone, including Ṭufayl and Rāfiʿ
And Saʿd; they are in paradise, while their homes are
empty and the earth a waste-land without them.
At the battle of Badr they were loyal to the Messenger,
while above them were the shades of death and flashing
swords.
He called, and they responded properly, all of them
responsive and obedient to every command.
They did not withdraw until all were gone; and it is
only battles that shorten a life-span.
For they hope for intercession from him, at a time when
only prophets will intercede.
And so that, O best of worshippers, was our brave
action, our response to God while death awaited.
We made the first step towards You, while behind us in
God's religion others will follow our first.
We know that dominion is God's alone, and that God's
decree will surely prevail.'"

ON THE EXECUTION OF ABŪ RĀFIʿ SALLĀM B. ABŪ AL-ḤUQAYQ THE JEW, GOD DAMN HIM, IN A FORTRESS OF HIS AT KHAYBAR. HE WAS A WELL-KNOWN MERCHANT OF ḤIJĀZ.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the battle of al-khandaq and the Banū Qurayẓa affair were over, the matter of Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, he being known as Abū Rāfiʿ, arose. He was one of those who had gathered the clans against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Prior to the Battle of Uḥud, Aws had killed Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf and so the Khazraj asked permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to kill Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, who was at Khaybar, and he agreed.

"Muḥammad b. Musallam al-Zuhrī related to me as follows, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik as having said, 'God had so ordered it for His messenger (ṢAAS) that Aws and Khazraj used to compete with one another like two stallions. If Aws ever accomplished something for him, then Khazraj would not want this to give them any advantageous position with him over themselves. So they would strive hard to achieve something similar. And when Khazraj accomplished something, Aws would say the same.

"'When Aws struck down Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf for his enmity to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Khazraj determined that Aws would have no advantage with him over themselves thereby. And so they asked themselves who had expressed

an enmity similar to that of Ibn al-Ashraf; they thought of Ibn Abū al-Ḥuqayq, who was at Khaybar. They therefore asked permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to kill him, and he agreed.

"'Five men of Khazraj, of Banū Salama, then set out to do this. They were ʿAbd Allāh b.ʿAtīk, Masʿūd b. Sinān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays, Abū Qatāda al-Ḥārith b. Ribʿī, and Khuzāʿa b. Aswad, an ally of theirs from Banū Aslam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAtīk in command of them and told them to refrain from killing any woman or children.

"'It was night when they arrived at the compound of Ibn Abū al-Ḥuqayq. They took care to close all the doors upon those who lived there. He himself was in an upper chamber reached by a ladder. They climbed it, reached his door and asked to come in. His wife came out to them and asked who they were. They replied that they were bedouin seeking supplies. She told them they had come to the right man and let them in.'"

The account proceeds, "'When we went in, we shut him and ourselves inside the room, fearing someone might interfere between us. His wife screamed and gave him warning about us, but we set upon him with our swords while he was still in bed. I swear it was only his whiteness – like that of a Coptic dress lying there – that showed us where he was in the black of the night. As his wife screamed, we raised our swords to her, but remembered what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had forbidden and lowered them again. We would otherwise have killed her too that night. As we struck him with our swords, ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays plunged his into his stomach and pierced him through, as he said the words, "Qaṭni! Qaṭni!" "That's enough! That's enough!"

"'Then we left. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAtīk had poor sight and he fell off the ladder and severely sprained his arm. We carried him off into a water channel at one of their wells. They (Sallām's people) lit torches and chased all around looking for us, but gave up and assembled around him as he expired.

"'We wondered how we could ascertain that he had died, so one of us suggested that he would go back to see. He mingled with those there and reported how he had seen her – Sallām's wife – holding a torch and telling people as she looked into his face, "I swear, I heard the voice of Ibn ʿAtīk. But then I told myself I must be wrong, because there was no way he could be in these parts!" She then went close and, looking into his face, said, "He's dead, by the God of the Jews!" And I swear, I never heard words sweeter to me than those!

"'When he returned and told us this, we carried our companion away and reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the death of God's enemy. When with him, we argued over which of us had actually killed him, each of us claiming it. He then said, "Hand me your swords." When we did so, he examined them and said of the sword of ʿAbd Allāh b. Anīs, "This one killed him; I can see food traces on it."'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on this,

'God has credit for that band you met, Ibn al-Ḥuqayq,
and you too, Ibn al-Ashraf.
They attacked you bearing light swords, as lively as
lions in thick brush.
They reached you in your own town and made you taste
death with swift swords
Seeking victory for their prophet's religion,
belittling every difficulty.'"

This, then, is the account as given by Imām Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, may God have mercy on him.

Imām Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Bukhārī stated, "Isḥāq b. Naṣr related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ādam, quoting Ibn Abū Zāʾida, from his father, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent a group of men to attack Abū Rāfiʿ. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAtīk entered his house at night while he slept and killed him.'"

Al-Bukhārī also narrated, "Yūsuf b. Mūsā related to us, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūsā, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out some men of the *anṣār* to attack Abū Rāfiʿ, the Jew. He appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAtīk in charge of them. Abū Rāfiʿ had been doing harm to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and assisting his enemies. He was inside a fort he owned in Ḥijāz. When they drew near him, by which time the sun had set and the people were taking their livestock inside, ʿAbd Allāh told his companions, "Sit down here, and I'll go off and play a trick on the gatekeeper to get inside." He then went on, close to the gate, where he shielded himself with his clothing as though relieving himself, the other residents already having gone inside. The gatekeeper called out to him to come on inside since he wanted to close the gate.'"

(ʿAbd Allāh's account went on), "'So I went in and hid. When everyone was inside, he locked the gate and hung the keys on a peg. I then took them and opened the gate. Abū Rāfiʿ was entertaining in an upstairs room of his. When his guests left, I went on up to him, closing each door behind me from the inside, determined that if they spotted me they would not reach me before I killed him.

"'When I reached his chambers, he was inside a *figh*, a dark apartment, but I did not precisely know his whereabouts. So I called out, "Abū Rāfiʿ?" "Who's there?" he asked. I then hurried towards the voice and struck out at him with my sword. But I was confused and accomplished nothing, while he shouted out. So I left the chamber and went a little off, then came back in again, asking, "What was that sound, Abū Rāfiʿ?" He replied, "Woe on your mother, I swear, there's a man in the house who just hit me with a sword!" At that I hit him hard once more but still did not kill him. Then I put the tip of my sword into his stomach until it reached his back. I then knew I had killed him. After that I opened the doors again, one by one, and reached a stairway. When I put my foot down,

thinking I had finished (climbing down) I fell. It was a moon-lit night. I broke my leg but tied it up with a turban and went on as far as the gate, where I sat, telling myself I should not leave until I knew I had killed him. At the cock's crow the death-announcer got up on a wall and shouted, "I lament the death of Abū Rāfi', saviour of the people of Ḥijāz." I then left to join my companions, telling them, "Let's go! God has killed Abū Rāfi'!" When I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, he said, "Stretch out your leg!" I did so and he touched it. And it was as if it had never caused me pain!'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. Ḥakīm al-Awdī related to us, quoting Shurayḥ, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf, from his father, from Abū Isḥāq, who said he heard al-Barā' say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk, and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba, along with others, against Abū Rāfi'. When they drew near the fortress, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk told them to wait while he went on ahead.'" (He recounted), "'I played a trick to get inside the fortress. They could not find a donkey of theirs and went out with a lantern to find it. I was afraid I would be discovered, so I concealed my head and crouched as though relieving myself. He (the gatekeeper) called out, "Whoever wants to go in should do so before I lock the gate." So I went inside then hid in a donkey stall at the fortress gate. There were people dining with Abū Rāfi' and they kept on conversing with him until it was night. Then they went home.

"'When the voices died down and I could hear no movement, I came out. I saw where the gatekeeper had placed the key to the fortress, in a niche, and I took it. So I used it to open the door, telling myself I would quietly sneak out if people detected me. I then barred the doors of all their dwellings from the outside.

"'After that I climbed a ladder up to Abū Rāfi' and found his apartment dark, the lantern having been extinguished. I did not know where the man was, so I called out his name. When he responded, I made for the voice and struck him. He cried out, but my blow did no injury. Later I came back to him as though to help him and, disguising my voice, asked him, "What's wrong, Abū Rāfi'?" He replied, "Woe on your mother! A man came in to me and struck me with a sword!" I then made for him and struck him again, but once more to no avail. He shouted out and aroused his family. After that I again returned, changing my voice as though coming to help. He was lying on his back. So I placed my sword on his stomach and leaned on it until I heard the sound of (it striking) bone. I then left, in some confusion, found my way to the ladder I wanted to descend, but I fell off it and dislocated my leg. I bandaged it and went on to my companions, limping. I told them, "Get going! Tell the Messenger of God, the good news! I'll not leave until I hear the announcement of his death." When dawn broke, the announcer climbed up and lamented the death of Abū Rāfi'. So I got up and left, feeling no pain, and rejoined my companions before they reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I told him the good news.'"

Al-Bukhārī, alone of the authors of the six canonical books of tradition, related this text. He then went on, "Al-Zuhrī stated, Ubayy b. Kaʿb said, 'So they went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was on the *minbār*, the pulpit, at the time. He asked, "Are faces happy?" They replied, "May yours be, Messenger of God!" "Did you slay him?" "Yes," they replied. "Hand me the sword," he asked. He unsheathed it and then said, "Yes, that's his food on the tip of the sword."'"

I would comment that it is likely that when ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAtīk fell from the ladder that he dislocated his shank and sprained his foot and his leg. When he bound it up, it had the immediate effect of calming the pain. And when he wanted to walk, he was aided (by unseen forces) for he was engaged in a beneficial exercise. When he reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and came to a rest, the pain in his leg again flared up. When he stretched it out and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) touched it, that took away the pain there had been, as well as what he might have expected there would be thereafter. This would reconcile the former and latter accounts. But God knows best.

In this regard, Mūsā b. ʿUqba related in his *maghāzī*, his work on the military engagements, an account similar to that of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. He named the group of men who took part therein as those stated by Ibn Isḥāq, Ibrāhīm and Abū ʿUbayd.

THE EXECUTION OF KHĀLID B. SUFYĀN B. NUBAYḤ AL-HUDHALĪ.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayḥaqī gave this account in *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*) following that of Abū Rāfiʿ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him that his father quoted Ibn Isḥāq as saying, "Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to me, from Ibn ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays, from his father, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for me and said, "I have been informed that Khālid b. Sufyān b. Nubayḥ al-Hudhalī is gathering a force of men to attack me. He is at ʿUrāna. Go to him and kill him." I replied, "Messenger of God, please describe him to me so that I can recognize him." "When you see him", he replied, "you'll tremble."

"'So I left, bearing my sword; I came upon him at ʿUrāna where he had litter-borne women for whom he had sought a campsite. When it was time for the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer – and I had experienced that shivering that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had described for me when I should see him – I went towards him. As I did so, I was worried that some conflict might develop between us that would preoccupy me from performing the prayer. So I prayed as I walked towards him, nodding my head for the prayer bows and prostrations. When I reached him, he said, "And who might you be?" I replied, "I'm a bedouin Arab who has heard of you and of your gathering a force against that fellow, and I've therefore come to you." He replied, "Yes, I am engaged in that." I then accompanied him a while until, when I could, I attacked him with my

sword and killed him. I then departed, leaving his women all crouched over him.

"'When I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he saw me, he asked, "Happy, I hope?" I replied, "I've killed him, Messenger of God!" "You spoke true," he said. He then arose with me, entered his house and presented me with a stick, saying, "Keep this with you, 'Abd Allāh b. Unays."

"'So I took it and went outside where people asked me what it was. I replied that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had given it to me and had told me to keep it. They then suggested I return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and ask him to explain about that. So I did go back and asked him why he had given me the stick. He replied, "It is a sign between yourself and me for Judgement Day. There will be very few that day with something to lean upon."'"

The account continues, "'And so 'Abd Allāh attached it to his sword and it was always with him until, upon his death, it was included in his winding sheet and he and it were buried together.'"

Imām Aḥmad related this from Yaḥyā b. Ādam, from 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr, from one of the sons of 'Abd Allāh b. Unays – or alternatively, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Unays, from 'Abd Allāh b. Unays himself. His account is similar.

Abū Dā'ūd related it similarly from Abū Ma'mar, from 'Abd al-Wārith, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Muḥammad b. Ja'far, from 'Abd Allāh b. Unays, from his father. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it on a line through Muḥammad b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Unays, from his father.

'Urwa b. al-Zubayr and Mūsā b. 'Uqba relate this story without a full line of transmission in their works on the *maghāzī*. But God knows best.

Ibn Hishām stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Unays spoke the following verses on his execution of Khālid b. Sufyān,

'I left Ibn Thawr like a camel foal still connected to
its mother, while around him hired weepers rent their
clothes to shreds.
I engaged him, while the camel litter was at my back
and his, with a sword formed from fine, molten steel,
Well-tested by the heads of armoured men, as though a
flame in a dark night from a flaring fire.
I told him, as my sword bit into his head, "I am Ibn
Unays, a knight, no coward I.
I am the son of him whose like fate never produced, a
man who welcomed all, a generous host."
I told him, "Take that, the blow of a noble, gracious
man who follows the religion of the Prophet Muḥammad;
If the Prophet is concerned about a disbeliever, I race
towards him, raising voice and hand."'"

I comment that his full name was ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays b. Ḥarām, Abū Yaḥyā al-Juhanī; he was a famous and highly-regarded *ṣaḥābī*, "Companion". He was present at the al-ʿAqaba pledge, and participated in the battles of Uḥud, al-khandaq and later ones. His death occurred late in life, while he was in Syria, at age 80, as is well known. It is also said that he died in the year 54 AH. But God knows best.

ʿAlī b. al-Zubayr and Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ differentiated him from ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays Abū ʿIsā, the *anṣārī*; it was he who related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed at Uḥud over a vessel containing water and its spout opened and he drank from it. This was what Abū Dāʾūd and al-Tirmidhī related through ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī, from ʿIsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays, from his father. Al-Tirmidhī then stated, "But its chain of authorities is not reliable; and ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī is a weak source with regard to his memory."

The Story of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and the Negus, after the battle of al-khandaq, and how ʿAmr accepted Islam.

Ibn Isḥāq related the following after his account of the killing of Abū Rāfiʿ.

"Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Rashīd, freed-man of Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Thaqafī, from Ḥabīb b. Aws, as follows, "Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ related to me directly, saying, "When we left with the *aḥzāb*, the clans, after the battle of al-khandaq, I gathered some Quraysh who thought as I did and respected my opinion and told them, 'You know how I think that the Muḥammad affair is escalating badly. You know my opinion; what is yours?'

"""How do you mean?' they asked.

"""Well,' I went on, 'I think we should join the Negus and stay with him. If Muḥammad defeats our people, we'll be there with the Negus, and we'd prefer to be under his authority than that of Muḥammad. If our people prevail, they already know us, and we'll experience nothing but good from them.'

"""They responded, 'That's a (good) opinion.'

"""I then said, 'Let's gather something to present to him.' The gift he liked most from our country was leather, so we collected a large quantity of it for him.

"""After that we left and joined him. While we were there with him, ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī arrived; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him to the Negus concerning Jaʿfar and his companions. He went in to see the Negus and then came out again. I told my friends, 'That's ʿAmr b. Umayya; if I were to go in to the Negus and asked him to give him over to me, he would do so and I could kill him. And if I did that Quraysh would know that I was acting for them in killing Muḥammad's envoy.'"

"'He went on, "So I went in and bowed as was my custom. He greeted me, saying, 'Welcome to my friend! Did you bring me a gift from your country?' I replied, 'Yes, O king. I've brought you a lot of leather.' I then gave it to him and

he was delighted. After that I asked him, 'O king, I saw a man who just left your presence; he is the envoy of a man who is our enemy. Give him over to me, so that I may kill him. He has killed some of our leaders and nobles.'

"'"But he became enraged; he put out his hand and struck his nose with it so hard I thought he broke it. If the earth had opened up, I would have willingly gone inside!

"'"Then I said, 'O king, if I had known this would displease you, I would never have asked it of you.'

"'"He responded, 'Do you ask me to hand over to you the envoy of a man to whom the *nāmūs al-akbar*, "the archangel Gabriel" comes, the one who used to come to Moses, so you could kill him?'

"'"I asked, 'Is that how he is, O king?' 'Woe on you, 'Amr,' he replied; 'obey me and follow him. I swear by God that he is right. He will certainly overcome all those who oppose him just as Moses son of 'Imrān defeated Pharoah and his troops.'

"'"I asked, 'Will you accept my allegiance to him in Islam?'

"'"'Yes,' he replied, stretching out his hand. I then declared to him my allegiance to Islam.

"'"After that I went out to my companions, my attitude towards Islam now completely different from what it had been. I concealed from them my having accepted Islam and then left, heading for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to become a Muslim. I met Khālid b. al-Walīd – that being before the conquest of Mecca – while he was coming from Mecca. I asked him, 'Where are you headed, Abū Sulaymān?' He replied, 'I swear by God, the way has become clear. The man really is a prophet. I am going to accept Islam; until when (should I delay)?' I then told him, 'I swear by God, I myself have only come to accept Islam!'

"'"So we went to Medina to see the Prophet (ṢAAS). Khālid arrived first, accepted Islam and declared his allegiance. I went up to him and said, 'Messenger of God, I pledge allegiance to you on condition that you forgive me all my past sins, without reference to what is yet to come.'

"'"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Amr, do pledge, for Islam erases all before it, just as the Hijra erased all that preceded it.'

"'"I then made my pledge to him and left."'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "A reliable source related to me that 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa was with them both and accepted Islam at the same time. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū al-Ziba'rā' al-Sahmī then spoke the verses,

> 'I refer 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa (to what is behind us) (or to our pact) and to the place at al-Muqabbal where people cast their sandals.
>
> And to all the pacts our forefathers made, and Khālid is not absolved of the like as well.

Is it the key to a house you do not possess that you
desire;[45] yet what could you more desire than a house
of ancient glory?
Do not trust Khālid hereafter, not ʿUthmān; they have
caused a calamity.'"

I observe that their acceptance of Islam came after the Ḥudaybiyya truce. This is evident because on that occasion Khālid b. al-Walīd was in the polytheist cavalry, as will be related. It would have been more appropriate to refer thereafter to his acceptance of Islam. But I have related it here since Imām Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, God be pleased with him, did so. This is because the first departure of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to the Negus did occur after the battle at al-khandaq; it is clear that he went there for the remainder of the year 5 AH. But God knows best.

Chapter: The Marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān.

Al-Bayhaqī related following the battle of al-khandaq, quoting al-Kalbī from Abū Ṣāliḥ from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said with relation to the words of the Almighty, "Perhaps God will bring about friendship between you and those of them you consider enemies" (*sūrat al-Mumtaḥana*; LX, v.7). "This relates to the marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān; she thus became the *umm al-muʾminīn*, the 'mother of the believers,'[46] while Muʾāwiya (son of Abū Sufyān), became the *khāl al-muʾminīn*, the 'uncle of the believers'."

Al-Bayḥaqī then stated, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ recounted to us, quoting Aḥmad b. Najda, quoting Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, quoting Ibn al-Mubārak, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, who said that Umm Ḥabība was with ʿUbayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh who had gone to the Negus and had died. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had then arranged marriage with Umm Ḥabība while she was there in Abyssinia, and the Negus had arranged this, giving her a dowry of 4,000 dirhams which he had taken to her by Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana; it was he who provided her trousseau, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) not sending her anything. He said, "The dowry provided for the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) used to be 400 (dirhams)."

I would comment that in fact the dowries of the Prophet (ṢAAS) were 12 *awqiyya* and 1 *nash* (of gold); and the *wuqya* was worth 40 dirhams, while the *nash* was worth one-half (a *wuqya*). That totals 500 dirhams.

Al-Bayhaqī then recounted through Ibn Lahīʿa, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh died a Christian in Abyssinia. The next to marry Umm Ḥabība was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); it was ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, God be pleased with him, who arranged her marriage to him.

45. ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa was in charge of the keys of the *kaʿba*.
46. The honorific title given to the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

I comment that the conversion to Christianity of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh has been described above. That occurred after he had migrated to Abyssinia with the Muslims. There Satan subverted him and made Christianity seem attractive to him, and he therefore embraced it until he died. May God curse him! He used to mock the Muslims by telling them, "We see clearly; your eyes are still half closed!" Reference to this is made above relating to the migration to Abyssinia.[47]

ʿUrwa's statement above, "It was ʿUthmān who arranged the marriage for him," is strange. This is because ʿUthmān had returned to Mecca before this, and then migrated to Medina, accompanied by his wife Ruqayya, as is related above. But God knows best.

What is authentic is the account of Yūnus, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said, "I was informed that the man who arranged her marriage was her cousin Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ."

I comment that the agent of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in accepting this contract was Aṣḥuma, the Negus, the king of Abyssinia. This is what Yūnus reported, on the authority of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, whom he quotes as saying, "Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn related to me, stating, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus and he arranged his marriage to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān, conveying from him 400 dinars.'"

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār stated, "Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan related to me, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Zuhayr, from Ismāʿīl b. ʿAmr, that Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān said, 'While I was in Abyssinia, I was surprised by a visit from an envoy of the Negus, a slave-girl called Abraha who used to care for his clothes and anoint him. She asked to come in and I agreed. Then she said, "The king says to you, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has written to me asking me to arrange your marriage to him.'" I replied, "God has sent you with good news." Abraha then continued, "The king says to you, 'Appoint an agent to arrange your marriage.'"

"'So I sent for Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and appointed him my agent. Then I gave to Abraha two silver bracelets and two silver camel decorations I was wearing and silver rings from each of my toes, I was so pleased with the good news she had brought me.

"'That evening the Negus ordered Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib and the Muslims there to attend him and he made an address in which he said, "Praise be to God, the King, the All-Holy, the Faithful, the Powerful, the Almighty! I testify that there is no god but God, that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger, and that it is he whose coming ʿIsā (Jesus), son of Mary predicted. Further, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has requested that I marry him to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān. I have responded to the request made by the Messenger

47. See Vol. II.

of God (ṢAAS), who has given 400 dinars as her dowry." He then poured out the coins before everyone.

"'Khālid b. Saʿīd spoke, saying, "Praise be to God! I give Him praise and ask His forgiveness. I testify that there is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger whom He sent with guidance and the religion of truth to show its superiority to all religions, however much the polytheists may dislike this. Moreover, I have responded to what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has requested, and I have contracted his marriage to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān. May God bless the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

"'The Negus then paid the dinars over to Khālid b. Saʿīd who took them. Then everyone was about to rise, but he (the Negus) then said, "Take your seats, for it is the practice of prophets to have a feast when they marry." He then called for food and they ate and dispersed thereafter.'"

I comment that it may well be that ʿAmr b. Umayya, when seen by ʿAmr b. al-Āṣ emerging from the presence of the Negus, following the battle of al-khandaq, had been active in the matter of Umm Ḥabība. But God knows best.

However, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayḥaqī stated, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Mandaḥ related that the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Umm Ḥabība was in the year 6 AH, while his marriage to Umm Salama was in the year 4 AH."

I comment that Khalīfa, Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā and Ibn al-Baraqī said the same, and that the marriage to Umm Ḥabība was in 6 AH. Some people said that it was 7 AH. Al-Bayhaqī said, "That is more likely."

I also note that, as has been related heretofore, his marriage to Umm Salama was late in the year 4 AH. It is likely that the marriage to Umm Ḥabība occurred before that, though it could also have been thereafter. It is most probable that it was following the battle of al-khandaq, because of what we have related above regarding ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, and how he saw ʿAmr b. Umayya with the Negus, engaged in that matter. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn al-Athīr recounted in *al-Ghāba*, quoting Qatāda, that when Umm Ḥabība migrated from Abyssinia to Medina, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became engaged to her and married her.

Some scholars maintain that he married her after her father had accepted Islam, following the conquest of Mecca. But that contradicts what was related by Muslim, through ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār al-Yamanī, from Abū Zumayl Simāk b. al-Walīd, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that Abū Sufyān said, "O Messenger of God, grant me three wishes!" "Yes," he replied. "That you give me authority to battle the unbelievers just as I used to battle the Muslims." "Yes," he replied. "And that you appoint Muʾāwiya as a clerk of yours." "Yes," he replied. "And I have at home the best and most lovely of all the Arab women, Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān; let me marry you to her."

That is the *ḥadīth* in its entirety.

Ibn al-Athīr stated, "This *ḥadīth* is one for which Muslim is criticized. This is because when Abū Sufyān came to renew the pact before the conquest, he went

in to see his daughter Umm Ḥabība and she rolled up the rug of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then asked, "By God, I don't know whether you consider the carpet too good for me or me too good for it!" She replied, "This rug belongs to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and you are a polytheist." He replied, "I swear by God, you've changed for the worse since you left me, daughter!"

Ibn Ḥazm stated, "This *ḥadīth* was invented by 'Ikrima b. 'Ammār. This statement from him should not be considered dependable."

Others stated that he wanted to renew the pact because of the disadvantages in it (that had been included) without his permission. Others say it was because he believed that his daughter's marriage would be dissolved because of his acceptance of Islam.

But all this is unconvincing. What is most likely is that he wanted to marry him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) to his other daughter 'Amra, since he thought that would bring honour to himself. And he therefore sought help from his daughter Umm Ḥabība, as is stated in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. The narrator was merely in error in his using the name Umm Ḥabība. That is why we have given (only) one report.

Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām stated, "Umm Ḥabība died in the year 44 AH." Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama said, "She died one year before Mu'āwiya." The death of Mu'āwiya occurred in Rajab of 60 AH.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) TO ZAYNAB, DAUGHTER OF JAḤSH B. RPĀB B. YA'MUR B. ṢABRA B. MURRA B. KABĪR B. GHANAM B. DŪDĀN B. ASAD B. KHUZAYMA, AL-ASADIYYA, UMM AL-MU'MINĪN, 'MOTHER OF THE BELIEVERS'.

Her mother was Umayya, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, aunt of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She was previously the wife of his freed-man Zayd b. Ḥāritha, God be pleased with him.

Qatāda, al-Wāqidī and some of the people of Medina said that he married her in the year 5 AH; some added the month, Dhū al-Qa'da. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayḥaqī stated, "He married her after the attack on Banū Qurayẓa." Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā and Ibn Mandah said that he married her in the year 3 AH. The first possibility is better known and it is the one accepted by Ibn Jarīr and several historians.

Various commentators, theologians and historians give as the reason for his marrying her reference to a *ḥadīth* related by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in his collection that we have deliberately refrained from including so that those lacking understanding would not place it in the wrong context.[48]

48. Zaynab had originally been presented, when a virgin, by the Prophet (ṢAAS) to his freed-man and adopted son Zayd d. Ḥāritha. Her later divorce and this marriage inspired much commentary and is the subject of the following passage in the Qur'ān quoted here by Ibn Kathīr.

In His Glorious Qurʾān, Almighty God stated, "And (consider) when you say to him whom God had favoured and whom you had favoured, 'Keep your wife for yourself, and fear God,' and you hide within yourself what God makes evident, and you fear men. Yet God has greater right that you fear Him. And since Zayd has now finished with her, We give her to you in marriage so that there should be no distress for believers regarding the wives of their adopted sons when the latter have divorced them. God's command must be fulfilled. And there should be no distress for the Prophet in accomplishing what God has imposed upon him. Such has been God's course with those who went before. God's decree is determined'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.37, 38).

We have discussed this at sufficient length in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*).

The person referred to as having received God's favour is Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God favoured him with Islam, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also favoured him by setting him free and by marrying him to Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, the daughter of his own maternal aunt. Muqātil b. Ḥabbān stated that the dowry he provided for her was ten dīnars and sixty dirhams, a veil for her head and face, a wrap, a coat of armour, fifty *mudd* (a dry measure) and *ten* mudd of dates. She (Zaynab) remained with him (Zayd) close to a year, or longer, but then they quarrelled. Her husband complained about her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he would say to him, "Keep your wife for yourself and fear God."

God stated, "You hide within yourself what God makes evident." Regarding this, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn b. al-ʿĀbidīn and al-Suddī said, "He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) knew that she was to be one of his wives and it is he who hid (this) within himself."

Many early authorities discussed this matter in various strange ways. Some of these are controversial and so we are omitting them.

God Almighty stated, "And since Zayd has now finished with her, We give her to you in marriage ..." This refers to Zayd having divorced her. And when her *ʿidda* period was over, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to her so that she would become engaged to himself, and he then married her. And it was the Lord of the universe, Blessed and Almighty is He, who married him to her, as is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, from Anas b. Mālik. The latter related that Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, used to claim superiority over the other wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and say, "It was your families who arranged your marriage, whereas it was Almighty God, from above the seven heavens, who arranged mine!"

There is a report through ʿIsā b. Tahmān, from Anas, which says, "Zaynab would claim superiority over the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and say, 'It was God who arranged my marriage from heaven.' And it was regarding her that the verse requiring use of the *ḥijāb*, the veil, was revealed, namely, 'O you

who believe, do not enter the chambers of the Prophet unless you are invited to eat, without waiting while it be cooked'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.53).

Al-Bayhaqī related, from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād, from Zayd b. Ḥārith, from Anas, who said, "Zayd came to complain about Zaynab and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Fear God, and keep your wife for yourself.'"

Anas went on, "And if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been concealing something, it would have been this. She used to claim superiority over the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and say, 'It was your families that arranged your marriages, while God from above the seven heavens arranged mine.' He then said, 'Al-Bukhārī related this from Aḥmad, from Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddamī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then related, through 'Affān, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, "Zayd came to complain to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh. The Prophet (ṢAAS) told him, 'Keep your family for yourself.' And there was revealed the verse, 'and you hide within yourself what God makes evident."

He went on, "Al-Bukhārī related it, from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, from Mu'lā b. Manṣūr, from Muḥammad, in an abbreviated form." Ibn Jarīr stated, "Ibn Ḥamīd related to us, saying, 'Jarīr related to us from Mughīra, from al-Sha'bī, as follows, "Zaynab used to say to the Prophet (ṢAAS), 'I, alone of your wives, was led to you by three factors: my grandfather and yours was one person.' (She was referring to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was the father of the father of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and the father of her own mother, Umayya.) And I was married to you by God Almighty from heaven. And the envoy was Gabriel, upon whom be peace.'"'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Hāshim (meaning Ibn al-Qāsim) related to us, quoting al-Naḍr, quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, 'When Zaynab's *'idda* period was over, the Prophet (ṢAAS) said to Zayd, "Go and make mention of me to her." He went to her – she was leavening her dough at the time – and (later said), "When I saw her, I felt so emotional I could not look at her, because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made mention of her. So I turned my back to her and withdrew, saying, 'Zaynab, rejoice! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) makes reference to you (for marriage).' She exclaimed, 'But I have not done anything to cause my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, to so honour me!' Then she went to her place of prayer." Thereafter the (passage in the) Qur'ān was revealed, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came and went in to her without (seeking) permission.'"

Anas went on, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated his marriage with her, we made a feast of meat and bread for her sake. Some people left while some men stayed in the house talking following the food. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left, and I followed him as he went to each of the chambers of his wives to greet them. They called out to him, 'O Messenger of God, how

did you find your family?' I don't know whether it was I who informed him that the people had left, or whether he was told of this (by someone else)."

He went on, "Then he left and entered his chamber and I went to enter it with him. But he threw down the screen between myself and him. (Then it was) revealed about the *ḥijāb*, the screen and the people were admonished by the words, 'Do not enter the chambers of the Prophet unless you are invited.'"

Muslim and al-Nasāʾī related it thus, through Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra.

An Account of the institution of the ḥijāb, the screen, on the morning of Zaynab's wedding arranged by God.

It was appropriate for the screen to be instituted during this wedding, as a protection for her and for her sisters, also known as the *umahāt al-muʾminīn*, the "mothers of the faithful". This was in accord with the previously held view of ʿUmar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Raqqāsh related to him, quoting Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān, who said, "I heard my father say, 'Abū Mijlaz quoted Anas b. Mālik as having said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, he invited people in and they ate and sat there conversing. When he was ready to arise, they did not do so. When he saw that, he himself arose. When he did so, others also arose, though three men remained seated. When the Prophet (ṢAAS) came (back) to go inside, the people were still sitting, but they then got up and left. I went and told the Prophet (ṢAAS) that they had left and he returned and went inside. I went as if to go inside too, but he let down the screen between myself and him. Then God Almighty revealed, "O you who believe, do not enter the chambers of the Prophet."'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in other passages; and Muslim and al-Nasāʾī did so with other lines of transmission from Muʿtamir. Al-Bukhārī then related it – he alone doing so – from a *ḥadīth* of Ayyūb from Abū Qullāba, from Anas in similar form.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Muʿammar related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārith, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "A feast of bread and meat was given for the marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh. I was dispatched to invite people to come for the food, and they would come and eat then leave; others would come and do the same. I continued inviting until I could not find anyone left to invite. I then said, 'O Prophet of God, I don't find anyone to invite.' He responded, 'Take the food away.' But there were three men who stayed in the house conversing. So the Prophet (ṢAAS) left and went to the chamber of ʿĀʾisha and said, 'Peace be upon you, people of the house, along with the mercy and blessings of God.' She replied, 'Peace be upon you, along with the mercy and blessings of God. How

did you find your family, may God bless you!' He then went and visited the chambers of each of his wives, spoke to them as he had to ʿĀ'isha and they responded to him as she had done. He then came back and the three men were still in the house conversing. The Prophet (ṢAAS) was exceedingly modest and he then left again, heading for ʿĀ'isha's chamber. And I don't know whether I told him or whether he was (otherwise) informed that the people had left, but he came out, and, placing one foot over the threshold of the door and leaving the other outside it, he let down the screen between myself and him. Then the verse relating to the *ḥijāb* was revealed."

Al-Bukhārī was alone in giving this from this line. He then related it, also uniquely, from Isḥāq, he being Ibn Naṣr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Bukayr al-Sahmī, from Ḥumayd b. Anas in similar form. That account refers to two men, instead of three. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī also gave the chain of a similar *ḥadīth* from Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, from al-Jaʿd Abū ʿUthmān, from Anas.

Ibn Abū Ḥātim said, "My father related to us, quoting Abū al-Muẓaffar, quoting Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān, from al-Jaʿd Abū ʿUthmān al-Yashkurī, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and some of his wives gave a wedding feast. Umm Salīm made some *ḥays*, a dish of date, butter and curds, and placed it in a bowl, saying, "Go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and tell him that this is a little something for him from us."'

"Anas went on, 'People at that time were under strain. I took it to him, saying, "Messenger of God, Umm Salīm has sent you this, with her greetings, and says, 'This is a little something for you from us.'" He looked at it and said, "Place it over near the house." He then said, "Go and invite for me so-and-so" and he named a large number of men. He added, "And any other Muslims you may meet." So I invited those he had told me, along with the other Muslims I met. When I returned, I found the house, the stone benches and the courtyard filled with people. I (Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān?) asked, "Abū ʿUthmān, how many must there have been?" "Some 300" he replied.'

"Anas went on, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told me to accompany him and I took it (the bowl of food) to him. He placed his hand over it and prayed, saying, *mā shā'a Allāh*! "Whatever God wills!" He then said, "Have them form groups of ten and invoke the name of God; every person should eat what he finds." They began invoking God's name and to eat until all had done so. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told me, "Pick it up." I then went and took the bowl and looked inside. And I don't know whether there was more when I had put it down or when I picked it up!

"'Some men stayed behind conversing in the house of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Meanwhile, his wife, whom he had brought in with them, was there turning her face to the wall. The men stayed so long chatting that they annoyed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was the most modest of men; if they had realized it, they would have felt badly. Eventually he went off into his chambers

to his wives. When they (the men there) saw him do so, they thought they had annoyed him, and so they moved to the door and left. Then he returned, let down the screen and went inside while I was there in the (outer) room. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed inside his house for a while and God made a revelation of the Qurʾān. He came out reciting this verse, "O you who believe, do not enter the chambers of the Prophet unless you are invited to eat, without waiting while it be cooked. If you are invited, then do enter and when you have eaten, disperse. Do not linger on for conversation. That would annoy the Prophet, though he would be too shy (to tell you so); but God is not shy of the truth. And if you should ask something of them (his wives), do so from behind a screen. That is more pure for both you and them. And you should not annoy the Messenger of God, nor should you ever marry his wives after him. That would indeed be offensive to God. And whether you divulge something or keep it concealed, God has knowledge of all."'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.53, 54).

Anas went on, "He recited these to me before the others. And so I have known them longer than them."

Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī all related this tradition from Qutayba, from Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān, from al-Jaʿd Abū ʿUthmān. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic". Muslim also related it, from Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Jaʿd Abū ʿUthmān.

Al-Bukhārī related this *ḥadīth*, as did al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī, from several lines, from Abū Bishr al-Aḥmasī al-Kūfī, from Anas, in similar form. Ibn Abū Ḥātim related it from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Naḍra al-ʿAbdī, from Anas in similar form; they did not explicate it. Ibn Jarīr related it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd and from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from Anas, in similar form.

I note that Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, may God be pleased with her, was one of the first women who migrated. She was a woman of great goodness and charity. At first her name was Tarra, then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed her Zaynab. She was known as *Umm al-Ḥakam*, "al-Ḥakam's mother".

ʿĀʾisha, may God be pleased with her, said, "I never knew a woman more religious, more God-fearing, more truthful in her speech, more protective of family ties, more trustworthy or more charitable than Zaynab."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, as will be seen in the *ḥadīth al-ifk*,[49] "the calumnious account", that ʿĀʾisha stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, about me. She was the (only) wife of the Prophet who could compete with me for his favour. God encompassed her with goodness, and she said, 'O Messenger of God, in all truth and obedience, I say I never knew of her (ʿĀʾisha) anything but good.'"

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that Maḥmūd b. ʿAylān related to him, quoting al-Faḍl b. Mūsā al-Shaybānī, quoting Ṭalḥa b. Yaḥyā b.

49. See above, pp.217 et seq.

Ṭalḥa, from 'Ā'isha 'mother of the believers', who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'The women who will be the earliest to join me (in the Hereafter) are the ones who are the most generous.' We used to vie with one another over which of us was the most generous. In fact it was Zaynab, because she made things herself and gave to charity."

Muslim is alone in giving this.

Al-Wāqidī and other authorities on the biography of the Prophet (ṢAAS), on the early military campaigns and on history, state that she died in 80 AH. The Commander of the Believers 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, prayed over her. She was buried at al-Baqī'; and she was the first woman for whom a bier was made.

THE YEAR 6 AH.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "People used to say that it was in Muḥarram of that year that there was the expedition of Muḥammad b. Maslama to Najd. It was during this that they captured Thumāma b. Athāl al-Yamāmī."

I note, however, that in the text of Ibn Isḥāq from Sa'īd al-Maqburī, from Abū Hurayra, that he (Abū Hurayra) was present then and it was after the expedition against Khaybar that he (Abū Hurayra) emigrated. It (the expedition to Najd) would therefore have to be dated thereafter. But God knows best.

It was during the early part of this year, for certain, that the expedition was mounted against Banū Liḥyān.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The conquest of Banū Qurayẓa took place in Dhū al-Qa'da and the start of Dhū al-Ḥijja. The polytheists had charge of the pilgrimage that year, 5 AH that is." As is related above.

He went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina thereafter for the months of Dhū al-Ḥijja, Muḥarram, Safar and both Rabī' al-Awwal and Rabī' al-Thānī. In Jumadā al-Uwlā, at the start of six months following the conquest of Banū Qurayẓa, he went forth against Banū Liḥyān seeking revenge for Khubayb and his companions who were killed at al-Rajī'. In order to surprise the enemy, he made it appear that he was heading for Syria."

According to Ibn Hishām, he left Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina.

What Ibn Isḥāq is referring to here is as follows. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had reached their homes (in his attack on Banū Liḥyān) they retreated before him and sought refuge in the mountain heights. He therefore turned off to 'Usfān, where he encountered a force of polytheists. It was there that he performed the *ṣalāt al-khawf*, the "fear prayer".

This expedition has been described above as having occurred in 4 AH. Al-Bayhaqī related it there.

But what Ibn Isḥāq relates is most probable, namely that it took place after the battle of al-khandaq. It is established that he did perform the *ṣalāt al-khawf* at 'Usfān on the expedition against Banū Liḥyān. It should best, therefore, be

included here and removed from there, in accord with the Imām, the prime authority, on the military expeditions in his own era and thereafter. As al-Shāfiʿī, may God be pleased with him, stated, "Whoever wants information of the military expeditions is dependent upon Muḥammad b. Isḥāq."

Kaʿb b. Mālik spoke the following verses on the expedition against Banū Liḥyān:

"If Banū Liḥyān had stayed they would have met at their dwellings a band of brave fighting men
Mounted on fast horses; their hearts would have filled with terror at the great force of their host, vast as heaven's gate.
But they were mere weasels, keeping to the high and inaccessible Ḥijāz passes."

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST DHŪ QARAD.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then proceeded to Medina. He had been there only a few nights when ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī and some horsemen of Ghaṭafān attacked milch-camels belonging to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Ghāba. A man of Banū Ghifār and his wife had been guarding the camels; the raiders killed him and abducted his wife along with the camels.

"ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related the following to me, as did ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, along with another man I trust, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik; each of these sources gave part of this account. The first to become aware what they had done was Salama b.ʿAmr b. al-Akwaʿ al-Aslamī who was heading for al-Ghāba armed with his bow and arrows and accompanied by a slave belonging to Talḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh leading his horse. When he had climbed up to the al-Wadāʿ pass, he saw some of their horsemen. Then he looked down towards Salʿ and cried out (in alarm), '*Wā ṣabaḥā*!'[50] He hurried off in pursuit of the raiders, like a lion. When he caught up with them, he began shooting his arrows at them, exclaiming, 'Take that! I'm Ibn al-Akwaʿ! Today the wicked will die!'

"Whenever their horsemen headed for him he would flee, then return and shoot again at them whenever he could, repeating the same battle cry. One of them exclaimed (using a pun on his name, Ibn al-Akwaʿ) 'Is he trying to *yukawwiʿu*, "to divert us", so early in the day!'

"News of Ibn al-Akwaʿ's battle cry reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina, and he called out there: 'Alarm! Alarm!' At that the cavalry hurried to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The first to reach him was al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, followed by ʿAbbād b. Bishr, Saʿd b. Zayd, Usayd b. Zuhayr (though there is some doubt about this man), ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan, Muḥriz b. Naḍla, brother of

50. A cry for help.

Banū Asad b. Khuzayma, Abū Qatāda al-Ḥārith b. Ribʿī, brother of Banū Salama, Abū ʿAyyāsh ʿUbayd b. Zayd b. Ṣāmit, brother of Banū Zurayq.

"When they were gathered around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he appointed Saʿd b. Zayd as their leader. He then told them, 'Get out and pursue them, and wait till I join you with our men.'

"I have been told by some men of Banū Zurayq that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said the following to Abū ʿAyyāsh: 'What if I were to give this horse over to a better rider than yourself so that he can catch up the enemy?' Abū Ayyāsh says, 'I responded, "Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I'm the best of all horsemen!" Then I slapped my horse and I swear by God, he'd not carried me 50 arms-lengths before he tossed me! I was amazed.'

"Some men of (Banū) Zurayq say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave over Abū Ayyāsh's horse to Muʿādh b. Māʿiṣ, or to ʿĀ'idh b. Māʿiṣ b. Qays b. Khalda, the eighth (of the horsemen there). Some count Salama b. al-Akwaʿ as the eighth and drop Usayd b. Ẓuhayr. But God knows best. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ was not a rider that day; he was the first to catch up with the raiders on foot."

The account continues, "The horsemen left and caught up with the enemy. ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that the first rider to catch up with them was Muḥriz b. Naḍla, known as al-Akhram, and also as Qumayr. The horse he rode belonged to Maḥmūd b. Maslama. The name of the horse was Dhū al-Lamma. When he reached the enemy, he said, 'Stop, you tribe of no-goods, and let the *anṣār* and the *muhājirīn* pursuing you catch up with you!' One of the raiders then attacked and killed him. His horse wheeled and could not be caught; it raced off without stopping until it reached a stable of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal; that is, it went back to the stall in Medina where it had been."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "No other Muslim than him was killed that day."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Some other scholars refer to Waqqāṣ b. Mujjaziz al-Mudlijī as having been killed along with him."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "A source I trust related to me, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, that Muḥriz was riding a horse named al-Janāḥ, belonging to ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan. Muḥriz was killed and Janāḥ was captured. But God knows best.[51]

"When the cavalry engaged, Abū Qatāda killed Ḥabīb b. ʿUyayna, covered him with his cloak, then caught up with the rest. Soon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived there with the other Muslim warriors."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina.

"When the Muslim force found Ḥabīb (b. ʿUyayna) covered with Abū Qatāda's cloak, they were shocked, believing the latter had been killed. But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'It's not Abū Qatāda; it's someone he has killed, then covered with his cloak to let you know that he did it.'"

51. There seems to be some confusion in Ibn Isḥāq's account as to the name of the father of Waqqāṣ and whether or not he was killed in this engagement.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan then caught up with Awbār and his son ʿAmr who were riding the same camel. He pierced both with his lance, killing them both together. They then retrieved some of the milch-camels. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on and encamped at Mt. Dhū Qarad; he was joined by his force and they remained there for a day and a night. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ told him, 'Messenger of God, if you were to send me on with 100 men, I could recover the rest of the herd and kill the enemy.' But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so I have been told, replied, 'By now they are being served their evening drinks among Ghaṭafān.' He then provided a slaughtered camel for each 100 men and they remained there. After that he returned to Medina.

"The wife (who had been abducted) of the Ghifārī guard then arrived in Medina on one of the camels of the Prophet (ṢAAS), to whom she reported. When she had finished her account, she told him, 'Messenger of God, I promised God I would slaughter this camel if God allowed me to escape on it.' He smiled and responded, 'But you would be rewarding the camel badly, since God bore you away and let you escape on it, if you slaughtered her. No vow in disobedience of God is valid, nor is one relating to something you do not own. She is one of my camels. Go back to your family, with God's blessings.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The *ḥadīth* on this subject was transmitted from Abū al-Zubayr al-Makkī from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī."

This, then, is this story with its text and line of transmission as given by Ibn Isḥāq.

Al-Bukhārī, God be pleased with him, states following his materials relating to the al-Ḥudaybiyya incident and before his account of the expedition to Khaybar, "The expedition to Dhū Qarad; this incident relates to the enemy's raid on the milch-camels of the Prophet (ṢAAS), three days before the Battle of Khaybar. Qutayba b. Saʿīd related to us, quoting Ḥātim, from Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd, who said, 'I heard Salama b. al-Akwaʿ say, "Once I left (town) before the call had been made for the *al-fajr*, dawn, prayer. The milch-camels belonging to the Prophet (ṢAAS) used to graze at Dhū Qarad. (On the way) I was met by a slave belonging to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, who said, 'The milch-camels of the Prophet (ṢAAS) have been stolen!' 'Who took them?' I asked. 'It was Banū Ghaṭafān,' he replied. I called out three times, *'Wā sabāhā!'* I (shouted so loudly I) made all between Medina's two mountains hear me. I then rushed on ahead until I caught them up as they were watering their camels. I began shooting my arrows at them; I was an archer. (As I did so) I called out, in *rajaz*, doggerel verse, 'I'm Ibn al-Akwaʿ, and today the wicked will die!' I (continued shooting until) I had retrieved the milch-camels and I also seized from them thirty cloaks.

"'"When the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his men arrived, I told him, 'Messenger of God, I have prevented the enemy getting water. They will be thirsty. Send a force after them now.' He replied, 'Ibn al-Akwaʿ, you mastered them; now be charitable!'

"'"We then went back; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) seated me on his camel along with himself for the journey back to Medina."'"

Muslim related it thus from Qutayba. Al-Bukhārī related it from Abū ʿĀṣim al-Sahlī, from Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayda, from his freed-man Salama in similar terms.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hāshim b. al-Qāsim related to him, quoting ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, quoting Iyyās b. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, who reported that his father had said to him, "At the time of the Hudaybiyya expedition, we came to Medina with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Then I and Rabāḥ, a slave of his, left, without his prior knowledge. I went with a horse belonging to Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh; I wanted to graze it with the camels. But when it was dark ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUyayna raided the camels of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He killed their herdsman and drove them away, he and the horsemen he had accompanying him. I told Rabāḥ to ride the horse back to Ṭalḥa and to inform the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that his herd had been raided.

"I then climbed a hill, turned towards Medina and shouted three times, '*Yā sabāḥā*!' I then pursued the enemy, bearing my sword and arrows. I began shooting at them and wounding them; this was when there were plenty of trees about. When one of the horsemen would come back at me, I'd sit at the base of a tree and shoot. And every rider who came near I shot. As I shot at them, I would call out, 'I'm Ibn al-Akwaʿ! Today the wicked will die!' When I would attack one of their men on his mount, my arrows would fall on him until I pierced him in the shoulder, then I'd cry out, 'Take that! I'm Ibn al-Akwaʿ, and today the wicked will die!'

"While I was in the trees, I plastered them with my arrows; when the mountain trails were narrow, I would climb up the mountain side and hurl down rocks on them. My engagement with them continued, with me following them and calling out my battle cry, until God so arranged it that I retrieved and left behind me all of the property of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having saved it from their control. I went on shooting at them until I had got over 30 of their spears and over 30 cloaks they were bearing. All of this they cast away I placed beneath stones, gathering everything into position in the path the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would take. Later in the morning ʿUyayna b. Badr al-Fazārī came to reinforce them; at that point they were in a narrow defile. I climbed the mountain so that I was above them. ʿUyayna asked them, 'What's this I see?' They replied, 'We've had too much trouble from this fellow. He's been with us from dawn till now. He's seized everything we had and placed it all behind himself.' ʿUyayna commented, 'Well, if this fellow saw that he was being hunted, he'd have left you alone. Some of you should attack him.' A group of four of them did so, climbing up the mountain.

"Having made them hear my call, I asked them, 'Well, do you know me?' 'Who are you?' they asked. 'I'm Ibn al-Akwaʿ,' I told them. 'By Him who

honoured Muḥammad, none of you who pursue me will catch me, whereas no one I hunt will escape me!' One of them commented, 'I agree!'

"So I had not left that position of mine when I saw the cavalry of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), coming through the trees. Leading them was al-Akhram al-Asadī, followed by Abū Qatāda, the horse-master of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). After him came al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad al-Kindī. The polytheists then withdrew and I came down from the mountain and took hold of the reins of al-Akhram's horse. I told him, 'Take care of the enemy' – meaning 'watch out for them'; 'I'm worried they might cut you off. Take it slowly until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men catch up with you.' But he replied, 'Salama, if you truly had faith in God and the last day and knew that heaven and hell are real, then you would not try to block my way to martyrdom!'

"So I released the reins of his horse and he charged at ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUyayna who turned to face him. They exchanged a few thrusts. Al-Akhram wounded ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who then thrust back at him and killed him. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān mounted al-Akhram's horse, but Abū Qatāda closed with him and they exchanged a couple of thrusts. Abū Qatāda was wounded, but he killed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and mounted al-Akhram's horse.

"I then ran out in pursuit of the enemy, continuing until I saw some dust rising from the advance of the warriors of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Before sunset they turned off into a defile where there was water, a place called Dhū Qarad, where they wanted to drink. When they saw me running ahead after the enemy, they turned away from there and halted in the mountain pass where there was a well. The sun set. I caught up with one of the enemy and shot at him, yelling, 'Take that! I'm Ibn al-Akwaʿ! And today the wicked will die!' He responded, '*Bukra*, "tomorrow", al-Akwaʿ's mother will be bereaved!' 'Right you are, you're your own enemy,' I replied. The man I had shot at was named Bukra. I shot a second arrow at him and both stuck in him. The enemy abandoned two horses, and I brought these back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was at the water-hole from which I had diverted them, at Dhū Qarad. He was there with a force of 500 men. Bilāl had slaughtered a camel I had retrieved; he was busy cooking its liver and its hump for the Prophet (ṢAAS).

"I went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'Please let me choose 100 of your men to attack the enemy in the dark. I've killed all their guards.' He replied, 'Would you really do that, Salama?' 'I certainly would, by Him who honoured you!' I replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed so heartily I could see his molars in the firelight. He then said, 'They are being served drinks now in Ghaṭafān territory.' A man of Ghaṭafān then arrived and said, 'The enemy force passed by so-and-so the Ghaṭafānī and he slaughtered a camel for them. But when they began removing its skin, they discovered an ulcerous wound. So they abandoned it and fled.'

"Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Abū Qatāda is the finest of our horsemen, while the best of our foot-warriors is Salama.' And he awarded

me both the share for a horseman and that for a foot-warrior. He then set me to ride behind himself on (his camel) al-ʿAḍbā' on our way back to Medina.

"When we were about half a day's travel from the town, one of our warriors, an *anṣārī*, who had never been beaten in a race, began calling out, 'Will someone race me? Won't someone race me into the town?' He repeated this several times while I was there riding behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I asked the man, 'Don't you respect the noble or fear the powerful?' 'No, I don't', he replied, 'except for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!' I then asked, 'Messenger of God, do please, for the sake of my mother and my father, let me race with the fellow!' 'If you like,' he replied. 'I'll come to you,' I told the man. At that he jumped off his mount and I bent my leg and jumped down from the camel. I then let him get well ahead, holding myself back, then I ran hard, caught up with him and slapped him on the shoulder, saying, 'I beat you, by God!' – or I made some such comment. The man laughed and said, 'I agree.' So we went on into Medina."

Muslim related this *ḥadīth* in this way with lines from ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār in similar form. His version ends, "... so I beat him into Medina and we remained there only three days before we left for Khaybar." Ahmad also has this text.

Al-Bukhārī and al-Bayhaqī relate this engagement after al-Ḥudaybiyya and before Khaybar, similarly to Ibn Isḥāq. But God knows best. Thus it should be placed later, to early in 7 AH, for Khaybar took place in Ṣafar of that year.

Regarding the woman who escaped on the camel of the Prophet (ṢAAS), having sworn to slaughter it for its having allowed her to get away, this story is related by Ibn Isḥāq from Abū al-Zubayr, with an incomplete chain of authorities back to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. It is also given with a complete line through other sources.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAffān related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, quoting Ayyūb, from Abū Qalāba, from Abū al-Halab, from ʿUmrān b. Ḥuṣayn, who said, '(The camel named) al-ʿAḍbā' had belonged to a man of Banū ʿUqayl and had been one of the mounts racing at the *ḥajj* fair; the Messenger of God, God's peace and blessings be upon him, had taken it when he had captured him. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), riding a donkey with a velvet saddle cloth, had later passed by the man, who was in fetters, the latter had called out to him, "Hey, Muḥammad, why did you take me and the *ḥajj* racing camel?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "We've seized you on account of your allies Thaqīf."'"

(The narrator continued) "Thaqif had taken captive two of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The prisoner then said, along with other things, 'But I'm a Muslim!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'If you were to have said that when you had your freedom, you would have been very successful.' As the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on his way, the man called out, 'Muḥammad, I'm hungry and I'm thirsty! Give me some food and drink!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'Yes, that's what you're after!' Then the two men were ransomed, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) retained al-ʿAḍbā' for his own journeys.

"After that the polytheists raided the Medina milch-camels and made off with them, including al-ʿAḍbāʾ, and they also took captive a Muslim woman. When they made camp, they set his camels free in their enclosures. One night after they were asleep, she went out to the camels. Each one grunted until she reached al-ʿAḍbāʾ. She had come upon a female riding camel that was well used to being ridden. She mounted it and directed it towards Medina. She then vowed that if God were to allow her to escape on it, she would slaughter it. When she reached Medina, the camel was recognized as belonging to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was told of her vow (or she came to him and told him of it) and he stated, 'It was a bad vow she' (or 'you') 'made to slaughter it if God allowed her to escape on it.' He went on, 'No vow in disobedience to God is valid, nor is one relating to what one does not own.'"

Muslim related this from Abū al-Rabīʿ al-Zahrānī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Among the verses spoken relating to the Dhū Qarad incident were the following by Ḥassān b. Thābit,

'Had the frogs of their hooves not suffered while being
led, south of Sāya, (our horses)
Would have met you bearing fully armed warriors
carrying the banner, men of fine ancestry.
And those offspring of sin would have rejoiced that we
were at peace that morning when al-Miqdād's horsemen
came.
There were eight of us, while they were numerous and
loud-mouthed, but they were pierced by our lances and
they fled.
We belonged to that people who were pursuing them and
who gave free rein to each horse.
Indeed, by the lord of the camels that race to Minā,
(we will) cross by the passes over the mountains
Until we make our mounts urinate amidst your horses and
make off with your women and children,
Moving quickly, our garments tucked up, our horses
swift and moving proudly, in valley or battlefield,
Having worn down their quarters and made their backs
bare on days being led and on others at the chase.
Our steeds, moreover, get milk to drink and warfare is
fanned by the breeze.
And the steel blades of our swords slice through
shields of iron and recalcitrant heads.
God places barriers in their way on account of what is
sacrosanct, and for the dignity of the All-Merciful.
They once were contented at home, but on the day of Dhū
Qarad their faces were like slaves.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Saʿd b. Zayd, leader of the riders moving in advance of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was enraged at Ḥassān and swore he would never speak to him. He said, 'He raves away about my horses and riders and then credits al-Miqdād'. Ḥassān then apologized to him, claiming that al-Miqdād's name matched the rhyme. He then spoke verses praising Saʿd b. Zayd,

'If you need the fiercest and most determined, or a man
of real ability, then seek out
Saʿd b. Zayd, who never gives in.'

"But the verses did him no good.

"Hassān b. Thābit also spoke the following about the incident at Dhū Qarad.

'Did ʿUyayna imagine when he visited it that he would
demolish the castles there?
You were proved to lie in what you claimed as true;
you said, "We will seize much booty!"
You hated Medina when you visited it, and became used
to the roar of lions there.
Quickly they retreated, like speeding ostriches, and
they uncovered no camels' hideout.
The messenger of the lord was the leader over us; how
beloved a leader we find him!
A messenger who proves true his mission and who recites
a book that illuminates and enlightens.'

"Kaʿb b. Mālik spoke the following verses on the Dhū Qarad incident in praise of the Muslim horsemen that day,

'Do those offspring of sin consider that we on
horseback are not the match for their knights?
We are men who see no disgrace in death and we do not
bend before the rigid lance.
We serve our guests the choicest of meats, and we
strike off the heads of happy braggards!
We turn back bemedalled warriors when they charge with
blows that dispel the courage of the brave,
With heroes who protect the banner, men of glory,
fierce as wolves of the jungle.
They protect their reputation and their lands with
swords that slice off the tops of helmets wearing
heads.
Ask of Banū Badr, if you meet them, what our brothers
did on the day of battle.
When you go forth tell the truth to those you meet; do
not hide your news in your meetings.
Say we escaped the claws of a lion in his lair, whose
deep anger remains unalleviated.'"

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST BANŪ AL-MUṢṬALIQ OF KHUZĀʿA.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "This was the expedition to al-Muraysīʿ."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "That took place in 6 AH."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba, however, set it in 4 AH.

Al-Nuʿmān b. Rashīd stated, quoting al-Zuhrī, "The *ḥadīth al-ifk*,[52] the 'calumnious report', occurred during the expedition to al-Muraysīʿ." Similarly al-Bukhārī related it from the military chronicle of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, to the effect that it took place in 4 AH. However, it was related from both him and from ʿUrwa that it occurred in Shaʿbān, 5 AH. Al-Wāqidī stated, "It took place when two nights remained of Shaʿbān in 5 AH, and he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) was accompanied by 700 men."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār stated, following his account of the Dhū Qarad incident, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina for part of Jumādā al-Ākhira and Rajab, whereafter he made an expedition against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzāʿa, in Shaʿbān, 6 AH."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He appointed Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī in command of Medina; Numayla b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Laythī, however, is also named."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatada, ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥibbān related to me, each narrating part of the account relating to the expedition against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was informed that Banū al-Muṣṭaliq were assembling to attack him, under the leadership of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Ḍirār, the father of Juwayriyya, whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) later married. When he heard of their activity, he went forth against them, engaging them at one of their water sources at a place called al-Muraysīʿ, near Qudayd, towards the coast. The forces met and did battle; God defeated Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, a number of them being killed, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) took over as booty their women, children and possessions.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth with two nights having passed of Shaʿbān in 5 AH, with a force of 700 of his Companions against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. They were allied to Banū Mudlij. When he reached them, he entrusted the banner of the *muhājirīn* to Abū Bakr, the Trusting – though some say to ʿAmmār b. Yāsir – and that of the *anṣār* to Saʿd b. ʿUbāda. He then ordered ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to tell the enemy, 'Cry out the words, "*Lā Ilāha illā Allāh*!", "There is no god but God". By this you will protect yourselves and your property.' But they refused and cast arrows instead.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then ordered the Muslims to attack. They did so as one. And not one man escaped them; they killed ten and captured the rest. Only one of the Muslims was killed."

It is related in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwn, who said, "I wrote to Nāfiʿ asking him about the battle-cry prior to the fighting. He replied, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) attacked Banū al-Muṣṭaliq while

52. See above, p.217 et seq.

they were engrossed in their pleasures, taking water at the well. He killed their warriors and took captives. It was that day he acquired – I think that is what he said – Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar narrated this to me, and he was with that army.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "One of the Muslims, Hishām b. Ṣubāba, was struck down that day. He was killed in error by one of the *anṣār* who thought him to be an enemy."

Ibn Isḥāq related that Hishām b. Ṣubāba's brother, Miqyas b. Ṣubāba, arrived from Mecca professing Islam and requested blood-money from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since his brother had been killed in error. He did pay blood-wit and Miqyas stayed on a short while but then attacked and murdered his brother's killer. He then returned, an apostate, to Mecca and spoke the following verses,

> "It assuaged me that he was felled in the valley, his
> clothing stained with the blood of his jugular.
> My mind was troubled before I killed him; my worries
> kept me from enjoying my bed.
> By killing him I eased my tension and got my revenge;
> and I was prompt to return to the idols.
> Through him I avenged Fihr and charged his blood-wit to
> the chiefs of Banū al-Najjār, the lords of Fāriʿ castle."[53]

I note that this is why this Miqyas was one of the four persons whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had executed on the day of the conquest of Mecca, (having said) "... even if they be wrapped in the drapes of the *kaʿba*!"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "While the warriors were there at the well, a group of men arrived to get water. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had with him a hired man of Banū Ghifār named Jahjāh b. Masʿūd who led his horse. Jahjāh and Sinān b. Wabr al-Juhanī, an ally of Banū ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj, got in one another's way at the water-hole and began fighting. Al-Juhanī called out, 'Help, *anṣār* friends!' Jahjāh shouted, 'Help, *muhājirī* friends!' At this ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl became angry; he had with him a number of his people, including Zayd b. Arqam, a boy. 'Did they really cause this?' he asked. 'They challenge us and outnumber us in our own lands! I swear by God, the old maxim well applies to us and these Quraysh ruffians: "fatten your dog and you it will eat!" I swear, when we return to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker!' He then approached some of his people and told them, 'See what you have done to yourselves! You let them settle among you and shared your property with them. I swear, if you had kept what you owned from them, they would have gone some place else!'

"Zayd b. Arqam overheard this and so informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who had ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb with him at the time. ʿUmar advised him,

53. In Medina.

'Order ʿAbbād b. Bishr to kill him!' But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'How would it be, ʿUmar, to have people say that Muḥammad kills his own Companions. No, give orders to leave instead.' This was at a time of day when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was not accustomed to begin a journey. So everyone then set off.

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he was told that Zayd b. Arqam had reported what he had been heard to say. He swore by God that he had not said any such thing and had not spoken to Zayd. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy was a great chief of his people, and those *anṣār* of his men present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Messenger of God, perhaps the lad mistook what was said, or did not memorize it correctly.' They said this to give support and protection for ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had set forth and travelled some distance, he was met by Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr who addressed him as a prophet and greeted him in peace. He said, 'Messenger of God, aren't you out travelling at an unpleasant time when you don't usually do so?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded to him, 'Have you heard what your friend said?' 'What friend was that then?' Usayd asked. 'ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy,' he replied. 'Well, what did he say?' he asked. 'He claimed that when he gets back to Medina, the stronger will drive out the weaker.' Usayd responded, 'Well, I swear by God, Messenger of God, you'll drive him out if you wish. He's certainly the weak one, and you the strong.' He went on, 'Be kind, Messenger of God! I swear, God brought you to us while his people were stringing pearls with which to make a crown for him. And so he considers that you have robbed him of his kingdom.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on throughout that day and that night and the following morning until they suffered greatly from the sun. He then had them make a halt and they all fell asleep as soon as they dismounted. He had only behaved in this way to keep the minds of his men off discussion of what ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy had said the previous day. After that, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took his men off into Ḥijāz and encamped at a water-hole there, a little above al-Naqīʿ, at a place called Baqʿā'. When he left there a gale arose that much discomforted and frightened the men. He told them, 'Don't be afraid at it; it is blowing this way due to the death of one of the unbelievers' chiefs.' When they reached Medina, they discovered that Rifāʿa b. Zayd b. Thābit, of Banū Qaynuqāʿ, a leader of the Jews and a supporter of the hypocrites, had died that day."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba and al-Wāqidī related this similarly.

Muslim related, through al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir, much the same story, although he did not name the hypocrite who had died. He stated, "A gale blew up while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on one of his travels, and he said, 'This is because of the death of a hypocrite.' And when we reached Medina, we found that one of the chief hypocrites had died."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Then the *sūra* was revealed in which God made mention of the hypocrites, with reference to Ibn Ubayy and those like him. The Messenger

of God (ṢAAS) took hold of the ear of Zayd b. Arqam and said, 'This is he who devoted his ear to God!'"

I comment that I have written on this in my *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) at sufficient length to obviate need to repeat it here. We have listed the various lines of transmission of this *ḥadīth* from Zayd b. Arqam; to God belong all praise and credit. Should anyone wish to include this material here, he is at liberty to do so. And to God all credit is due.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Messenger of God, I have heard that you want to kill ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy because of what you were informed about him. If that is so, then order me to do it and I will bring you his head. I swear that Khazraj well know that there is no man more loyal to his father than me. I fear that if you order someone other than myself to do it and he does kill him, then my spirit will not allow me to look upon the killer of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy walking freely among people and so I will then kill a believer in exchange for an unbeliever, and so enter hell!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'On the contrary, we will treat him kindly and enjoy his company so long as he stays with us.' Thereafter, if anything bad had happened, ʿAbd Allāh's people would blame and reproach him. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having been informed that they were treating him that way, asked ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Well, what do you think now, ʿUmar? I swear, if I had killed him the day you suggested it, there would have been much resentment. But if I were to order his death today, they would all kill him!' ʿUmar responded, 'Well, I've certainly learned that orders you give are more blessed than mine would be!'"

ʿIkrima, Ibn Zayd and others relate that this son, ʿAbd Allāh, stood in the way of his father ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl at the narrow entry into Medina and told him, "Stop! By God, you'll not enter until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gives you permission to do so!" When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy did indeed ask his permission to enter and he sent to him allowing him to do so.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A number of the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq were killed that day. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib killed two of them – Mālik and his son."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The battle-cry of the Muslims was, '*Yā Manṣūr*! *Amit*! *Amit*!' 'O conqueror! Kill! Kill!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took many captives that day and he distributed them among the Muslims."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar, from Rabīʿa b. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥibbān, from Ibn Muḥayrīz, who said, "I went into the mosque and there I saw Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī. I sat with him and asked him about *al-ʿazl*, coitus interruptus. Abu Saʿīd replied, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) on the expedition to Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. We took many of the bedouin captive and we lusted after the women; celibacy was very hard on us. We liked to practise *al-ʿazl*, but wondered whether we should do this without asking the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since he was there with us. So we did ask him about it, and he replied, 'You might well not do that; for any soul that is going to exist till Judgement Day will so exist.'"

He (Muslim) also related this *ḥadīth*.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "One of those taken captive that day was Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Ḍirār. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to me, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀ'isha as saying, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) distributed the captives taken from Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith, was awarded to Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās, or to a cousin of his and she wrote a *muqābala*[54] deed giving herself to him. She was a very sweet and attractive woman; every man who saw her fell for her. She came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to ask his help in preparing the document. And, I swear, as soon as I saw her at the door of my room, I disliked her and recognized that he would see in her what I did. When she went in to him, she said, "Messenger of God, I am Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Ḍirār, the leader of his people. You can see what my plight is now; I have fallen to the lot of Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās" – or to his cousin – "and I've prepared a deed awarding myself to him. I've come to ask your help in writing it."

"'He then asked her, "Would you prefer better?" "What would that be, Messenger of God?" she asked. "I will take responsibility for your deed myself and marry you," he replied. "Yes, Messenger of God," she commented, "I agree."

"'"The news spread that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had married Juwayrīyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith. And so people said, "Then they (i.e. our captives) are relatives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!" And so they released their captives.

"'"And so by his marriage to her, he released 100 of her relatives from Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. I know no woman who brought greater blessings to her people than she.'"

Thereafter Ibn Isḥāq reported the incident of *al-ifk* in its entirety as part of his narration of this expedition. Al-Bukhārī and several other scholars did the same. I have laid out the various lines of transmission in my *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) of *sūrat al-Nūr* (XXIV) and this could be joined to what was mentioned here. And God is the source of help.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Ḥarām related to us, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who said, 'Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith, stated, "For three nights before the arrival of the Prophet (ṢAAS), I seemed to see the moon travel from Yathrib and fall into my lap. I did not like to tell anyone of this prior to the

54. A contract between slave and master wherein the former agrees to pay the latter a certain sum for emancipation.

arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). But when we were taken captive, I felt good about the visions. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) freed me and married me. I swear, I never spoke to him on behalf of my people; it was the Muslims themselves who sent messages to them. The first I knew of it was when a slave girl belonging to one of my female cousins told me the news. And I gave thanks to God Almighty."'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "It is said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave as dowry for her the freeing of 40 of Banū al-Muṣṭaliq."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related, quoting Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, that her father sought her out and paid ransom for her and that then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sought her in marriage and he (her father) then married him to her.

THE QIṢṢAT AL-IFK, THE 'CALUMNIOUS REPORT'.

This is the text of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq's account of the calumny.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Al-Zuhrī related to me the following from ʿAlqama b. Waqqāṣ, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba. He, al-Zuhrī, said that some of these sources had given more information than others, and that he had consolidated all into the account that follows."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "(Also) Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me the following, from his father, from ʿĀ'isha, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr from ʿAmra, daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿĀ'isha who was narrating about herself when people spread the calumny about her. Each one of these contributed to this account of hers, some giving information not reported by others. Each is regarded as a reliable source for information from her, and all reported what they had heard her say.

"'Ā'isha said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to go on a journey he would draw lots among his wives to decide who would accompany him. He did so, as usual, for the expedition against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq; my name was drawn and so he took me with him. The women on such occasions would eat light filling foods rather than meat which would increase their weight. I would sit in my *howdah* while my camel was being saddled. The men responsible for mounting it would then grasp the *howdah* from below it and lift and place it upon the camel's back, tying it there with ropes. They would then lead the camel away by the head.

"'"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed that journey, he directed the party to return home and when close to Medina he made a halt for part of the night. A crier then called out to everyone to depart again, and people prepared to do so. I went out to relieve myself. I was wearing a necklace of onyx beads from Ẓafār.[55] When I had finished, it slipped from my neck without my

55. A town in Yemen.

knowledge. Having returned to my mount, I felt for it around my neck but did not find it there. People were beginning to leave, but I returned to where I had been to search for the necklace and eventually I found it. The men who had now finished saddling my camel came back for me and raised up the *howdah*, thinking I was inside as usual, and fastened it on the camel; they had no doubts about my being inside. Then they took the camel by the head and led it away.

"'When I returned to the campsite, there was absolutely no one there; everyone had left. So I wrapped myself in my cloak and lay down; I was sure that they would return for me when they missed me.

"'I swear, I was lying there when Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal al-Sulamī came by. He had for some reason of his own been lagging behind the other warriors and had not spent the night with the others. When he saw my form he approached and stood above me; he had seen me before the veil was required for us. When he saw me, he exclaimed, "To God we belong, and to Him we return! Isn't it the *zaʿīna*[56] of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" I was all wrapped up in my cloak. He then asked, "What made you stay behind, *yarḥamuki Allāh*! 'May God have mercy on you!'" I did not speak to him. He then brought up the camel and said, "You ride." He kept away from me.

"'So I mounted and he led the camel away by the head, moving quickly to catch up with the rest. I swear by God, we neither caught them up nor did they miss me before morning. By the time the force had halted and made secure, the man appeared leading me. And so those who spread the calumny began talking and the men were greatly purturbed. However, I swear I knew nothing of this.

"'We then went on into Medina. There I soon fell seriously sick and heard nothing of what was going on. All the talk soon reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and my parents, but they told me absolutely nothing of this. All I noticed was that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was not as kind as usual towards me; whenever I had been sick he had been very kind and comforting to me, but not on this occasion. I pretended not to notice. When he came in to see me, my mother being present nursing me, he would just say, formally, "*Kayfa fīkum*?" ("How are you?"). He would add nothing more.

"'Eventually this coldness of his bothered me and so I asked him, "Messenger of God, if you will allow it, I'd like to go and stay with my mother to have her care for me." "No problem," he replied. And so I moved in with my mother. I still had no knowledge what was going on until I recovered from my illness some three weeks later.

"'We were an Arab people and did not have in our homes those toilets that foreigners use; we find them disgusting. We would go out and use the open areas of Medina. Each night the women would go outside to relieve themselves. I went out to do so one night accompanied by Umm Misṭaḥ, daughter of Abū Ruḥm

56. A term denoting a woman borne in a *howdah*.

b. al-Muṭṭalib. She was walking with me when she tripped over her gown and swore *ta'is Misṭaḥ*! "perish that Misṭaḥ!" Misṭaḥ was her son's nickname, his real name being 'Awf. I commented, "That's a terrible thing to say about a *muhājirī*, and a man who fought at Badr!" "Has the news not reached you, daughter of Abū Bakr?" she asked me. "What news?" I asked. She then told me what those spreading the calumny were saying. I exclaimed, "This is really so?" "Yes", she said, "it really is so."

"'I swear, I was so upset I could not do my business and went home. I wept so much I thought my crying would burst my liver! I told my mother, "May God forgive you for not telling me anything about what people have been saying about me!" She replied, "Don't take it too seriously, daughter; rarely does a beautiful woman with a husband who loves her not have her co-wives, and others too, speak badly about her."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had stood and addressed people on this subject, but I knew nothing of that. He had praised and thanked God, then said, "Why is it that people are giving me concern about my family and speaking untruths against them? I swear by God, I know nothing but good of them! And they are also saying the same against a man of whom I have never known anything but good. He has never entered any of my dwellings without me being in his company."

"'The greatest blame for this lay with 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl, some of the Khazraj and Misṭaḥ, and Ḥamna, daughter of Jaḥsh. Ḥamna spoke thus because she was the sister of Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, who also lived with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And Zaynab was the only one of his wives who would rival my status with him. Zaynab herself was given God's protection through her religion, for she spoke only good of me. Ḥamna spread her rumours about me to do harm for her sister's sake, and I suffered for that.

"'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made this address, Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr stated, "Messenger of God, if they were from al-Aws, we would deal with them for you; if from our Khazraj brethren, then give us your order and I swear by God, they deserve to have their heads cut off!"

"'Then Sa'd b. Ubāda arose; he had previously been considered a fine man. He said, "You lie, I swear by God's life! You'd certainly not cut off their heads! And you only made that statement because you knew that they were of Khazraj; if they had been from your tribe, you'd never have said that!"

"'Usayd b. Ḥudayr then responded with, "It's you who lie, I swear by God's life! You're a hypocrite arguing on behalf of hypocrites!"

"'People became so angry that there was almost fighting between these two tribes of Aws and Khazraj.

"'Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood down and came in to see me. He called for 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and Usāma b. Zayd and consulted with them. Usāma spoke well of me and then said, "Messenger of God, this is about your family about whom we know nothing but good. It's all foolish lies." 'Alī

said, "Messenger of God, there are plenty of women; you can exchange them. Ask the slave girl; she will speak the truth to you."

"'So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for Burayra to ask her. ʿAlī went up to her and struck her violently, saying, "Speak the truth to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!" Burayra replied, "I swear by God, I know nothing but good! I never found fault with ʿĀ'isha at all, except that, when I knead dough and ask her to watch over it she may fall asleep, and the pet lamb comes and eats it!"'

"'ʿĀ'isha continued, 'Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to me; I had with me both my parents and an *anṣārī* woman. I was weeping, and so was she. He sat down, gave praise and thanks to God, and said, "'Ā'isha, you have been informed what people have been saying about you. Fear God. If you have indeed done wrong, as they say, then repent to God. God accepts repentance from his servants." As soon as he said this my tears dried up so that I could feel nothing of them. I waited for my parents to respond on my behalf to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but they did not speak.

"'I swear to God, I thought myself too humble and unimportant for God to send down a verse of the Qur'ān about me, one that would be recited and used for the prayer. But I had hoped that the Prophet (ṢAAS) would have some vision in his sleep by which God would prove my veracity from His knowledge of my innocence and would give some information. But as for a verse of the Qur'ān being revealed about me, I swear I thought myself too insignificant for that. When I saw that my parents were not going to respond on my behalf, I asked them, "Will you not reply to the Messenger of God?" They replied, "By God, we don't know what to reply."

"'I swear, I don't know any household that ever suffered so much as did that of Abū Bakr through those days. When they were unable to respond for me, I burst out crying again. Then I said, "By God, I'll never repent to God for what you refer to. I swear, I well know that if I were to affirm what people say while God knew me to be innocent of it, I would be affirming what had not happened. And if I were to deny what they say, you would not believe me!" I then tried to remember the name of Jacob, but I could not remember it, so I said, "But I will speak as did the father of Yūsuf, 'Patience is fine, and God's help is to be sought against what you describe'" (*sūrat Yūsuf*; XII, v.18).

"'I swear, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not left his seat before God sent down upon him what he used to send; he was wrapped up in his cloak and a pillow of leather was placed beneath his head. As for myself, when I witnessed this, I swear I felt no alarm or concern. I knew that I was innocent and that God would not harm me. However, I swear by Him who bears ʿĀ'isha's soul in His hands, that as soon as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recovered, I thought my parents would expire for fear that confirmation of what people had been saying would come from God.

"'Having recovered, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat up, his face streamed with droplets like a winter's day. He began wiping the sweat from his face and

saying, "Rejoice, 'Ā'isha! God, Almighty and Glorious is He, has sent down (confirmation of) your innocence!" "Praise be to God!" I exclaimed.

"'He then went out to the people, addressed them and recited to them what God, the Almighty and Glorious, had revealed from the Qur'ān on the subject. He then gave orders about Mistah b. Uthātha, Hassān b. Thābit and Hamna, daughter of Jahsh – these having been the most outspoken in their calumny – and they received the flogging prescribed by law.'"

This *hadīth* is cited in both *sahīh* collections from al-Zuhrī. Its text has many virtues. It refers to the punishment for false accusation of fornication having been applied to Hassān and those with him. Abū Dā'ūd related it in his *Sunan*.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "A Muslim spoke the following verses on the flogging of Hassān and his associates,

'Hassān, along with Hamna and Mistah, tasted what they
deserved for speaking a foul calumny.
They engaged in slanders against the wife of their
Prophet, incurred the wrath of Him on the noble throne,
and were cast down.
They harmed the Messenger of God through her and were
exposed to lasting and public disgrace and censure.
Whips lashed them with the force of sudden rain showers
from storm clouds.'"

Ibn Ishāq related that Hassān b. Thābit spoke verses in which he criticized Safwān b. al-Mu'attal and a group of Quraysh who fought at the well, associates of Jahjāh, as mentioned above. These verses commence,

"These strangers have become powerful and numerous and
Ibn al-Furay'a[57] has become top man in the land!
A man's mother is as bereaved, or it is as if he is in
a lion's claws, if you fight him;
For the man I come upon and kill, I'll take no blood-wit,
nor compensation.
The sea, riding high when the wind blows north and it
casts foam on the shore, is not
More violent than me when you see me strike like a
sudden hail-cloud.
As for Quraysh, I will not make peace with them until
they leave error for the right
And abandon al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā and all of them bow
down before the One and Everlasting
And bear witness that what the Messenger of God said to
them is true, and they are faithful to God's truth and
to the pacts made."

57. "Ibn al-Furay'a" is a reference to Hassān himself.

Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal confronted him and struck him with his sword, saying,

"Receive from me my sword's blade, for I'm a man who
speaks no poetry when attacked!"

He (Ibn Isḥāq) related that Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās seized and bound Ṣafwān after he had attacked Ḥassān. When ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa found him thus, he asked, "What's all this?" Thābit replied, "He struck Ḥassān with his sword." ʿAbd Allāh then asked, "Does the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) know anything of this?" "No," he replied, and released Ṣafwān. They all then went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and Ibn al-Muʿaṭṭal told him, "Messenger of God, he did me harm and ridiculed me, and my anger so overcame me that I struck him." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Ḥassān, would you scorn my people once God gave them guidance?" He added, "Be nice about your injury." "As ever you say, Messenger of God," he replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) compensated him by awarding him Bi'r Hā castle that Abū Talḥa had given over as alms, and a Coptic slave-girl named Sīrīn; she bore him his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

ʿĀ'isha used to say, "Enquiries were made about Ibn al-Muʿaṭṭal and he was found to be impotent; he did not approach women. Thereafter he was martyred. May God be pleased with him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "After that, Ḥassān spoke the following verses in apology for what he had said about ʿĀ'isha,

'Chaste and sensible, untouched by suspicion, because
of my error she became food for scandal-mongers.
A noble woman of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib, people of honour,
their glory unending.
What was said of you could never apply to you; they
were the words of a slanderer.
If I did speak what you claim, then may my hands never
raise my whip again!
How could this be, in light of my friendship and
support for the illustrious family of the Messenger of
God.
Their dignity is such that all others are beneath them,
falling far short; may their glory last very long.'"

There should be written down here the verses of *sūrat al-Nūr*, namely from God's words, "Those who related the calumny are a faction among you. Do not consider it an evil for you; in fact it is good for you. Let each man of them suffer the punishment he has earned" to the words, "Forgiveness and a fine reward" (*sūrat al-Nūr*; XXIV, v.11–26). Also here should be inserted the traditions, chains of transmisssion and other relevant matters that have come down from the earliest and later authorities. And success comes through God.

THE ḤUDAYBIYYA EXPEDITION.

This indisputably took place in Dhū al-Qaʿda, 6 AH. Those who state this include al-Zuhrī, Nāfiʿ, freed-man of Ibn ʿUmar, Qatāda, Mūsā b. ʿUqba and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār, along with others too. This is also what was related by Ibn Lahīʿa, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwā – namely, that it occurred in Dhū al-Qaʿda of 6 AH.

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān stated, "Ismāʿīl b. al-Khalīl related to me, from ʿAlī b. Mushir (who said), 'Hishām b. ʿUrwa narrated to me, quoting his father as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out for al-Ḥudaybiyya in Ramaḍān; (the agreement at) al-Ḥudaybiyya was made in Shawwāl."'"

This is very strange to have come from ʿUrwa.

Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim relate from Hudba, quoting Ḥammām, from Qatāda, that Anas b. Mālik narrated to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* four times (sic) in Dhū al-Qaʿda, apart from the *ʿumra* performed along with his pilgrimage. The Ḥudaybiyya *ʿumra* took place in Dhū al-Qaʿda, that of the following year was in Dhū al-Qaʿda, that of al-Jiʿrāna was in Dhū al-Qaʿda, when he divided up the booty from the Battle of Ḥunayn, and there was the *ʿumra* that took place along with his pilgrimage."

This is the wording of al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina for Ramaḍān and Shawwāl; then, in Dhū al-Qaʿda, he left to perform the *ʿumra*, not to engage in warfare."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He appointed Numayla b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Laythī in command of Medina."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He invited the local Arabs and the bedouin in neighbouring areas to accompany him, fearing that Quraysh would attack him or block his way to the *kaʿba*. But many of the bedouin refrained from joining him.

"Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth accompanied by men of the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* and those bedouin who had joined him. He took with him the animals for sacrifice and dressed in pilgrim garb so that people would feel secure from attack by him and would recognize that he was only leaving to visit this House that he wished to venerate.

Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī related to me, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, as follows, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya intending to visit the *kaʿba* and not wanting to engage in battle. With him he took 70 camels for sacrifice and was accompanied by 700 men. Each sacrifice was for 10 persons. Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh used to say, so I have been told, 'Those of us present at al-Ḥudaybiyya totalled 1,400.'"

Al-Zuhrī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) travelled as far as ʿUsfān, where he met Bishr b. Sufyān al-Kaʿbī, who told him, 'Messenger of God, these

Quraysh have heard of your travelling and have gone forth accompanied by milk-giving camels accompanied by their young. They have dressed in tiger skins and encamped at Dhū Tuwān, swearing to God that you will not ever enter it (the city) by going past them. And Khālid b. al-Walīd is in charge of their cavalry and they have advanced to Kurāʿ al-Ghamīm.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'Woe upon Quraysh! They are consumed by the warfare! What harm would it do them to leave my way clear to the other Arabs? If they (the Arabs) should defeat me, that would be what they themselves wanted. And if God gave me victory over them, they (the Arabs) would enter into Islam in droves. Otherwise, they (the Arabs) will fight on for as long as they have strength. What is Quraysh thinking of? I swear by God, I'll keep on striving to accomplish that for which God sent me my mission until He brings it to pass or I myself perish!'

"He then asked, 'What man will direct us by some path other than the one where they are?'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that a man of Aslam replied, 'I will, Messenger of God!' He then led them along a rough, stony trail between mountain passes. When they emerged from it, the Muslims, who had suffered greatly from this trail, emerged on to easy terrain at the end of the valley. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called out, 'Say: we ask God's forgiveness and turn to him in repentance!' They did repeat this and he then said, 'I swear by God, that was the *ḥiṭṭa*[58] put before the Israelites, but they did not say it.'"

Ibn Shihāb stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders to his men as follows, saying, 'Keep to the right, passing between the two sides of al-Ḥamaḍ on a road traversing the pass of al-Murār, on to the slope of al-Ḥudaybiyya, below Mecca.'"

Ibn Shihāb went on, "The army did follow that route, and when the Quraysh cavalry saw by the dust raised by the army that they had diverted from their own path, they raced back to Quraysh.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on until having crossed the al-Mirār pass, his camel knelt. People then said, 'It's turned refractory!' He replied, 'It has not turned refractory; that's not her nature. The One who restrained the elephant from Mecca stopped her. Quraysh shall not today call upon me to respect any ties of kinship that I will not agree to.'"

"He then addressed the men as follows, 'Dismount.' They told him, 'Messenger of God, there's no well in this *wadī* where we can make camp.' He then took out an arrow from his quiver and gave it to one of his Companions who took it down to one of the water-holes there and stuck it in its centre. It then produced water and they had their mounts lie down there after they had been watered."

58. A word implying a plea for forgiveness of sins.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "A scholar related to me, from some men of Banū Aslam, that the man who took the arrow of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) down into the water-hole was Nājiyya b. Jundab, the driver of his sacrificial camels."

Ibn Isḥāq also said, however, "A(nother) scholar maintained that al-Barā' b. 'Āzib used to say, 'It is I who went down with the arrow of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' God knows best what in fact happened."

Ibn Isḥāq then gave evidence for the first person named by reporting that an *anṣārī* slave-girl came to the well while Nājiyya was down filling a bucket.

"She spoke the following verses,

'Hey, you drawing water, my bucket is before you.
I saw our people praising you
Wishing you well and congratulating you.'

The man then responded to her with the following verses,

'A Yemeni slave-girl has learned that it is I who draw
the water, and that my name is Nājiyya.
Many a deep, gushing wound I've made, piercing the
chests of the enemy.'"

Al-Zuhrī stated in his *ḥadīth*, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had rested, Budayl b. Warqā', along with some men of Khuzā'a, came to talk with him and to ask him why he had come. He told them that he had not come intending to do battle, but to visit the *ka'ba* and to venerate its sanctity. He then said to them much the same as he had to Bishr b. Sufyān. The men then returned to Quraysh and told them that they were treating Muḥammad too hastily, and that he had only come to visit the *ka'ba*. Quraysh responded by making accusations against the men and by calling them cowards, saying, 'Even if he has come not wanting to fight, he'll never enter it by compulsion! The Arabs will never say that of us!'"

Al-Zuhrī stated, "Khuzā'a, both their Muslims and their polytheists, were advisers to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), hiding from him nothing that happened in Mecca.

"They then sent to him Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Akhyaf, a brother of Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him approaching, he said, 'This man is untrustworthy!' When Mikraz reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and addressed him, the latter replied to him much as he had to Budayl and his companions. Mikraz then returned to Quraysh and reported what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told him. They then dispatched Ḥulays b. 'Alqama, or Ibn Zabbān, who at that time was the leader of the Abyssinian fighters, he being a member of Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him, he commented, 'This man is from people who are devout; drive out the animals for sacrifice in front of him so he

will see them.' When he saw them going past from the valley side, wearing their neck decorations and having eaten their own hair from having been long confined, he went back to Quraysh without actually having gone to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since they were so impressed with what he had seen. He reported this to them (Quraysh). They told him, 'Just sit down! You're only a bedouin, without any sense!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that al-Ḥulays was angry at this and retorted, 'Quraysh, it wasn't for this that we allied with you and made a pact with you! Shall someone who has come to venerate God's house be barred from it? By Him who holds the soul of al-Ḥulays, either you allow Muḥammad to do what he has come for, or I'll take away the Abyssinians to the last man of them!' They responded, 'Keep silent and leave us alone until we get for ourselves what we want!'"

Al-Zuhrī stated in his *ḥadīth*, "Then they (decided to send) to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī and he told them, 'Tribe of Quraysh, I saw the violence and bad language you directed at those who came back to you after you dispatched them to Muḥammad. You well know that you are as my father and myself the son' (ʿUrwa was in fact the son of Sabīʿa, daughter of ʿAbd al-Shams). 'Having heard what has occurred to you, I gathered some of my people who obey me and so have come to you to help you myself.'

"They replied, 'You speak the truth; you have our trust.'

"So he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Muḥammad, so have you gathered together a whole mix of people, then brought them to your own home to destroy it with them? Quraysh have come forth with their milch-camels, accompanied by their young and dressed in tiger skins, having sworn to God that you will never enter contrary to their wish. By God, I'll wager these people will abandon you tomorrow!'

"Abū Bakr, the Trusting, God be pleased with him, was behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and commented, 'Go suck al-Lāt's tits! Us abandon him, indeed!' ʿUrwa then asked, 'So who is this, Muḥammad?' He replied, 'This is Ibn Abū Quḥāfa.' ʿUmar then said, 'If I wasn't obligated to you, I'd punish you for that. But now we are even.'

"ʿUrwa then began fondling the beard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was speaking to him. Al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, who was standing close by, dressed in armour, began tapping at ʿUrwa's hand as it touched the beard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, 'Remove your hand from the face of the Messenger of God, or you'll never get it back!' ʿUrwa commented, 'Damn you, how churlish and rude you are!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled at this, so ʿUrwa asked him, 'Who is this, then, Muḥammad?' 'This', he replied, 'is your nephew al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba!' At this ʿUrwa commented, 'You wretch, wasn't it only yesterday you learned how to wash your own private parts!'"

Al-Zuhrī went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ʿUrwa approximately what he had to the others, telling him that he had not come seeking battle. ʿUrwa then left, having observed how the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) treated him. When he washed, they rushed to the water he had used. If he spat, they hurried to retrieve it, and if a hair fell from his head, they would take it. Consequently, when ʿUrwa returned to Quraysh, he told them, 'Men of Quraysh, I've been to Chosroe in his kingdom, Caesar in his and the Negus in his; but I swear, I never saw a king amidst his people like Muḥammad amidst his Companions. I have seen people who would never abandon him for any reason. So draw your own conclusions.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A scholar related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for Khirāsh b. Umayya al-Khuzāʿī and sent him to Quraysh in Mecca, mounting him on one of his camels called al-Thaʿlab, to tell their leaders on his behalf why he had come. But they hamstrung the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and wanted to kill him. The Abyssinian troops, however, prevented this and they released him, so he made his way back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Isḥāq also stated, "A reliable source related to me, from Ikrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that Quraysh had sent 40 or 50 of their men with orders to encircle the camp of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to capture one of his Companions. But they were taken prisoner and brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He forgave them and released them. They had hurled stones and shot arrows at the camp of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"He then summoned ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to send him to Mecca to inform the Quraysh leaders for him why he had come. ʿUmar responded, 'Messenger of God, I fear for myself from Quraysh. There is no one in Mecca of Banū ʿAdī who could protect me. Quraysh are well aware of my enmity towards them and of the roughness with which I have treated them. But I will suggest to you a man they respect more than myself, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then summoned ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and did send him to Abū Sufyān and the Quraysh leaders to tell them that he had not come to wage war, but to visit the *kaʿba* in veneration of its sanctity. ʿUthmān set out for Mecca, where he was met by Abān b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, either before or after he had entered the city. Abān mounted ʿUthmān before himself and gave him protection until he delivered the message of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). ʿUthmān went on to meet Abū Sufyān and the other Quraysh leaders. He gave them the message entrusted to him by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When he had done so, they told ʿUthmān, 'If what you want is to circumambulate the *kaʿba*, then do so.' He replied, 'I could never circumambulate it before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did so.'

"Quraysh then kept ʿUthmān as their prisoner. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims were informed that ʿUthmān had been killed. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, when

he was informed that ʿUthmān had been killed, 'We'll not leave before engaging the enemy in battle!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called upon the men to pledge allegiance to him. This pledge, the *bayʿat al-raḍwān*, the 'willing pledge', was made beneath a tree. People would say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received a pledge of allegiance unto death. Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, however, used to say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not have us pledge allegiance unto death, but had us swear that we would not flee.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received their pledge and the only Muslim present who abstained from it was al-Jadd b. Qays, brother of Banū Salama. Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh used to say, 'I swear, I can almost see him now, standing glued to the side of his camel, trying to hide from everyone.'

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received the news that the report about ʿUthmān was false."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Wakīʿ recounted, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from al-Shaʿbī, that the first man to make the *bayʿat al-riḍwān* to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was Abū Sinān al-Asadī.

"And a reliable source related to me a tradition from Ibn Abū Mulayka, from Ibn ʿUmar, that the Messenger of God himself (ṢAAS) made the pledge for ʿUthmān, clapping one of his hands to the other."

This tradition mentioned by Ibn Hishām with this line of authority is weak; however, it is confirmed in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Al-Zuhrī stated, 'Quraysh then sent Suhayl b. ʿAmr, brother of Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy, to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), telling him, "Go to Muḥammad and make peace with him. The only condition for peace with him is that he withdraw from us this year. By God, the Arabs shall never say that he entered it by compulsion!"'

"Suhayl b. ʿAmr went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, seeing him approach, 'The enemy wanted peace when they dispatched this man.'

"When Suhayl reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he spoke with him at length; they reconciled and made peace. The matter having been concluded, with nothing but a document remaining to be drawn up, ʿUmar jumped up and went over to Abū Bakr. He asked him, 'Abū Bakr, is he not God's messenger?' 'Indeed yes,' he replied. 'And are we not Muslims?' he asked. 'Indeed yes,' Abū Bakr replied. 'And are they not polytheists?' 'Indeed yes,' he agreed. 'So why should we agree to something that demeans our religion?' ʿUmar asked. Abū Bakr replied, 'Obey whatever he says; for I testify that he is the Messenger of God.' ʿUmar added, 'I too testify that he is the Messenger of God.'

"He (ʿUmar) then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him, 'Are you not the Messenger of God?' 'Yes, indeed.' 'And are we not Muslims?' 'Indeed yes.' 'And are they not polytheists?' 'Indeed yes.' 'So why then should we

demean our religion?' 'I', he replied, 'am the servant of God and His messenger. I shall not oppose His order and He will not let me fail.'

"'Umar, God be pleased with him, used to say, 'I have gone on fasting, giving alms, praying and freeing slaves because of what I did that day and out of fear for what I said that day, until I felt that I had made up.'"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then summoned 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him and told him, 'Write: "In the name of God the Most Merciful, the Most Beneficent".' Suhayl objected, 'I don't know that (phrase).' 'Write instead, "In Your name, O God."' And 'Alī wrote it.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Write down: "This is the peace agreement made by Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, and Suhayl b. 'Amr."' Suhayl then said, 'If I were to testify that you are the Messenger of God, I would not oppose you. Write down your name and that of your father.'

"So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Write down, "This is the peace agreement made by Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allāh, with Suhayl b. 'Amr. They have made peace by agreeing to put aside warfare from the people for ten years. During this period, people will be safe and leave one another alone. Provided that if anyone from Quraysh comes to Muḥammad without permission of his guardian, then he must send him back to them. If, however, anyone goes to Quraysh from Muḥammad, they are not to send him back to him. There are to be no secret agreements, bad faith or antagonism between us. Anyone wishing to enter into a pact or agreement with Muḥammad may do so. Anyone wishing to enter into an agreement or pact with Quraysh may do so."'

"At this Khuzā'a promptly announced, 'We have made a pact and agreement with Muḥammad!' And Banū Bakr responded at once, 'We have made a pact and agreement with Quraysh!'

"The agreement went on, 'You shall retire from us this year and not enter Mecca against our will. Next year we will make way for you, and you and your people may enter and stay for three nights, each rider bearing his own weapons – swords in sheaths, that is, and bringing in no other weapons.'

"While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was writing the document, up came Abū Jandal, Suhayl's son, dragging fetters, having escaped to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"When those with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had gone forth, they had not doubted that there would be victory, because of visions he had seen. Witnessing now the peace being made and their withdrawal being arranged and what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was agreeing to on his own behalf, they were all very disappointed and deathly depressed.

"When Suhayl saw (his son) Abū Jandal, he got up, went to him and struck him in the face, grabbing him by the collar and saying, 'The matter was agreed to between us before this fellow came to you!' 'You are right,' he agreed. And so

Suhayl began dragging his son away to return him to Quraysh custody, while Abū Jandal screamed at the top of his voice, 'Muslims, shall I be returned to the polytheists who will subvert my faith?'

"This increased their sense of depression.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Be patient and control yourself, Abū Jandal! God is preparing relief and succour for you and the others with you who are powerless. We have made a peace pact with the enemy and we and they have sworn to this in God's name; we cannot act falsely with them.'

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb jumped up and walked along beside Abū Jandal, saying, 'Be patient! They're only polytheists, their blood worth no more than that of dogs!' He was keeping the hilt of his sword close to Abū Jandal. ʿUmar used to say, 'I was hoping he would take the sword and strike his father with it! But the man spared his father, and the matter was settled.'

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished the document, he called upon some of the Muslims and some of the polytheists to witness the peace. These men were Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, ʿAbd Allāh b. Suhayl b. ʿAmr, Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, Maḥmūd b. Maslama, Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ (he having been a polytheist at that time), ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib. It was he, ʿAlī, who wrote out the agreement."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had set up his tent in unhallowed territory and he would say his prayers on sacred ground. When he had concluded the peace, he set about sacrificing his animals. He then sat and had his head shaved; the man who shaved it that day was Khirāsh b. Umayya b. al-Faḍl al-Khuzāʿī. When the Muslims saw that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made sacrifice and shaved, they hurried to do the same."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to me, from Mujāhid, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'Some men shaved their heads at al-Ḥudaybiyya, while others cut their hair short. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "May God have mercy on those who shaved!" They asked, "And on those who cut it short, Messenger of God?" "May God have mercy on those who shaved," he repeated. "And on those who cut it short, Messenger of God?" they again asked. He said, "And on those who cut it short."

"'They then asked him, "Messenger of God, why did you emphasize God's mercy for those who shaved and not for those who cut their hair short?" He replied, "They did not doubt."'"

ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ stated, "Mujāhid related to me, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sacrificed one camel among the rest that had belonged to Abū Jahl and had a silver ring on its head; he did this to anger the polytheists."

This is the text given by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq; may God be pleased with him for this account. In the text of al-Bukhārī that will follow there are differences in some places with this text, as you will see, if God so wills it and in Him is all

trust. We will give it complete, making reference to traditions considered both authentic and good for the benefit in them. If God Almighty wills it; our reliance is upon Him, for He is the one from whom to seek help.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Khālid b. Makhlid related to us, quoting Sulaymān b. Bilāl, who quoted Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Zayd b. Khālid, who said, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya, and at night it rained hard. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer with us. Later he turned to us and said, "Do you know what your Lord said?" We replied, "God and His messenger know best!" He said, "God Almighty said, 'Of my servants, some have awakened to belief in me, others to disbelief. Those who said, "Our rain comes by God's mercy and bounty" are believers in me and disbelievers in the stars. Those who said, "Our rain comes by this or that star" is a believer in the stars and a disbeliever in me.'"'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in several places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. Muslim gave the tradition in various lines back to al-Zuhrī. From al-Zuhrī the line of transmission went back to ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh from Abū Hurayra.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to us, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said, 'You use the word *al-fatḥ*, "the victory", to apply to the *fatḥ* of Mecca. That was certainly a victory. We consider *al-fatḥ* (also) to have been the *bayʿat al-riḍwān*, the "willing pledge", that occurred at al-Ḥudaybiyya. There were 1,400 of us with the Prophet (ṢAAS). At al-Ḥudaybiyya there is a well; we went down to it and drained it to the last drop. When the Prophet (ṢAAS) heard of this, he came there and sat on its edge and called for a vessel of water, with which he performed the ablution. Then he rinsed out his mouth, prayed, and poured it in the well. We then went a little way off, and later it produced for us (the water that) we and our mounts needed.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, regarding the words of God Almighty, "but He made apart from that a near victory" (*sūrat al-Fatḥ*; XLVIII, v.27), (referring to) "the Ḥudaybiyya peace". "Al-Zuhrī stated, 'No victory occurred previously in Islam than was greater than it. (Previously) wherever men had met, there had been fighting; when the truce was made, warfare came to an end and all made peace with one another. When they met they would negotiate with one another when they talked. And no one of any intelligence had Islam explained to him without accepting it. In those two years the same number of men entered as before, or even more.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "The proof of what al-Zuhrī said is in the fact that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to al-Ḥudaybiyya with 1,400 men, as Jābir states, and then two years later attended the 'conquest of Mecca' with 10,000."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yūsuf b. ʿIsā related to him, quoting Ibn Fuḍayl, quoting Ḥusayn from Sālim, from Jābir, who said, "At al-Ḥudaybiyya the men were thirsty while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had before him a waterskin

he would use for ablutions. Eventually the men went over to him and he asked what they wanted. They told him that they had no water for ablutions or for drinking and that all that remained was in his waterskin. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then placed his hand in the waterskin and the water began spurting out from between his fingers as if it were a spring." Jābir continued, "So we drank and performed the ablutions." We asked Jābir, "How many were you there that day?" He replied, "Even if we had been 100,000, there would have been enough for us. We were 1,500 men."

Al-Bukhārī also related this *ḥadīth*, as did Muslim, from different lines of transmission, from Ḥuṣayn, from Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd, from Jābir.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by al-Ṣalt b. Muḥammad, quoting Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, from Saʿīd, from Qatāda (who said), "I said to Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, 'I have heard that Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh used to say that they were 1,400 strong.' Saʿīd replied, 'Jābir told me that they were 1,500 in number who made the pledge to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Ḥudaybiyya.'"

Abū Dāʾūd traced this tradition back with a line including Qurra, from Qatāda. Al-Bukhārī is alone in thus giving this *ḥadīth*.

Thereafter al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, that ʿAmr said, "I heard Jābir say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to us at al-Ḥudaybiyya, "You are the best people on earth!" We were 1,400; and were I able today to see, I would show you the place where the tree stood.'"

Al-Bukhārī also related this tradition, as did Muslim, from several lines of transmission, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. Al-Layth b. Saʿd related it similarly, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "A slave belonging to Ḥātib came to make a complaint about him. He said, 'Messenger of God, Ḥātib will surely enter hell-fire!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'You have lied; he will not enter hell; he was present at Badr and al-Ḥudaybiyya.'"

Muslim related this.

Muslim also gave, from several lines of transmission, the following from Ibn Jurayj, "Abū al-Zubayr narrated to me that he heard Jābir say, 'Umm Maysar told me that she heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, when he was with Ḥafṣa, "None, if God wills it, will enter hell of those who made the pledge beneath the tree." Ḥafṣa commented, "On the contrary, Messenger of God." He berated her and she then quoted, "All of you are headed there" (*sūrat Maryam*; XIX, v.71). The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then responded, "Almighty God stated, '... and then We will deliver those who are pious, and We will leave there the evil-doers, prostrate'"'" (*sūrat Maryam*; XIX, v.72).

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muʿādh said, "My father related to us, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Murra, who stated, 'ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā said, "The men at the tree were 1,300 in number; Aslam were one-eighth of the *muhājirīn* (there)."'"

Muḥammad b. Bashār included in the chain of authorities Abū Dāʾūd and Shuʿba.

Al-Bukhārī narrated it with ʿAbd Allāh as one of the authorities in the chain. Muslim narrated it from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muʿādh, from his father, from Shuʿba. Also from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Abū Dā'ūd, from Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, from al-Naḍr b. Shumayl, both of them quoting Shuʿba.

Thereafter, al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from Marwān and al-Miswar b. Makhrama, who both said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya with some hundreds of his Companions. While he was at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he put ceremonial necklaces on the sacrificial camels, marked them and entered into the *iḥrām*, the state of ritual consecration."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this tradition. This text will follow complete hereafter.

What is implied here is that all these accounts contradict what Ibn Isḥāq maintained, namely that those at al-Ḥudaybiyya were 700 in number.

He only said this – though God knows best – because he was using his independent scholastic judgement; since there were 70 sacrificial camels, each one of which would have been for ten men, then those making the sacrifice would have been 700 in number.

But there is no need for all of them to have been participating in the offering, nor that all of them were making the pilgrimage. It is established that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out one group of them, who included Abū Qatāda. And Abū Qatāda did not adopt the *iḥrām* state until after he had killed that wild donkey which he and his companions ate. They carried some of it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while on the journey, and he asked (those in a state of *iḥrām*), "Did any of you order that he bring the meat or make any gesture towards it?" "No," they said. "Then eat what remains of the donkey," he told them.

Al-Bukhārī had stated, "Shuʿba b. al-Rabīʿ related to us, quoting ʿAlī b. al-Mubārak, from Yaḥyā, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Qatāda, that his father (Abū Qatāda) related to him, as follows, 'We set off with the Prophet (ṢAAS), the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya, and my companions went in the *iḥrām* state, but I did not.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ related to him, quoting Shabāba b. Suwār al-Fazārī, quoting Shuʿba, from Qatāda, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from his father, who said, "I saw the tree; then I came to it later but did not recognize it."

(Al-Bukhārī went on) "Mūsā related to us, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, quoting Ṭāriq, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from his father, that he was among those who made the pledge beneath the tree. So we returned to it the following year; but it was obscure to us."

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Mahmūd related to him, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh, from Isrā'īl, from Ṭāriq b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who said, "I set off as a pilgrim, and

passed by some people praying. 'What *masjid*, place for prayer, is this then?' They replied, 'This is the tree where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for the *bayʿat al-riḍwān*, the "willing pledge".' I then went over to Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and related this to him. Saʿīd then said, 'My father related to me that he was among those who made the pledge to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) beneath the tree. He told me, "The following year we had forgotten it and could not find it."'

"Saʿīd then said, 'The Companions of Muḥammad did not know it but you people do! You know best, then!'"

Al-Bukhārī related this tradition, as did al-Thawrī, Abū ʿAwāna and Shabāba, from Ṭāriq.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Saʿīd related to him, quoting his brother, from Sulaymān, from ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā, from ʿAbbād b. Tamīm, who said, "At the battle of al-Ḥarra, people were making a pledge to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanẓala. Ibn Zayd asked, 'What is the pledge the people are making to Ibn Ḥanẓala?' He was told, 'To the death'. He then said, 'I will not pledge that to anyone following the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He had been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya with him."

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, from various lines, from ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting Ḥātim, from Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd (who said), "I said to Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, 'What pledge was it you made to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Ḥudaybiyya?' 'To the death,' he replied."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it states that he sought the pledge three times – from a first group, from a middle group and from a final group.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* there is a *ḥadīth* from Maʿqil b. Yasār that he held the tree branches away from the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was receiving their pledge. (It also states there) that the first man to give his pledge that day was Abū Sinān, he being Wahb b. Miḥṣan, brother of ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan. The name of Sinān b. Abū Sinān is also given.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Shujāʿ b. al-Walīd that he heard al-Naḍr b. Muḥammad (say), that Ṣakhr b. al-Rabīʿ quoted Nāfiʾ as having said, 'People relate that ʿUmar's son accepted Islam before ʿUmar, yet it was not so. The day of al-Ḥudaybiyya ʿUmar sent (his son) ʿAbd Allāh to bring him a mare of his that was with one of the *anṣār*; this was so that he could ride it to battle. At the time, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was receiving the pledge beneath the tree, though ʿUmar did not know this. ʿAbd Allāh pledged his allegiance, then left. ʿUmar then went with him and made his pledge to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This is why people say that ʿUmar's son accepted Islam before ʿUmar did."

"Hishām b. ʿAmmār stated, 'Al-Walīd b. Muslim related to us, quoting ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-ʿUmarī, (who said), "Nāfiʿ narrated to me, from Ibn ʿUmar,

that the people who were with the Prophet (ṢAAS) at al-Ḥudaybiyya were dispersed in the shade of the tree. Then they all began looking directly at the Prophet (ṢAAS). He (ʿUmar) then said (to his son), "ʿAbd Allāh, go and find out why everyone is looking directly at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He (ʿAbd Allāh) found them to be making their pledge, and he did so himself. He then returned to ʿUmar, who went and pledged allegiance."'" Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth* from both these lines of authorities.

An Account of the texts given by al-Bukhārī relating to the pilgrimage of al-Ḥudaybiyya.

Al-Bukhārī stated in his military chronicle as follows, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Sufyān, who said, 'I heard al-Zuhrī when he related this *ḥadīth*. I learned part of it by heart and Maʿmar corroborated me. (The *ḥadīth* quotes) from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, each of these adding to the account of the other. They both stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) went forth to al-Ḥudaybiyya accompanied by some 1,000 men. When he arrived at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he put neck decorations and badges on the sacrificial camels, and went out from there as a pilgrim, sending on ahead a scout of his from the Khuzāʿa.

"'"The Prophet (ṢAAS) travelled on till he arrived at the stream at al-Ashṭāṭ, where his scout came to him and said, 'Quraysh have gathered a force against you. They have assembled the Abyssinian warriors to fight you. They intend to do battle with you and to keep you away from the *kaʿba*.' He then asked, 'Men, give me your advice. Do you think that I should give way for the children and families of those who wish to keep us from the *kaʿba*? (Better) if they do come and join us, (so) God will have cut out one eye of the polytheists; alternatively, we will leave them defeated.' Abū Bakr replied, 'Messenger of God, you have come forth to visit the *kaʿba*, not intending to do battle or to make war against anyone. Proceed to it, and we will fight anyone who blocks our way.' He responded, 'Then proceed onwards, in God's name.'"'"

This is how al-Bukhārī related this tradition here, stopping at this point and adding nothing more.

In his work, *Kitāb al-Shahādāt*, al-Bukhārī stated, that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, quoting al-Zuhrī, quoting ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, each of them corroborating the other's account. They both stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya and proceeded on for part of the way. At that point the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'Khālid b. al-Walīd is at al-Ghamīm with cavalry as Quraysh's vanguard. Take a route to the right.' And, by God, Khālid had no awareness of them until he saw their army's dust. He then raced off to inform Quraysh.

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) proceeded on until he reached the pass from which the way led down to them. There his camel kneeled down; people said, '*Ḥal! Ḥal!* Get up! Get up!' but it persisted (in kneeling). People said, 'Al-Qaṣwā' (the camel's name) has become refractory!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded to them, 'No, al-Qaṣwā' has not; that's not in her nature. She has been held back by Him who held back the elephant.' He then said, 'By Him who holds my soul in His hand, I'll accept any request that they make of me by which the sanctuaries of God are dignified!' He then scolded his camel and it got up.

"He then veered away from Quraysh and halted beyond al-Ḥudaybiyya at a well there that had little water. His men kept taking the water from it, little by little, and soon they had bailed it out completely. Complaint of thirst was made to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he drew an arrow from his quiver and told them to put it into the water-hole. And, by God, it continued providing them plenty of water until they left.

"While this was going on, Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī arrived, accompanied by others of Khuzā'a. They were the trusted confidants of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from the people of Tihāma. Budayl said, 'I have just left Ka'b b. Lu'ayy and 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy who have encamped at the Ḥudaybiyya wells; they have with them their milch-camels with their young. They are going to do battle with you and prevent you from reaching the *ka'ba*.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'We have not come to fight anyone. We have come to make a pilgrimage. Quraysh have been consumed by the warfare! It has ruined them. If they want, I will give them respite for a period. They should then give me access to the people. If it (Islam) prevails, and they wish to join into what the people have entered, they could do so. Otherwise, they will have gained in numbers. If they refuse this, then I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, I will battle them in this cause of mine until I perish! Let God's will be done!'

"Budayl said, 'I will inform them what you say.' He then went off to Quraysh and told them, 'We come to you from that man. We have heard him make certain statements which, if you wish, we will relate to you.' Fools among them said, 'We have no need for you to tell us anything of him.' Those of them who were sensible, said, 'Tell us what you heard him say.' He responded by relating to them what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said.

"'Urwa b. Mas'ūd then arose and said, 'People, am I not as your father?' 'Yes, you are,' they told him. 'And are you not as my children?' 'Yes, indeed,' they replied. 'Do you mistrust me?' he then asked. 'No,' they answered. 'Do you not know that I called to the people of 'Ukaẓ to come forth to war alongside me and that when they put me off I came to you with my family and my son, and all who obeyed me?' 'Yes indeed,' they replied. 'This man', he went on, 'has made an appropriate offer. Accept it, and let me go to see him.' 'Go to him,' they told him.

"When he went to him, he began talking to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said to him approximately what he had told Budayl. 'Urwa at that point said, 'Hey now, Muḥammad, haven't you considered that you are ruining your people? Have you ever heard of any Arab who ruined his people before yourself? And if that doesn't happen, I swear I don't see faces here; I just see a hodge-podge of people who are quite capable of fleeing and abandoning you.'

"Abū Bakr said to him, 'Go suck al-Lāt's tits! Would we flee and abandon him!'

"'Urwa asked, 'Who is that?' 'Abū Bakr,' people told him. 'Urwa commented, 'Well, by Him who has my soul in His hand, if I weren't obligated to you, I'd give you a reply all right!'

"He then went on speaking to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and while doing so would take hold of the latter's beard. Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, who was standing at the head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), wearing a sword and a helmet, would tap his hand with the hilt of his sword each time 'Urwa stretched it out to touch the beard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saying, 'Keep your hands off the beard of the Messenger of God!' 'Urwa raised his head and asked, 'And who is that?' 'That is al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba,' they replied. 'Urwa then said, 'You wretch! I couldn't match your treachery!'

"Before Islam, al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba had stayed with a family and had murdered them and taken their property. Thereafter, he came and accepted Islam, whereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'As for Islam, do accept it. As for money, I've nothing to do with that.'

"Then 'Urwa began watching closely the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He said (later), 'I swear that if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spat, the phlegm would fall into the hand of one of them and that person would rub it on to his face or skin. If he gave them a command, they would carry it out immediately. If he performed the ablutions, they would almost kill one another trying to get to the water he had used. If he spoke, they lowered their voices. And they never looked directly at him, out of their reverence for him.'

"'Urwa returned to his companions and told them, 'Well, I've gone in to kings, had audiences with Caesar, Chosroe and the Negus and I swear by God I've never seen the subjects of any king venerate him the way Muḥammad's people venerate him! I swear, if he spits, the phlegm always falls into the palm of one of them and he will then rub it on to his face or skin. If he gives them a command, they hurry to carry it out. If he performs the ablutions, they almost kill one another for the water he used. If he speaks, they lower their voices in his presence. And they never look directly at him, out of their veneration for him. He has made you an appropriate offer; accept it.'"

"A man of Banū Kināna then asked to be allowed to go to see him and Quraysh agreed. As he was approaching, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented,

'This is so-and-so; he is from a tribe who much venerate sacrificial camels. Send them out to him.' They were put out for him and people greeted him chanting *labbayk*,[59] 'at Your service', ('O Lord'). When he saw this, he said, 'All praise be to God! It is not right for these people to be kept from the *kaʿba*.' When he returned to his companions, he told them, 'I have seen the sacrificial camels necklaced and decorated with badges, and I don't think they should be kept from the *kaʿba*.'

"One of their men, named Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ, then arose, and said, 'Let me go to him.' 'Do so,' they told him. When he approached, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'This is Mikraz; he is an immoral man.' As Mikraz began to speak to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Suhayl b. ʿAmr arrived."

Maʿmar stated, "Ayyūb narrated to me, from ʿIkrima, that when Suhayl b. ʿAmr arrived, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Your problem has *suhhila*, "been eased"!'[60]

Maʿmar went on, "Al-Zuhrī stated in his *ḥadīth*, 'Suhayl then came and said, "Come on now, write an agreement between us." The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked for a document to be brought and said, "Write down: *Bismi Allāhi al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* (in the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent)". But Suhayl objected, "As for that term *al-raḥmān*, I swear I don't know what that is. Instead, put down *Bismik Allāhumma* (In your name, O God), like you used to write." The Muslims insisted, "By God, we'll write it only *Bismi Allāhi al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*!" But the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Write down *Bismik Allāhumma*."

"He then said, 'This is what Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, has determined.' Suhayl objected, 'By God, if we knew you to be the Messenger of God, we'd not have blocked your access to the *kaʿba*, nor would we have battled you. However, write down "Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'By God, I certainly am the Messenger of God, even though you call me a liar! Write down "Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh."'"

Al-Zuhrī stated, "This relates to his having said, 'I'll accept any request they make of me by which the sanctuaries of God are dignified.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, 'on condition that you allow us access to the *kaʿba* so that we may circumambulate it.'

"Suhayl objected, 'By God, we'll not have the Arabs say that we accepted pressure; however, that can happen next year.'

"So he wrote it. Suhayl then said, 'A condition is that any of our men who come over to you, even if in your religion, you will return to us.'

"The Muslims said, 'Goodness gracious, how could someone be returned to the polytheists if he came as a Muslim!'

"While this discussion was in progress Abū Jandal b. Suhayl b. ʿAmr came along, dragging his chains, having escaped from below Mecca, and threw himself

59. A liturgy addressed to God by a pilgrim in the *iḥrām* state.

60. The comment makes a pun on the name Suhayl, from a root meaning to make easy, or facilitate.

down among the Muslims. Suhayl said, 'This fellow, Muḥammad, is the first whom I charge you to return to me.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'But we've not completed the agreement yet.' 'In that case,' Suhayl insisted, 'I'll never make a pact with you over anything.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, 'Release him to my custody.' 'I'll not release him to you,' Suhayl said. 'I insist that you release him!' 'That I'll not do,' he replied. Mikraz then said, 'Very well, we'll release him to you.'

"Abū Jandal then exclaimed, 'Muslims, shall I be returned to the polytheists? I have come to you as a Muslim. Can't you see how I've been treated?' He had been brutally tortured in God's cause.

"'Umar, may God be pleased with him, said, 'So I went to the Messenger of God, God's peace and blessings be upon him, and asked, "Are you not truly the Messenger of God?" "Yes, indeed," he replied. "And are we not in the right and our enemy in error?" "Yes, indeed," he agreed. "Why, then, are we so demeaning our religion?" I asked. He replied, "I am the Messenger of God, and I will not disobey him; He is my helper."

"'"Well," I asked, "didn't you tell us how we would come to the *ka'ba* and circumambulate it?" "Indeed yes," he replied. "But did I tell you we would do that this year?" "No," I replied. "Well," he said, you will go to it and circumambulate it."'

"'Umar went on, 'I then went down to Abū Bakr and asked, "Abū Bakr, is this man not in truth God's prophet?" "Yes, indeed," he replied. "But are we not in the right and our enemy in error?" "Yes, indeed," he agreed. "Well", I asked him, "then why are we demeaning our religion?" He replied, "Look, man, he is indeed the Messenger of God and he will not disobey Him; He is his helper. Trust him; he is right."

"'"But', I continued, "didn't he tell us we would go to the *ka'ba* and circumambulate it?" "Yes indeed," he agreed. "But did he say you would get there this year?" "No," I said. "You will get there and circumambulate it," he said.'"

Al-Zuhrī stated, "'Umar went on, 'So I therefore did certain things.'

"He went on, 'And when he had completed the document, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his Companions, 'Make your sacrifices and shave.'

"'And, I swear, not a man of them did so until he repeated this three times. When none of them arose, he went in to Umm Salama and told her how the men were acting. Umm Salama said, "Prophet of God, do you like that? Go on out without speaking a word to anyone and sacrifice your camel. Then call for your barber and have him shave your head."

"'He went out and spoke to no one until he had done this. He made his sacrifice and called for his barber who shaved his head. When the men saw this, they arose and made sacrifice. Then some so hurriedly shaved the heads of others that it appeared that they were killing each other in their grief.

"'Then some believing women went to see him. And so God Almighty revealed the words, "O you who believe! If believing women should come to

you as emigrants, then test them ..." and so on to the words, "... the marriage ties of unbelieving women"' (*sūrat al-Mumtaḥana*; LX, v.10).

"That day ʿUmar divorced two women who had been his while he was a polytheist. Muʾāwiya b. Abū Sufyān married one of these, while Safwān b. Umayya the other.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to Medina. There Abū Baṣīr, a Quraysh man, came to him, he being a Muslim. They (Quraysh) sent two men to retrieve him, referring to the pact that had been made. He gave Abū Baṣīr over to them and they left with him and went to Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, where they halted to eat the dates they had. Abū Baṣīr said to one of the two men, 'By God, I can see that that sword of yours is a very fine one.' The other man unsheathed it and said, 'Yes, it is; I swear it is fine. And I've put it to the test often.' Abū Baṣīr asked, 'Do let me look at it.' He then took it from him and struck him until he was dead. The other man fled back to Medina where he ran into a mosque. When he saw him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'That man has seen something dreadful.'

"When the man reached the Prophet (ṢAAS), the man exclaimed, 'I swear by God, my companion has been killed! And I'm as good as dead!' Then Abū Baṣīr arrived and said, 'Prophet of God, God has fulfilled your obligation! You returned me to them, and then God saved me from them.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) then commented, 'Woe on his mother! What an inciter to war he would have been if he had had supporters!'

"When Abū Baṣīr heard this, he knew that he would return him to Quraysh, and so he left for the coast."

He went on, "Abū Jandal b. Suhayl b. ʿAmr escaped from Quraysh and joined Abu Baṣīr. Thereafter, every man who left Quraysh to accept Islam went and joined Abū Baṣīr. Eventually a group of them were formed. Whenever they heard of a Quraysh caravan heading for Syria, they would attack it, killing the men and taking the goods.

"And so Quraysh sent to the Prophet (ṢAAS) invoking God and family ties (and saying) that if he were to send for those men they would be safe. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did send for them. Thereafter, God Almighty revealed, 'And His it was who kept their hands away from you and yours away from them in the valley of Mecca, after He had given you control over them ...' as far as the words, '... their zeal, the zeal of *al-jāhiliyya*'" (*sūrat al-Fatḥ*; XLVIII v. 24).

Their "zeal" referred to is the fact that they did not agree that he was the Prophet of God, and that they would not accept the words, "in the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate". And the fact that they denied them access to the *kaʿba*.

This text has additions and advantages that are absent from the narration of Ibn Isḥāq from al-Zuhrī. His account quoted al-Zuhrī from a group of others, including Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, Maʿmar and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. All of these quoted al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from Marwān and Miswar, in relating the narrative.

Al-Bukhārī gave it at the beginning of his work, *Kitāb al-Shurūṭ* from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, from al-Layth b. Sa'd, from 'Uqayl, from al-Zuhrī, from 'Urwa, from Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and al-Miswar b. Makhrama, from Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in relating the narrative.

This is the best chain of authority. For Marwān and al-Miswar were young at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya. It is obvious that they acquired it from the Companions, may God be pleased with them, in relating the narrative.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Al-Ḥasan b. Isḥāq related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Sābiq, quoting Mālik b. Mighwal, who said, 'I heard Abū Ḥuṣayn state, "Abū Wā'il said, 'When Suhayl b. Ḥunayf arrived from Ṣiffīn, we went to him asking for news. He replied, "Be sceptical. At the battle of Abū Jandal, if I could have reversed the orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) I would have done so. And God and His messenger know best. And we never took down our swords from our shoulders for any problem that troubled us without them providing us some solution we could appreciate. Before this affair, that is. Now, we no sooner deal with one contender[61] than another arises before us that we don't know how to deal with."'"'"'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf, quoting Mālik, from Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was travelling one night in the company of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. 'Umar asked him a question on some matter, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made him no reply. 'Umar asked him again and yet again, receiving no reply from him. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then exclaimed, "'Umar, your mother is as good as bereaved of you! You persisted three times in asking the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and despite that he would not respond to you."

'Umar related, "So I moved my mount away and advanced to the front of the Muslims, fearing that there was going to be a revelation about me. But immediately I heard someone shouting at me. I responded, 'I was afraid there was about to be a revelation about me.'

"Then I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and greeted him. He said, 'Tonight a *sūra* has been revealed to me that is more pleasing to me than anything over which the sun rises.' He then recited, 'We have made for you a clear victory!'" (*sūrat al-Fatḥ*; XLVIII, v.1).

I note that I wrote about the *sūrat al-Fatḥ* fully and sufficiently in my *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), to God being due all praise and credit. Those wishing to insert that material here should do so.

Chapter: On the Expedition and missions that took place in 6 AH.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī, quoting al-Wāqidī, gives a summary of these.

61. The footnote of the Arabic printed text reminds us that the statement comes in the context of the conflict between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya over succession to the Caliphate.

In Rabīʿ al-Awwal (or Rabīʿ al-Ākhir) of that year, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan with a force of 40 men to Gharw Marzūq. They fled from him and he encamped at their wells. He sent some men in pursuit of them and took 200 of their camels which he led into Medina.

Also that year was the dispatch of Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ to Dhū al-Qiṣṣa, also with 40 men. He made for them on foot, reaching them in the morning while it was still dark. They fled from him into the mountain heights. He captured one of their men and brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

And there was his dispatch of Muḥammad b. Maslama with a force of 10 men. The enemy hid from them until night; all the companions of Muḥammad b. Maslama were killed and he escaped, wounded.

That year too there was the mission of Zayd b. Ḥāritha to al-Jamūm. A woman of Muzayna called Ḥalīma was captured and she directed them to one of the places where Banū Salīm were. There they captured cattle and sheep and took a number of the polytheists prisoner. Among them was the husband of Ḥalīma; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him to her and released them both.

Also that year was the mission of Zayd b. Ḥāritha, in Jumādā al-Uwlā, to Banū Thaʿlaba with a company of 15 men. The bedouin fled from him; he captured 20 of their camels, then returned, having been absent for 4 nights.

Zayd b. Ḥāritha also left in Jumādā al-Uwlā that year for al-ʿĪṣ.

He (al-Wāqidī) also said, "That year the property that had been with Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ was taken; he sought refuge with Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and she took him in."

Ibn Isḥāq related this man's story, about when the camels that were with him were taken, his companions were killed and he fled from them and went to Medina. His wife, Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had emigrated after Badr. When he arrived in Medina, he sought refuge with her, and she took him in following the *al-subḥ* prayer. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him over to her custody and told his men to return the camels taken from him. They did return to him everything taken from him, so that he lost nothing. When he returned with his property to Mecca and gave over to those he owed what was due them from their deposits, he accepted Islam. He then left Mecca and returned to Medina. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned his wife to him by the first marriage, not by remarriage or contract, as was related heretofore. The period between his accepting Islam and her having emigrated was six years; it is also said to have been two years.

We have explained that there is no discrepancy between the two accounts, and that his acceptance of Islam came two years after the time when believing women were prohibited to unbelievers. His acceptance of Islam came in 8 AH, in the year of the conquest (of Mecca), not as is told above in the account of al-Wāqidī that it took place in 6 AH. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidī stated that in that year Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī came back from Caesar, who had awarded him money and robes of honour. When he was at

al-Ḥusmā he was waylaid by some men of Judhām. They robbed him and left him with nothing. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent out Zayd b. Ḥāritha, may God be pleased with him, against them.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far related to me, from Ya'qūb b. 'Utba, who said, 'Alī, may God be pleased with him, went forth with 100 men to a village of Banū Asad b. Bakr. This was because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had learned that a group of their men wanted to extend help to the Jews of Khaybar. He approached them at night, keeping hidden by day. He ('Alī) captured a scout of theirs who confirmed that he had been sent to Khaybar to suggest to them that they hand over to them their dates.'"

Al-Wāqidī, may God be pleased with him, said, "In Sha'bān of 6 AH there was the expedition of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf to Dūmat al-Jandal. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'If they obey, then marry the daughter of their king.' They did accept Islam and 'Abd al-Raḥmān married their king's daughter, Tamāḍur, daughter of al-Isba' al-Kalbīya; she was the mother of Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "In Shawwāl of 6 AH the expedition of Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihrī against the people of 'Uraynī took place; they had killed the herdsman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and had stolen his cattle. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Kurz b. Jābir with 20 horsemen to track them down and they retrieved them."

According to texts given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, quoting Sa'īd b. Abū 'Urūba, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, what happened was that a group from 'Ukl and 'Urayna (from 'Ukl or 'Urayna, according to one version) went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They told him, "Messenger of God, we're really herdsmen, not farmers and we find Medina unhealthy." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them to leave with a small herd, in the charge of a shepherd, and told them to live by drinking the milk and urine of the animals. They left and when in the vicinity of al-Ḥarra, they killed the herdsman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), drove off the herd and denied Islam after having accepted it earlier. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent men in pursuit of them and had their hands and feet cut off and their eyes gouged out; they were left there at al-Ḥarra in that state until they died.

Qatāda stated, "We have heard that thereafter, whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address he would speak in favour of compassion and against exemplary punishment."

This *ḥadīth* is related by one group of scholars from Qatāda, while another group relates it from Anas b. Mālik.

In the account of Muslim, from Mu'āwiya b. Qurra, from Anas, it is stated that a group of 'Urayna went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and announced their acceptance of Islam and their allegiance. Then smallpox broke out in Medina, and they told him, "Since this smallpox has broken out, we'd like to go

back to the camels." He replied, "Yes; go and be with them." They did then leave, but they killed the herdsmen and left with the camels.

According to that account, he sent some 20 of the *anṣār* in pursuit of them, along with an expert tracker. When they were found, their hands and feet were severed and their eyes were gouged out.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, on a line of transmission through Ayyūb, from Abū Qalāba, from Anas, who is quoted as saying, "A group from ʿUkal arrived and accepted Islam. They loathed Medina and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him so. He then said to them, "Then go and join the camels; drink their milk and urine." They then left and lived among them for a time; but eventually they killed the herdsman and stole the camels. News of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and before the sun next arose they had been brought to him. He had iron rods brought and these were heated and used to cauterize them. He then had their hands and feet cut off and they were dumped out in the heat, where they sought water. But they were given none until they died, without protection.

In an account from Anas, he is quoted as saying, "I saw one of them biting the ground in his thirst."

Abū Qalaba stated, "That gang murdered, stole and apostatized after having declared their faith. They fought against God and His messenger (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī related, through ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān, from Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent men in pursuit of them, he said, "O God, make them lose their way and make it narrower than a camel's ankle." He went on, "They did lose their way and were captured and brought back. He had their hands and feet severed and their eyes gouged out."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it states, "The reason he had their eyes gouged was that they had done this to the herdsman."

Section: Relating to happenings that year, 6 AH.

During that year the obligation of making the pilgrimage was revealed; al-Shāfiʿī asserts that this came at al-Ḥudaybiyya in the words of the Almighty, "and complete the pilgrimage and the *ʿumra* for God" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.196).

This is why he (al-Shāfiʿī) held the view that the pilgrimage could be deferred and need not be performed as an urgent matter, because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not himself make the pilgrimage until 10 AH.

His view is opposed by the other three authorities, Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfa and Aḥmad (Ibn Ḥanbal). According to them, the pilgrimage is to be considered a matter of urgency for all who can make it. They deny that its *wujūb*, "necessity" is deduced from the Almighty's words, "and complete the pilgrimage and the *ʿumra* for God" but maintain that in this verse the requirement is only to finish it once it has been commenced. They prove this through various citations, to

many of which we referred in our explanation of this verse in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And to God is due all praise and credit.

It was during this year that Muslim women were forbidden to polytheists. This was an exception to the general rule established by the truce agreed upon at al-Ḥudaybiyya that year, namely that members of Quraysh were to be returned to them even if wishing to accept Islam. And so the words of the Almighty were revealed, "O you who believe! If believing women should come to you as emigrants, then test them. God knows best about their faith. If you ascertain them to be believers, then do not return them to the unbelievers. These women are not permitted for marriage to those men, nor are those men permitted for marriage to those women" (*sūrat al-Mumtaḥana*; LX, v.10).

That year also there was the expedition to al-Muraysī', during which the *qiṣṣat al-ifk*, the calumnious report, arose which ultimately resulted in the Revelation telling of the innocence of the *umm al-mu'minīn*, the mother of the believers, 'Ā'isha, as was related above.

The *'umra* to al-Ḥudaybiyya occurred that year too, along with the blockade made by the polytheists against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ultimately there resulted peace between them lasting ten years, during which time people lived in security with one another on the understanding that there should be neither fetters used nor swords drawn. Reference is made at length in the appropriate places heretofore; and to God belong all praise and credit. That year the polytheists had control of the pilgrimage.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "In Dhū al-Ḥijja of that year, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth six men in the company of Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balta'a to al-Muqawqis, the governor of Alexandria. He also dispatched Shujā' b. Wahb b. Asad b. Judhayma, who was present at Badr, to al-Ḥārith b. Abū Shammar al-Ghassānī, the king of the Christian Arabs, that is. Also he sent Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī to Caesar, he being Heraclius, emperor of Rome. And he dispatched 'Abd Allāh b. Hudhāfa al-Sahmī to Chosroe, king of the Persians. Also he sent Salīṭ b. 'Amr al-'Āmirī to Hawdha b. 'Alī al-Ḥanafī, and 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus, king of the Christians of Abyssinia, his name being Aṣḥama b. al-Ḥurr."

THE YEAR 7 AH. THE EXPEDITION AGAINST KHAYBAR, EARLY THAT YEAR.

Shu'ba stated, from al-Ḥākim, who quoted 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā as having said that the words, "and He rewarded them with a near victory" (*sūrat al-Fatḥ*; XLVIII, v.18), referred to Khaybar.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned (to Medina) from al-Ḥudaybiyya, he remained for some 20 days and then went forth to Khaybar; this was what God had promised to him."

Mūsā narrated, from al-Zuhrī, that the conquest of Khaybar was in 6 AH; what is correct is that this occurred early in 7 AH, as stated above.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then remained in Medina after his return from al-Ḥudaybiyya for Dhū al-Ḥijja and for part of al-Muḥarram. He then went to Khaybar for the remainder of al-Muḥarram."

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, that Marwān and al-Miswar stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya and *sūrat al-Fatḥ* (XLVIII) was revealed to him, while he was between Mecca and Medina. In Dhū al-Ḥijja, he came back and stayed until he went forth to Khaybar, making camp at al-Rajīʿ. That is a valley between Khaybar and Ghaṭafān. He was concerned that Ghaṭafān might give them assistance. Next morning he attacked them."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Wāqidī related similarly on the authority of his sheikhs that he went forth (to Khaybar) early in 7 AH."

ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs stated that Isḥāq said to him, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me as follows, 'Since the conquest of Khaybar took place following al-Muḥarram, the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived (back) at the end of Ṣafar.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "He appointed Numayla b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Laythī in command of Medina."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Affān related to us, quoting Wahīb, quoting Khuthaym – Ibn ʿArāk, that is – who quoted his father (as saying) that Abū Hurayra arrived in Medina with a group of his people while the Prophet (ṢAAS) was at Khaybar, having left Sibāʿ b. ʿUrfuṭā – of Banū Ghaṭafān, that is – in command of Medina. He, Abū Hurayra stated, 'When I went to him he was saying the *al-subḥ* prayer, at the first *rakʿa* reciting "*kāf hā yā ʿayn ṣād*" (*sūrat Maryam*; XIX), and at the second, the verse, "Woe to those who default" (*sūrat al-Muṭafifīna* (or *al-Taṭfīf*); LXXXIII, v.1). I told myself, "Woe to so-and-so who receives full measure but gives short change!"'"

He went on, "When he had prayed, we went back some distance, as far as Khaybar; the Prophet (ṢAAS) had by then conquered Khaybar. He addressed the Muslims and gave us shares of the booty along with them."

Al-Bayhaqī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, from Wahīb, from Khuthaym b. ʿArak, from his father, from men of Banū Ghifār, who said, "Abū Hurayra arrived in Medina and related this."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Medina for Khaybar, he went by way of Mt. ʿIṣr, where a mosque was built for him. He then passed by al-Saḥbāʾ, advancing with his army and eventually making camp at a *wādī* by the name of al-Rajīʿ. He made his camp between Khaybar and Ghaṭafān to prevent the latter from giving assistance to the people of Khaybar. They, Ghaṭafān, had declared their support for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I have heard that when Ghaṭafān heard about all this, they met together then went forth to give aid to the Jews against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When they had travelled for a day, however, they heard from home a rumour regarding their property and families. They thought that their enemy had surprised them and

so they retraced their steps and stayed with their property and families, leaving the way clear between the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Khaybar."

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama, from Mālik, from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, from Bashīr, that Suwayd b. al-Nu'mān related to him that he went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the year of the attack on Khaybar, eventually reaching al-Ṣahbā', a place below Khaybar. There the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) led the *al-'aṣr* prayer, then called for provisions to be brought. All that was produced was *al-sawīq*, barley gruel. He ordered it to be diluted and he ate, as did we. He then arose to perform the *al-maghrib* prayer, rinsed out his mouth and prayed, without performing the ablutions.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, quoting Ḥātim b. Ismā'īl, from Yazīd b. Abū 'Ubayd, from Salama b. al-Akwa', who said, "We went forth for Khaybar with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). We travelled by night, and one of our men said to 'Āmir, 'Āmir, would you recite us a little something you have composed?' 'Āmir was a poet. So he dismounted to recite for our men, saying,

'*Allāhumma*! O God! Without You we would not have been rightly guided,
Nor would we have given alms nor prayed.
We beseech You to forgive what we have done (wrong) – may we be sacrificed for You!
We beseech you to send down Your serenity upon us
To make our feet secure when we meet our enemies.
And if they cry out trying to subvert us, we will refuse.
Already have they loudly sought others' help against us.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Who is this camel driver?' 'That's 'Āmir b. al-Akwa',' they replied. '*Yarḥamuhu Allāh*! God have mercy on him!' he exclaimed. One of the men then commented, 'Have you then made his martyrdom inevitable, Prophet of God? I wish you had let us enjoy his (company) longer!'

"When we reached Khaybar, we besieged them and were afflicted by great hunger. God then helped us conquer them and that evening – the evening of the conquest – the men lit many fires. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Why all these fires? What do you plan to cook?' 'Meat,' they replied. 'What kind of meat?' he asked. 'The meat of domestic donkeys.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Cast away the meat and break the pots!' One man asked, 'Should we not throw away the meat but wash the pots?' 'Either way,' he replied.

"When the opposing forces were lined up for battle, 'Āmir's sword was short, and when he aimed it at a Jew's leg, the sharp blade swung back and injured his own knee, causing his death.'"

Salama went on, "When they returned from battle, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw me (looking sad) and took me by the hand, asking, 'What is wrong?' I replied, 'May my father and my mother be your ransom, they say that ʿĀmir failed.'[62] The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, 'Whoever said that lied; he will receive a double reward.' He raised two fingers, adding, 'He was a warrior whose valour few Arabs have ever matched.'"

Muslim related this similarly from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl and others, from Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd.[63]

Ibn Isḥāq related the story of ʿĀmir b. al-Akwaʿ from a different chain of authorities. He stated, "Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī related to me, from Abū al-Haytham b. Naṣr b. Dahr al-Aslamī, that his father related to him that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while on his way to Khaybar, say to ʿĀmir b. al-Akwaʿ, he being the uncle of Salama b. ʿAmr b. al-Akwaʿ, 'Dismount, Ibn al-Akwaʿ, and let's hear one of your compositions.' So he did and recited the following,

> '*Wallāhi*! By God! Without God we would not have been rightly guided, nor given alms, nor prayed.
> We are a people who, if badly treated or subverted, resist strongly.
> So send down serenity upon us and steady our feet when we clash with the enemy.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'May your Lord have mercy on you!' ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then said, 'You've made it (his martyrdom) inevitable, Messenger of God! I wish you had let us enjoy him longer!' And he was martyred at Khaybar."

He went on to related the manner of his death much as al-Bukhārī had done.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A source I do not doubt related to me, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Marwān al-Aslamī, from his father, from Abū Muʿtib b. ʿAmr, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached a point overlooking Khaybar, he said, 'Stop!' Then he spoke as follows before his Companions, of whom I was one, 'O God, Lord of the heavens and all they shade, Lord of the earths and what they produce, Lord of the devils and their deceptions, Lord of the winds and what they winnow, we implore of You the good of this village and the good of its people and the good of what it contains. And we seek refuge in You from its evil, from the evil of its people, and the evil of what it contains! Go forward, in God's name!'"

This is a very anomalous *ḥadīth* indeed, from this line of transmission.

62. Since he had accidentally caused his own death rather than earned martyrdom at the hand of the enemy.

63. Ibn Kathīr here comments on a grammatical point relating to the Arabic text; his explanation has been judged of too little interest for inclusion here.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from al-ʿUṭāridī, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Mujmiʿ, from Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from Abū Marwān al-Aslamī, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Khaybar. When we were near it and overlooking it, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told the men to stop and when they had done so, he said, 'O God, Lord of the seven heavens and what they shade, Lord of the seven earths and what they produce, Lord of the devils and their deception, we implore of You the good of this village and the good of its people and the good of what it contains. And we seek refuge in You from the evil of this village, from the evil of its people, and the evil of what it contains! Go forward, in the name of God the most-Merciful and Compassionate!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "A source I do not doubt related to me, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to attack an enemy, he refrained from doing so until it was morning. If then he heard a call to prayer, he would stop. If he did not, he would attack. We made camp at Khaybar overnight and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rested until morning came, at which time he did not hear a call to prayer. And so he mounted up and we all did so along with him. I rode behind Abū Talḥa, with my foot touching that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). On the way, we met the Khaybar labourers leaving the village with their hoes and baskets. When they saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) they exclaimed, "It's Muḥammad and his army!" They then turned away in flight. At that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "*Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great! Khaybar is ruined! It's a bad day for an enemy we have warned when we can dismount in their open square!"'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Hārūn related this to us similarly from Ḥumayd, from Anas."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from Ḥamīd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas b. Mālik, (who said), "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived at Khaybar at night. Whenever he reached an enemy at night, he would not attack them until morning. When it was morning, the Jews came out bearing their hoes and baskets and, seeing what they did, they exclaimed, 'It's Muḥammad, by God! Muḥammad and his army!' At this the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Khaybar is ruined! It's a bad day for an enemy we have warned when we can dismount in their open square!'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this account; Muslim did not.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Ṣadaqa b. al-Faḍl related to him, quoting Abū ʿUyayna, quoting Ayyūb, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "We arrived at Khaybar early in the morning as its people were coming out bearing their hoes. When they saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) they called out, 'By God, it's Muḥammad and his army!' At that the Messenger of God, God's peace and blessings be upon him, commented, 'Khaybar is ruined!

It's a bad day for an enemy we have warned when we can dismount in their square!'"

(Anas went on) "We captured some donkey meat. Then the crier of the Prophet (ṢAAS) called out, 'God and His prophet forbid you to eat the meat of donkeys; it is unclean!'"

Al-Bukhārī is unique in giving this; Muslim did not.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) came to Khaybar, he found them carrying their hoes as they went out to their fields. When they saw him and the army with him, they fled back into their forts. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, '*Allāhu Akbar*! Khaybar is ruined! It's a bad day for those already warned if we can dismount in their open square!'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*; it conforms to the criteria for both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "At Khaybar, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the pre-dawn prayer close to Khaybar and then he said, '*Allāhu Akbar*! Khaybar is ruined! It's a bad day for those already warned if we can dismount in their open square!'

"They (the people of Khaybar) took various paths in flight. And the Prophet (ṢAAS) killed their warriors and took their families prisoner. Among the prisoners was Ṣafiyya. She went to the lot of Diḥya al-Kalbī, and then to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who set her free as her dowry.

"'Abd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb said to Thābit, 'Abū Muḥammad, was it you who asked Anas, "What was it he gave as her dowry?"' Thābit nodded in affirmation to him."

He was alone in relating this *ḥadīth*; Muslim did not. Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim reported the prohibition of eating the meat of domestic donkeys through various chains of transmission in the work *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayḥaqī stated, "Abū Ṭāhir, the jurist informed us, quoting Khaṭṭāb b. Aḥmad al-Ṭūsī; Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd al-Abyūridī related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, from Muslim al-Aʿwar al-Malāʾī, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to visit the sick, follow behind funeral processions and respond to the pleas from slaves, and rode on donkeys. At the expeditions to Banū Qurayẓa and to al-Naḍīr, he rode a donkey. At the battle of Khaybar he rode a donkey with a halter made of palm fibre, and his saddle was also made of palm fibre.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related this *ḥadīth* in its entirety from ʿAlī b. Ḥajr, from ʿAlī b. Mushir, and Ibn Māja, from Muḥammad b. al-Sabāḥ, from Sufyān, and from ʿUmar b. Rāfiʿ from Jarīr, all of them quoting Muslim, he being Ibn Kaysān al-Mulāʾī al-Aʿwar al-Kūfī, from Anas. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "We know of this only from his *ḥadīth*; and he is a somewhat weak source."

I comment that what is well established, in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī from Anas, is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode along with a Companion at Khaybar and that in consequence his pants became pulled up to his thigh. It is obvious that he was riding a horse that day, not a donkey.

It may be that this *ḥadīth*, if true, makes it likely that he did ride donkeys on some days, while he was besieging the enemy. But God knows best.

Al-Bukharī stated that Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Khuzā'ī related to him, quoting Ziyād b. al-Rabī', from Abū 'Imrān al-Jawnī, who said, "Anas looked out at the people on Friday and saw some *taylasam*,[64] some shawls. He commented, 'They look like the Jews of Khaybar!'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, quoting Ḥātim, from Yazīd b. Abū 'Ubayd, from Salama b. al-Akwa', who said, "'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib was lagging behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar, suffering from sore eyes. 'Alī commented, 'How should I lag behind the Prophet (ṢAAS)?' And he joined him.

"And on the night (before) when Khaybar was conquered, he said, 'I will certainly give the banner tomorrow to someone (or the words were: 'may someone tomorrow take the banner') whom God and His messenger love, and it will be conquered by him.' We had hoped for that, but it was said that this referred to 'Alī. So it was given to him, and Khaybar was conquered."

Al-Bukhārī related (this) also, as did Muslim, from Qutayba, from Ḥātim.

Al-Bukhārī then stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Abū Ḥāzim, who said, "Sahl b. Sa'd narrated to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at Khaybar, 'I will certainly give this banner tomorrow to a man at whose hand God will grant victory, someone who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love.'"

The account continued, "The men spent that night wondering to which of them it would be given. When morning came, they all went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), each hoping that it would be given to him. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) then asked, 'Where is 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib?' 'Messenger of God,' they told him, 'his eyes are bothering him.' 'Send for him,' he said. They sent to fetch him and he came. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spat in his eyes and said a prayer for him. And he was cured, there being pain no longer. He then gave him the banner. 'Alī asked, 'Messenger of God, shall I battle them until they become as we are?' He replied, 'Continue riding until you reach their main square and dismount there. Then invite them to Islam and inform them of their duties to the Almighty therein. And by God, if God gives guidance through you to just one man among them, that will be better for you than for you to have the *ḥumr al-na'm*, the choice part of the herd!'"

Muslim and al-Nasā'ī both related this from Qutayba.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, and in al-Bayhaqī, there is given a *ḥadīth* of Suhayl b. Abū Ṣāliḥ, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The

64. A garment worn over the head and shoulders, not unlike a shawl.

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Tomorrow I shall give the banner to a man who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love. God will grant victory at his hands.'

"ʿUmar commented, 'It was only that day that I loved leadership!'"

"He called for ʿAlī and gave him his mission. He then said, 'Go and fight on till God gives you victory; do not turn aside.' ʿAlī asked, 'How long should I battle the enemy?' He replied, 'Fight them until they bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger. If they do that they will have saved their blood from us, along with their possessions, except for what is otherwise justified, their accounting being with God.'"

This is the phraseology given by al-Bukhārī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muṣʿab b. al-Miqdām and Jaḥsh b. al-Muthannā said that Isrāʾīl related to them, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿIṣma al-ʿIjlī, (who said), "I heard Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī, may God be pleased with him, say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took the banner and waved it. Then he asked, "Who will take it properly?" Someone came and said, "I will." He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), told him to leave. He did so, and another man came up. He told him too to leave. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, "By Him who honoured the face of Muḥammad, I shall certainly give it to a man who will not retreat." He then said, "Come here, ʿAlī."

"'He then left and eventually God conquered Khaybar and Fadak at his hands, and he brought in its dates and dried meat.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this; its line of transmission is fair, though somewhat strange.

This man ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿIṣma is also known as "Ibn Aʿṣam" and similarly by the honorific Abū ʿAlwān al-ʿIjlī. Originally from al-Yamāma, he lived in Kufa. Ibn Muʿīn classified him as a reliable source. Abū Zurʿa said, "He's a fairly good source." Abū Ḥātim said, "A sheikh". Ibn Ḥibbān included him among reliable sources, saying, "He makes many errors." He also included him among weak sources. He commented, "He relates about well-established matters in ways dissimilar to those of the fully reliable authorities, so that one suspects that his reports may be imaginary or invented."

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as saying, "Burayda b. Sufyān b. Farwa al-Aslamī related to me, from his father, from Salama b. ʿAmr b. al-Akwaʿ, may God be pleased with him, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, to several of the forts at Khaybar. He engaged in battle, but then returned, there having been no conquest despite his efforts.

"'He then sent ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him, and he battled and returned without conquest. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Tomorrow I shall certainly give the banner to a man whom God and His messenger love and who loves God and His messenger. God will grant victory at his hands; and he is not someone who retreats."'"

Salama stated, "And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, whose eyes were bothering him that day. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spat in his eyes, then said, 'Take the banner and carry on with it until God grants you victory.'

"He went forth with it, travelling fast and with confidence, and we followed directly after him. Eventually he planted the banner in a pile of rocks beneath a fort. A Jew looked down from the fort and asked, 'And who are you?' He replied, 'I am ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭālib!' The Jew then said, 'I swear by what was revealed to Moses, you are victorious!' And he did not return until God granted victory at his hands!"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting al-ʿUṭāridī, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid, who quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda, as having said, "My father narrated to me as follows, 'At the battle of Khaybar, Abū Bakr took the banner but returned without having been given victory. Maḥmūd b. Maslama was killed, and the army came back.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Tomorrow I will certainly award my banner to a man who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love. He will not return until God grants him victory." We slept well that night, confident that the next day there would be victory. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the morning prayer and called for the banner. He arose and then not one among us with good standing with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not hope that he would be that man. I myself was presumptuous enough to hold my own head high in expectation, because of my standing with him. He called for ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, whose eyes were bothering him. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wiped them and then gave him the banner. And victory was granted him.'"

(The narrator went on) "I heard ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda say, 'My father related to me that he was a friend of Marḥab.'"[65]

Yūnus stated that Ibn Isḥāq said, "The first of the forts at Khaybar to be defeated was that of Nāʿim. There Maḥmūd b. Maslama was killed; a millstone was dropped from it upon him and it killed him."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from al-Musayyab b. Maslama al-Azdī, (who said) that ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda related to him, from his father who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) might well be affected by a bad headache and spend a day or two without going outside to the people. When he made camp at Khaybar he suffered a severe headache and did not come out to the men. Abū Bakr took up the banner of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and then set out to battle where he fought fiercely. He then returned. ʿUmar next took it, fought a battle even more fierce than the first and then he returned. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was informed of this and he said, 'Tomorrow I shall

65. The reference is to a Jew who was champion of a fort at Khaybar. See the *ḥadith* reported hereafter, pp.254 et seq.

certainly give it to a man who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love. He will take it (Khaybar) by force.'

"'Alī was not present. The men of Quraysh there had aspirations for it, each one hoping to receive it. Next morning ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib came riding a camel of his. He made it kneel nearby. He was suffering from an eye ailment and had bound his eye with a piece of striped cloth. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, 'What's wrong?' He replied, 'My eyes became sore after you left.' He told him, 'Come close to me.' He then spat in ʿAlī's eye and he suffered no pain from it till he left.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave him the banner and he took it and left. He was wearing a purple and red outer garment, the nap of which had worn off. When he reached Khaybar, Marḥab, the commander of the fort, came out, wearing on his head a Yemenī helmet with a stone with a hole in it the size of an egg. He was reciting the following,

'Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero,
well tested.
When lions advance and rage, their prey retreats from
the victors' attack.'

"'Alī, may God be pleased with him, responded with the verse,

'I am he whom my mother named "Ḥaydar", "lion", like
those of the forests, extremely fierce
I'll give you full measure for measure.'"

He went on, "They exchanged two blows and ʿAlī then surprised him with a blow that split the stone, and his helmet and his head, right down to the molars. He then conquered the city."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār related from ʿAbbād b. Yaʿqūb, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Bakr, from Ḥakīm b. Jubayr, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, the story of the dispatch first of Abū Bakr, then of ʿUmar at Khaybar, and then the mission of ʿAlī at whose hands victory came. In his text there are unsatisfactory and strange elements. His chain of transmission includes persons accused of Shīʿī sympathies. But God knows best.

Muslim and al-Bayhaqī, the following being the wording of the latter, related through ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, from Iyās b. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, from his father who narrated a long account in which he told of their return from the expedition against Banū Fazāra. He said, "We remained there only three days before going forth to Khaybar. ʿĀmir went out and began to recite,

'By God, had it not been for you, we would not have
been rightly guided, nor given alms nor prayed.
By your grace, we have not failed; so send down Your
serenity upon us
And make our feet firm when we meet the enemy.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked who it was speaking. 'That is 'Āmir,' they said. 'May your Lord forgive you!' he then said. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never made such special mention of any person without him being martyred. 'Umar, mounted on a camel, commented, 'I wish you had let us go on enjoying 'Āmir!'

"When we approached Khaybar, Marḥab came out, brandishing his sword and reciting,

'Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero,
well-tested,
Like lions charging in fury.'

"'Āmir, may God be pleased with him, went out to challenge him, reciting,

'Khaybar knows that I am 'Āmir, fully armed, a hero
brave.'

"They exchanged two blows, then Marḥab's sword struck into 'Āmir's shield. He charged vigorously at him, and he, 'Āmir, retreated and struck his own ankle, causing a fatal wound."

Salama stated, "I then left and came across a group of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, 'Āmir's work was all in vain; he killed himself!'

"When I approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) I was weeping and he asked, 'What's wrong with you?' I replied, 'They say that Āmir's work was in vain.' 'And who said that?' he asked. 'Some of your Companions,' I replied. 'They lied,' he said, 'he shall have a double reward.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked that 'Alī, who was suffering from sore eyes, be sent for and said, 'I shall certainly give the banner today to a man who loves God and His messenger.' I returned with 'Alī, leading him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spat into his eye and he was cured. He gave him the banner. Marḥab came forth, reciting,

'Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero,
well-tested,
Like lions charging in fury.'

"'Alī went out to challenge him, saying,

'I am he whom my mother named "Haydar", "lion"; like
those of the forests, fearsome in aspect.
I'll give you full measure for measure.'

"He then struck Marḥab and split open his head, killing him. Then the conquest came."

Thus according to this text it was 'Alī who killed Marḥab, the Jew, God damn him!

Aḥmad stated that Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Ashqar related to him that Qābūs b. Abū Ẓubyān related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, from 'Alī,

who said, "When I had killed Marḥab, I brought his head to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba narrated from al-Zuhrī that the man who killed Marḥab was Muḥammad b. Maslama. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated the same, as follows, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Sahl, of Banū Ḥāritha, quoted from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh as having said, 'Marḥab the Jew came forth from the fortress at Khaybar reciting the following,

"Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero,
well tested,
Sometimes I thrust and at others I strike, like lions
charging in fury.
Those I defend are indeed under protection and shall
not be approached."

"'Kaʿb b. Mālik responded to him as follows,

"Khaybar knows that I am Kaʿb, the problem-solver,
brave and determined.
When warfare arises and the battle rages, I wield a
sharp sword that pierces like lightning.
He will tread you underfoot until the brave are
humbled, by the hand of a faultless warrior."'

"As Marḥab recited (other) verses, he asked, 'Will anyone engage me in combat?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Who will do this?' Muḥammad b. Maslama responded, 'I will, Messenger of God! It is up to me to seek revenge, for they killed my brother yesterday.' He told him, 'Go at him! O God, give him aid against him!'

"When they drew near one another a brittle old tree was there between them and each of them began using it to avoid his adversary. Whenever one of them took refuge behind it, the other would cut the wood with his sword to get at the other. Eventually the tree stood branchless, like a man. Marḥab then attacked Muḥammad b. Maslama and struck him. He met the blow with his shield and Marḥab's sword cut into it and remained wedged there. He then withdrew it, and Muḥammad struck at him until he had killed him."

Imām Aḥmad related this from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Isḥāq, in similar terms. Ibn Isḥāq went on to state, "Some people say that Muḥammad b. Maslama recited the following verses as he struck him,

'Khaybar knows that I am a warrior; sweet if I wish, or
a deadly poison!'"

Al-Wāqidī related it thus from Jābir and other early authorities, to the effect that it was Muḥammad b. Maslama who killed Marḥab.

Al-Wāqidī went on to recount that Muḥammad b. Maslama cut off both of Marḥab's legs and that Marḥab asked him, "Finish me off!" He replied, "Taste death as did Maḥmūd b. Maslama!" Then ʿAlī passed by and cut off his head.

The two men later disputed over his possessions before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who gave to Muḥammad b. Maslama his sword, his spear and his helmet along with its inner lining. Inscribed on his sword were the words, "This is the sword of Marḥab; he who tastes it dies."

Ibn Isḥāq then recounted that Marḥab's brother Yāsir next came out, asking, "Who will do combat with me?"

Hishām b. 'Urwa claimed that al-Zubayr went out to fight him and Umm Ṣafiyya, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, asked, "Messenger of God, will he kill my son?" He replied, "On the contrary, your son will kill him, if God so wills it." The two men then fought and al-Zubayr killed him.

If anyone thereafter commented to al-Zubayr, "By God, your sword was really sharp that day!" he would reply, "I swear by God, it wasn't sharp. I just hit him really hard."

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Isḥāq, from one of his people, from Abū Rāfi', the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "We went forth with 'Alī to Khaybar; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him out with his banner. As he approached the fort, its people came out to him and he battled them. One of them, a Jew, struck him and knocked his shield from his hand. 'Alī picked up the gate of the fort and used it to defend himself. It stayed in his hand as he fought, until God (ṢAAS) granted him victory. He then threw it aside. And I, with seven others, myself being the eighth, tried hard to turn that door over, but we could not do it!"

There seems some vagueness about this report, as well as an obvious gap in its chain of transmission.

However, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī and al-Ḥakīm gave an account through Muṭṭalib b. Ziyād, from Layth b. Abū Salīm, from Abū Ja'far al-Baqīr, from Jābir, that 'Alī carried the gate at Khaybar so that the Muslims could climb over it and conquer the town. The account states that afterwards 40 men tried but could not carry it!

There is weakness in this *ḥadīth*. There is a further weak account, from Jābir, that states, "Then 70 men joined together and it was all they could do to replace the gate."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Makkī b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Abū 'Ubayd, who said, "I saw a scar from a blow on Salama's leg. I asked him, 'Abū Muslim, what blow caused this?' 'This is a wound I got at Khaybar. People told one another, "Salama was wounded!" Then I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he blew on it three times. And I've never suffered from it right up till now.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Ḥazim, from his father, from Sahl, who said, "On one of his expeditions, the Prophet (ṢAAS) met and battled the polytheists. Then each side returned to their camp. Among the Muslims there was one man who tirelessly chased after

all and sundry of the polytheists, striking at them with his sword. Someone said to him, 'None of us has accomplished so much as so-and-so has.' He replied, 'He will go to hell.' They asked him, 'Well, if he's going to hell, which of us will go to heaven?' One of the men said, 'I'm going to follow him. Whether he hurries or slows down, I'll be with him.' Eventually the man was wounded and wanted to die. So he placed the hilt of his sword in the ground and its tip between his nipples and bore down on it, thus killing himself.

"So the men (who had followed him) came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and exclaimed, 'I do bear witness that you are the Messenger of God!' 'What's up with you?' he asked him and the man told him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'A man may perform actions like those who belong in paradise and seem to people to belong in paradise, yet be headed for hell, or he may perform actions such as those of the inhabitants of hell and be headed for paradise.'"

He related this also from Qutayba, from Yaʿqūb, from Abū Ḥāzim, from Sahl. That account is the same, or almost so.

Then al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Shuʿayb, from al-Zuhrī (who said), "Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab informed me that Abū Hurayra said, 'We took part at Khaybar, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, referring to a man among his force who was pretending allegiance to Islam, "This man belongs in hell." When the fighting commenced, that man fought very fiercely and received many wounds, so that some people began to have their doubts. The man suffered much pain from his wounds and put his hand into his quiver, took out an arrow and cut his throat with it. Some of the Muslims hurried off and said, "Messenger of God, God has fulfilled what you said! So-and-so has committed suicide!" He then said, "Get up, so-and-so and so-and-so and announce, 'No one but a believer will enter paradise; and God aids the faith even through an evil man!'"'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba narrated from al-Zuhrī the story of the black slave upon whom God bestowed faith and martyrdom within the same hour. Ibn Lahīʿa narrated it similarly from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa. Both stated, "There was a black Abyssinian slave who lived in Khaybar who cared for a herd belonging to his master. When he saw that the people of Khaybar were taking up their weapons, he asked them, 'What are you going to do?' 'We are going to do battle with that man who claims to be a prophet.'

"This reference to a prophet had an impact upon him and he took his herd and approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking him, 'To what do you invite?' He replied, 'I invite you to Islam, to bear witness that there is no god but God, that I am the Messenger of God, and that you will not worship any other than God.' The slave then asked, 'What will I get if I bear witness to that and believe in God?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Paradise, if you die believing that.'

"The slave accepted Islam and said, 'Prophet of God, this herd I have is my security.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Drive it out of our camp and

throw stones at it. God will discharge your security from you Himself.' He did so, and the herd returned to its Jewish master, who realized that his slave had accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose and addressed his men."

He went on to relate the *ḥadīth* of him having given the banner to ʿAlī, the approach of the latter to the fort of the Jews, and his killing of Marḥab. (The account states) "Also killed (while) with ʿAlī was that black slave, who was borne by the Muslims to their camp and brought into the main tent. They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked inside the tent, then turned to his Companions and commented, 'God has honoured this slave and led him to good. Islam was truly within his heart. At his head I saw two of the *houris* of paradise.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayḥaqī narrated through Ibn Wahb, from Ḥaywa b. Shurayḥ, from Ibn al-Hādd, from Shuraḥbīl b. Saʿd, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the expedition to Khaybar. A raiding party went out and they captured a man who was shepherding a herd."

He went on to relate roughly the same story of the black slave and said of him, "He died a martyr and had not made a single prayer prostration to God!"

Al-Bayhaqī then stated that Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Faqīh related to him, quoting Abū Bakr al-Qaṭṭān, quoting Abū al-Azhar, quoting Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Thābit, from Anas, that a man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "Messenger of God, I'm a man who is black in colour, ugly of face and who owns nothing. If I fight those people until I'm killed, will I enter paradise?" "Yes," he replied.

(Anas's account continues that) "the man then went forth and battled until he was killed. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was brought to his body, he said, 'God has made your face handsome, sweetened your smell and increased your wealth.' Then he said, 'I saw his two wives, *houris*, competing to take off his gown; they were entering the space between his skin and his gown.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then narrated through Ibn Jurayj as follows, "ʿIkrima b. Khālid informed me, from Ibn Abū ʿAmmār, from Shaddād b. al-Hādd, that a bedouin came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), expressed his belief in him and followed him, saying, 'I will go forth with you.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave him into the charge of one of his Companions. At Khaybar the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received booty and divided it up, including a portion for this man which he gave to the Companions of this man for he had been guarding their rear. When he came to them they gave it to him. He asked, 'What is this?' They replied, 'The portion assigned to you by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He responded, 'It was not for this that I followed you! I followed you so that I might be shot right here.' And he pointed with an arrow at his throat. 'So I would die and enter heaven!' He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) then said, 'If you keep trust with God, he will keep trust with you.'

"They then arose to battle the enemy. Later he was carried in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he had been struck with an arrow where he had pointed! The

Prophet (ṢAAS) then asked, 'That is really him?' 'Yes,' they replied. He then said, 'He kept trust with God, so God kept trust with him.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then gave his own gown for him to be wrapped in, laid out his body in front and prayed over him. Part of his prayer that is known includes, 'O God, this is your servant; he went forth in your cause and was killed a martyr. I bear witness for him'"

Al-Nasā'ī related this from Suwayd b. Naṣr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Ibn Jurayj, in similar words.

DIVISION.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then took possession of the properties one by one as he conquered one fort after the next. The first of their forts conquered was Nāʿim. There Maḥmūd b. Maslama was killed; a millstone was tossed down on him and it killed him. The next fort was al-Qamūṣ, that of Banū Abū al-Ḥaqīq."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acquired captives from them. These captives included Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab. She had been the wife of Kināna b. al-Rabīʿ b. Abū al-Ḥaqīq. Also captured were two of her female cousins. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) chose Ṣafiyya for himself; Diḥya b. Khalīfa had asked him for her; when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) chose her for himself, he gave to Diḥya her two cousins.

The captives taken at Khaybar were distributed among the Muslims. The men were eating the flesh of donkeys, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) issued a proclamation against their doing this.

Al-Bukhārī devoted his attention to this and reported the prohibition from excellent sources.

Its prohibition has been accepted by most scholars both early and later; all four of the "orthodox Imāms" prohibited its consumption.

However, some early authorities, including Ibn ʿAbbās, maintained that eating it was permissible. These scholars offered varying reasons for discounting the *aḥādīth* that have come down prohibiting it. For example, it was suggested that the prohibition came because they were using the donkeys for transport. Another reason given was that the prohibition related to the fact that the donkeys were booty that had not yet been divided up into the (required) fifths. It is also suggested that it related to the donkeys eating excrement, dung that is.

The truth is that it was prohibited because of its nature. Authentic evidences relate that the crier of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out, "God and His prophet prohibit your eating the meat of donkeys; it is unclean."

Affirmation of this is to be found in the work *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Sallām b. Kirkira related to me, from ʿAmr b. Dinār, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh – Jābir himself not having been present at Khaybar – that

when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prohibited people from consuming donkey meat, he also allowed them to eat horsemeat."

The provenance of this is secure in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Zayd, from ʿAmr b. Dinār, from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, from Jābir, may God be pleased with him. He said, "At Khaybar, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prohibited eating the meat of donkeys and gave permission for horses (to be eaten)."

This is the phraseology given by al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to us, from Makḥūl, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) prohibited four things that day: intercourse with pregnant women, eating domestic donkeys, eating carnivorous animals, and selling the spoils of war before their (official) allotment."

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, lacking proper transmission back to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Abū Marzūq, Najīb's freed-man, from Ḥanash al-Ṣanʿānī, who stated, 'We were on an expedition with Ruwayfiʿ b. Thābit, the *anṣārī*, to *al-Maghrib*, North Africa. One of the towns there, named Jirba, was conquered and a crier stood among us and announced, 'I am telling you only what I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) tell us at Khaybar. He stood up among us and said, "It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to mingle his sperm with that of others" – referring to intercourse with pregnant captive women. "It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to have intercourse with a captive woman before determining that she is without child. It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to sell any spoils of war before its allotment. It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to ride any mount from the captured stock of the Muslims and then to return it when it is exhausted. Nor is it permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to wear any clothing from the captured stock of the Muslims and then to return it when it is worn out."'"

Abū Dāʾūd narrated this similarly through Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from Ḥafṣ b. ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, from Ibn Wahb, from Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb, from Rabīʿa b. Salīm, from Bishr b. ʿUbayd Allāh, from Ruwayfiʿ b. Thābit in abbreviated form. He characterized the *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan*, "good".

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, it is stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar prohibited the meat of domestic donkeys, and also the eating of garlic.

Ibn Ḥazm narrated, from ʿAlī and Shurayk b. al-Ḥunbal, that they accepted the prohibition of onions and raw garlic. What al-Tirmidhī transmitted from them was that (use of them) constituted *al-karaha*,[66] a practice considered repugnant. But God knows best.

66. That is, something for which there was disapproval but not prohibition.

People speak of the *ḥadīth* given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections through al-Zuhrī, from ʿAbd Allāh and al-Ḥasan, sons of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, from their father, from his father ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prohibited at Khaybar *nikāḥ al-mutʿa*, "temporary marriage", and (eating) the meat of domestic donkeys.

This wording in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections comes down through Mālik and others, from al-Zuhrī. This *ḥadīth* requires that the prohibition of *nikāḥ al-mutʿa* applied only to the battle at Khaybar.

This is problematic, from two viewpoints. One is that at the battle of Khaybar there were no women to be so married, and their having captive women obviated temporary marriage.

The second problem is that it is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, related from al-Rabīʿ b. Sabra, from Maʿbad, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to engage in *al-mutʿa* at the time of the conquest (of Mecca), but then prohibited it before he had left Mecca, saying, "God has prohibited it until Judgement Day."

According to this, then he would have prohibited it, then permitted it and then for it to have been again prohibited. This would have required there to have been abrogation twice. And that is unlikely.

Al-Shāfiʿī, moreover, stated that he knew of nothing that had ever been permitted then prohibited, then permitted and again prohibited, apart from *nikāḥ al-mutʿa*. And the only reason he made the exception for this was because he was relying upon both these traditions referred to above.

Al-Suhaylī and others quote scholars who claim that it was permitted three times and prohibited three times. Others state that this happened four times. This is most unlikely. But God knows best.

The authorities differ as to when was the first time it was prohibited. Some say at Khaybar, others at the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*, others in the year of the conquest (of Mecca); this latter seems the most likely. Others say it was first prohibited at Awṭās (a time close to that of the alternative preceding it); others say at Tabūk, others at the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, the "farewell pilgrimage".

Abū Dāʾūd related this.

Some scholars refute the *ḥadīth* related from ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, by saying that it contains *taqdīm wa taʾkhīr*, "an inaccurate sequencing of time".

The best alternative seems to be what the Imām Aḥmad related, as follows, "Sufyān related to us, from al-Zuhrī, from al-Ḥasan and ʿAbd Allāh, the two sons of Muḥammad (b. al-Ḥanafiyya) from their father. Ḥasan was the more convinced of the two that ʿAlī had said to Ibn ʿAbbās, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prohibited *nikāḥ al-mutʿa* and eating the meat of domestic donkeys at Khaybar.'"

They said, "The narrator believed that the mention of Khaybar was the time and place for the prohibition of both; that was not so, however, since it was one only for the prohibition of donkey meat. There is no time and place mentioned

in fact for *nikāḥ al-mutʿa*. He included this only because ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, learned that Ibn ʿAbbās had permitted the *nikāḥ al-mutʿa* and the meat of donkeys, as is well known. And the Commander of the Believers, (ʿAlī) therefore told him, 'You are misguided. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prohibited *nikāḥ al-mutʿa* and the meat of domestic donkeys at Khaybar.'"

He joined both together in this prohibition for him so that he would retract what he had considered permissible.

Our teacher, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī, may God encompass him in his mercy, tended to accept this explanation.

Nevertheless, Ibn ʿAbbās did not retract the permission he had given regarding donkey meat and temporary marriage. He attributed the prohibition against eating donkeys to the fact that they were their baggage animals. As for temporary marriage, he only rendered this permissible in case of need while travelling. As for the prohibition, that referred to when the circumstances involved indulgence of wealth or lust. Various of his associates and followers have adopted his position. This was well known to be the view of the scholars of Hijāz up to the time of Ibn Jurayj and beyond.

There is an account relating that Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal took the same position as Ibn ʿAbbās; however, this account is weak.

Certain persons who adhere to the view of permissibility try to relate an account from the Imām (Aḥmad) to the same effect. This also is inauthentic, but God knows best. The text relating to this is in the *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*. And help is sought through God.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then began advancing slowly upon their forts and properties. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him by someone of Aslam that Banū Sahm of Aslam came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Messenger of God, we have fought hard and yet we have nothing.' They had not found the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) able to give them anything. He then said, 'O God, You well know their state and that they have no strength and that I have nothing to give them. Open up before them the wealthiest of their fortresses and give them sufficiency mainly in fats and food.' Next morning the fort of al-Saʿb b. Muʿādh was conquered for them. And no fort in Khaybar was wealthier or had richer food than it."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Various fortresses having been conquered and certain properties acquired, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived finally at their forts called al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim; those were the last of the Khaybar castles to be conquered. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged the enemy there for some ten days."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Their rallying cry at Khaybar was, *Yā Manṣūr! Amit! Amit!* 'O Victor! Kill! Kill!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Burdayda b. Sufyān al-Azdī al-Aslamī related to me, from some men of Banū Salama, from Abū al-Yusr Kaʿb b. ʿAmr, who said, 'I was

with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar one evening when a herd of sheep belonging to a Jew passed by, heading for their forts which we were besieging. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Which man will feed us from these sheep?' I replied, 'I will, Messenger of God!' 'Then do so,' he told me.

"So I went out, racing as hard as I could, like an ostrich. When he saw me do this, and was about to head back, he exclaimed, 'O God, let us enjoy him long!' When I had reached the sheep, the first ones had already entered their fort. But I caught two ewes from their rear, tucked them under my arms and sped back, carrying them as if I bore nothing. I threw them down before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and they slaughtered and ate them both."

Abū al-Yusr was one of the last of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to die. He would weep when telling this *ḥadīth*, and then say, "And they were given my whole life to enjoy; I was the last of them."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated in *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*) as follows, "Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Iṣbahānī informed us, quoting ʿAbū Saʿīd b. al-Aʿrābī, quoting Saʿdān b. Naṣr, quoting Abū Muʾāwiya, from ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal, from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī (or from Abū Qalāba) who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) advanced on Khaybar, the fruit was unripe. But the men raced for it, became feverish and complained to him of this. He told them to cool water in pots and then to have this poured over them when dawn came and to repeat the name of God. They did this and it was as though they had been hobbled and then had their cords removed.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "We related this *ḥadīth* from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rāfiʿ with an uninterrupted line of transmission. According to it the phrase 'between the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿashā* times for prayer' was used."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā and Bahz both related to him as follows, "Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra related to us, quoting Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Mughaffal, who said, 'My share of the booty at Khaybar was a leather bag of lard. I gripped it tight and said, "I'll not give any of this to any one!" Then I turned and saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiling.'"

Aḥmad said, "ʿAffān related to us, quoting Shuʿba, from Ḥamīd b. Hilāl, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Mughaffal, who said, 'While we were besieging the fortress at Khaybar, someone threw down at us a leather bag containing lard. So I went and took it. Then I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS), and I felt ashamed.'"

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba. Muslim also related it, from Shaybān b. Farūkh, from ʿUthmān b. al-Mughīra.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Someone whose word I do not doubt related to me from ʿAbd Allāh b. Mughaffal al-Mazanī as follows, 'At Khaybar, I captured a leather bag of lard. I carried it around my neck and went off to my mount and my companions. The man placed in charge of the booty then came up to me and grabbed the side of it, saying, "Come on! Not till it's divided up among the Muslims." I replied, "No, by God, I'll not give it to you!" He then began pulling

the bag away from me. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw us while we were behaving this way, and he smiled and laughed. He then told the booty-master, "Let him have it." So he released it and I went off with it to my mount and to my companions and we ate it.'"

Most scholars refer to this *ḥadīth* in relation to Imām Mālik's prohibition of the use of the fat from animals sacrificed by Jews and captured by Muslims. This is because God Almighty stated, "and the food of those to whom the Book came is permissible for you" (*sūrat al-Mā'ida*; V, v.5). He (Imām Mālik) said, "This is not food for them (the Jews)." (His opponents, however,) cite this *ḥadīth* against him. Nevertheless, there are doubts about this *ḥadīth*. This lard could well have been permitted to them. But God knows best.

This *ḥadīth* was also cited to show that food is not subject to the division into fifths. This is supported by what Imām Abū Dā'ūd related, as follows, "Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlā' related to us, quoting Abū Mu'āwiya, quoting Isḥāq al-Shaybānī, from Muḥammad b. Abū Mujālid, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, who said, 'I asked, "Didn't you divide up (captured) food into the fifths during the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" He (*sic*) replied, "We did capture food at Khaybar. People would come and take of it what they needed, then leave."'"

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this; the *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan*, "good".

An Account of the Story of Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭub al-Naḍriyya, may God be pleased with her.

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forced the Jews of Banū al-Naḍīr to vacate Medina, as was related above, most of them went to Khaybar. Their number included Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭub and Banū Abū al-Ḥuqayq, who were persons of wealth and prestige among their people. Ṣafiyya at that time was a child, not yet having reached maturity. Thereafter, when she was ready for marriage, it was arranged to her cousin. When she was conducted to him after the wedding, he consummated the marriage. Their married life continued for some time. Then in her sleep she saw the moon descend from the sky in her lap. She related this vision to her cousin, who slapped her face and said, "So you yearn to have the 'king of Yathrib' as your husband, do you?"

Soon thereafter the arrival and siege of them by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) occurred and Ṣafiyya was among those captured, while her husband was killed.

Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) chose her and she became part of his household, to which she now belonged, as will be related. After ascertaining that she was not pregnant and not menstruating he consummated marriage with her and discovered the mark made on her cheek by her husband's blow. He asked her about this, and she related to him what she had seen in those wonderful visions. May God be pleased with her and grant her pleasure.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ṣubḥ*, morning prayer, while it was still dark, near Khaybar. He then said, '*Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great! Khaybar is ruined! It's a bad day for an enemy who has been warned when we can dismount in their open square!'

"Then the enemy hurried to escape along the alleyways and the Prophet (ṢAAS) killed their warriors and took their children captive. Among the prisoners was Ṣafiyya. She went to Diḥya al-Kalbī, and then to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who gave her her freedom as her dowry."

Muslim also related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Zayd which has several lines of transmission from Anas.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ādam related to him, from Shuʿba, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb, who said, "I heard Anas b. Mālik say, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) took Ṣafiyya captive and then gave her her freedom and married her.' Thābit asked Anas, 'Did he not give her a dowry?' He replied, 'He gave her herself as dowry, rewarding her her freedom.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd al-Ghaffār b. Dāʾūd related to him, quoting Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, as did Aḥmad b. ʿIsā, quoting Wahb (who said), "Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zuhrī informed me, from ʿAmr, the freed-man of al-Muṭṭalib, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'We came to Khaybar. After the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had conquered the fortress, mention was made to him of the beauty of Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭub. Her husband had been killed, she still being a bride. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then chose her for himself. He left with her, travelling in her company until he reached Sudd al-Ṣahbāʾ. She was then free of her menses and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated his marriage with her. Thereafter, he made some *ḥays*, dates with butter, on a small leather mat. Then he told me, "Make an invitation to those around you." And this was the wedding banquet given for Ṣafiyya. We then left for Medina. I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) make a cushion behind himself for her with his cloak and would then sit upon his mount. He would bend his knee and she would put her foot on it, then mount up.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this; Muslim does not.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Saʿīd b. Abū Maryam related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abū Kathīr (who said), "Ḥumayd narrated to me that he heard Anas say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed between Khaybar and al-Madd for three nights, Ṣafiyya being brought to him for consummation of their marriage. I invited the Muslims to his wedding banquet. There was no bread or meat; all he did was order Bilāl to get some leather dishes in which he threw some dates, sour milk cheese and butter. The Muslims asked, "Is she to be considered one of the *ummahāt al-muʾminīn*, 'mothers of the believers', or someone taken captive?" They replied, "If he keeps her veiled, then she is

one of the former; if not, then of the latter." When he rode on, he placed her behind himself and put a veil over her.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in relating this.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Suhayb, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "Ṣafiyya went to Diḥya al-Kalbī, and then to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Abū Dā'ūd also stated, "Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm related to us, saying, 'Ibn ʿAliyya related to us, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb, from Anas, who said, "The captives were gathered" – meaning at Khaybar – "and Diḥya arrived and said, 'Messenger of God, award me a slave girl from amongst the captives.' He replied, 'Go along and select one.' He selected Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy. Then a man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Prophet of God, you gave to Diḥya' (Yaʿqūb added, 'Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyay, a lady of Qurayẓa and al-Naḍīr') 'someone for whom only you are appropriate.' He replied, 'Have her brought.' When the Prophet (ṢAAS) saw her, he said, 'Take a slave girl from the captives other than her.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then set her free and married her."'"

He gave this account from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAlīya.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Muḥammad b. Khallād al-Bāhilī related to him, quoting Bahz b. Asad, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting Thābit, from Anas, who said, "A lovely slave girl fell to the lot of Diḥya, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) bought her for a price of seven head of cattle. He then gave her over to Umm Salama to prepare her." Ḥammād (b. Salama) said, "And I believe he said, 'And she was readied in her house, Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy.'"

Abū Dā'ūd alone gave this *ḥadīth*.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered al-Qamūs, the fort of Banū Abū al-Huqayq, brought to him were Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭub and another girl. Bilāl, who had brought them both, had gone past some of the Jews who had been killed. When the woman with Ṣafiyya saw them she screamed, slapped her face and poured dirt over her head. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw her, he said, 'Get that she-devil away from me!' He ordered Ṣafiyya to be brought to him and she was placed behind him and he threw his cloak over her. And so the Muslims knew that he had chosen her for himself.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told Bilāl, so I have been informed, after having seen how that Jewess had behaved, 'Have you lost your sense of compassion, Bilāl, taking the two women past their dead menfolk!'

"While still the bride of Kināna b. al-Rabīʿ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, Ṣafiyya had seen a vision in her sleep that a moon dropped into her lap. She told her husband of her vision and he replied, 'That's only because you desire the "king of Hijāz", Muḥammad!' He then gave her a slap on her face that blackened her eye. The mark of this was still upon her when she was brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He asked her how it had happened, and she told him."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had Kināna b. al-Rabīʿ brought to him; he was in charge of the Banū al-Naḍīr treasury. When asked about it, Kināna denied knowledge of its whereabouts. Then there was brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a Jew who said, 'I saw Kināna circle around the treasure early every morning.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to Kināna, 'Do you realize that I'll kill you if we find it with you?' 'Yes,' he replied. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that their treasure be dug up and some of it was brought out. He then asked Kināna the whereabouts of the rest, but he refused to hand it over. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwām to go to him, saying, 'Torture him until you root out what he has.' Al-Zubayr then repeatedly struck fire on his chest until he was close to death. Finally, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) pushed him over to Muḥammad b. Maslama, who cut off his head in revenge for the loss of his brother, Maḥmūd b. Maslama."

DIVISION.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged the people of Khaybar in their two forts al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim. When they were sure that all was lost, they asked him to let them leave, and to spare their blood. He did so. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had seized all the wealth of al-Shiqq, al-Niṭāt and al-Katība, and all their forts, except for those two. When the people at Fadak heard what had happened to the others, they wanted the same. So they sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking him to let them leave and to spare their blood on the understanding that they would leave their possessions for him. He agreed. One of the intermediaries between the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and them in this matter was Muḥayyiṣa b. Masʿūd, brother of Banū Ḥāritha.

"When the people of Khaybar surrendered on this agreement, they asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to grant them a half share in the properties, saying, 'We know more about it than you do, and we'll make it produce more.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made peace with them on this basis of half shares, provided that, 'If we wish to expel you, we will do so.' He made a similar arrangement with the people of Fadak."

Section: On the Conquest of their Forts and the Division of their Land.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "When the Jews from the forts of Nāʿim and of that of al-Ṣaʿb b. Muʿādh went to that of al-Zubayr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged them for three days. Then one of the Jews, a man named ʿAzāl, came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Abū al-Qāsim, will you give me protection if I direct you to what refreshes the people of al-Naṭāt and then proceed against those of al-Shiqq? Those at al-Shiqq are deathly afraid of you.'"

He went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did give this man protection for his family and possessions, and the Jew then told him, 'If you were to stay a whole month besieging them, they would not care. They have underground springs to which they can go out at night and drink from and then return to their fortress.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave orders that their springs be cut off and the Jews came out and fought most fiercely. A number of the Muslims were killed that day, as were ten of the Jews. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then conquered it. The last of these forts (to fall) was al-Naṭāt. He then turned his attention to al-Shiqq, which consisted of several forts. The first one he attacked was Ubayy. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then attacked a castle named Samwān and he fought for it most vigorously. One of the enemy there, a man named 'Azul, came forth and made a challenge for single combat. Al-Ḥabāb b. al-Mundhir went out to fight him and cut off half his arm, the man's sword dropping from his hand. The Jew fled, but al-Ḥabāb followed him and severed his tendon. Another of them then emerged for single combat and one of the Muslims went forth to meet him. The Jew killed him. Abū Dujāna then went out against him, killing him and seizing his weapons. After that they offered no more challenges for single combat and the Muslims shouted '*Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great!' They then mounted an attack on the fortress and entered it, led by Abū Dujāna. Inside they found furniture, furnishings, cattle and food. The fighting men who had been inside fled in great haste, like lizards, until they reached the forts al-Bazāt, at al-Shiqq. There they put up a strong defence; but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men moved slowly towards them and they exchanged arrows. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) actually shot at them in person until their arrows wounded his fingertips. He then picked up a handful of stones which he cast at their fort which shook under their impact and collapsed to the ground. The Muslims then defeated them in hand-to-hand combat."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then turned his attention to the inhabitants of al-Akhbiyya, and of al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim, two forts of Abū al-Ḥuqayq. These they defended strenuously, having been joined by all those who had been defeated from al-Naṭāt to al-Shiqq. These joined with the rest in defending al-Qamūṣ and al-Katībā – a very strong fortress – and in al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim. Ultimately they stopped looking down and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) erected a catapult to use against them.

"When they were sure their defeat was certain, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having by then besieged them for 14 days, Ibn Abū al-Ḥuqayq came down to him and made peace. The conditions were that he would spare their lives and allow them to withdraw, while they would give him free access to their lands, properties, gold, silver, horses, armour and weapons, while they could keep only what was *'alā ẓahri insān*, 'on their backs', their clothing, that is. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'But the protection of God and of His messenger is lost to you if you conceal anything.' They made peace on that basis."

I note that when they did hide things and told lies, concealing that leather bag in which they had much wealth, it became clear that they were not keeping to their pact. And so he killed both sons of Abū al-Ḥuqayq and part of his family because they had broken their pacts and agreements.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Muqrī al-Asfarāyīnī stated to him, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb, quoting ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ghiyāth, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar – according to Abū Salama – from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) battled against the people of Khaybar until he forced them to take refuge in their fortress. He thus gained control of their land, their produce and their date-palms. They then made peace with him. The conditions were that they would leave their fortress keeping what their mounts would carry. To the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would go their gold, and silver. They would move away and not hide or fail to disclose anything; if they did so, they would have no valid pact of agreement.

"They then concealed a leather bag containing money and jewels belonging to Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭub; he had carried it with him to Khaybar when Banū al-Naḍīr was expelled. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked at this time, 'What happened to the leather bag of Ḥuyayy that he brought from al-Naḍīr?' He[67] replied, 'Various expenses and the warfare have exhausted it.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'Only a little time has passed and there was more money than that.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then pushed him over to al-Zubayr who tortured him. Before this, Ḥuyayy had gone inside a ruin and he[68] reported seeing Ḥuyayy circling it. They then went and searched, ultimately finding the bag in the ruin.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then killed the two sons of Abū al-Ḥuqayq, one of whom was the husband of Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. al-Akhṭub. He took their women and children captive and divided up their possessions since they had broken their agreement.

"He wanted to expel them, but they said, 'Muḥammad, let us stay on this land to care for and improve it.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions had no revenues from farming to live on and they themselves were too occupied otherwise to work on the land. And so he gave Khaybar over to them on condition that they would have an equal part of all the produce, dates and other returns, for so long as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wished.

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa would come to them every year to receive payment for it from them, paying them their half. But they complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the zeal with which he performed this task. They had tried to bribe him. He told them, 'You enemies of God! Would you pay me with

67. Presumably Kināna b. al-Rabīʿ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, as related in the other accounts given above.

68. It is unclear who is implied. Presumably a third party, as recounted heretofore.

ill-gotten gains! By God, I come to you on behalf of the person most dear to me of all. You are more hateful in my view than the monkeys and pigs that are your like! But my hatred for you and my love for him will not lead me to fail to treat you fairly.'

"They replied, 'By this, heaven and earth are set.'[69]

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) noticed some blackness around Ṣafiyya's eye and he asked her, 'Ṣafiyya, what is this blackness?' She replied, 'My head was in the lap of Ibn Abū al-Ḥuqayq while I slept. I seemed to see a moon drop into my lap. When I told him of this, he slapped me, saying, "You yearn for the 'king of Yathrib'!"'

"She went on, 'I thought of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as the most hateful of men. He killed my husband and my father. But he kept on explaining to me, saying, "Your father incited the Arabs against me and did so on and so forth." Eventually all that left my mind.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to give each of his wives 80 bags of dates and 20 of barley annually. During the Caliphate of 'Umar, they cheated the Muslims, and threw 'Umar's son down from atop a house, breaking his wrists. 'Umar then said, 'Those owning a share of Khaybar should come for us to divide it up.' He did divide it up and their (the Jews') leader said, 'Don't expel us; allow us to remain in it as did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr too.' 'Umar responded, 'Do you consider that what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said does not apply to me! But how would you feel if your mount raced off towards Syria, day after day after day!'[70]

"'Umar then divided it up between those who were at al-Ḥudaybiyya and then at Khaybar."

Abū Dā'ūd related this in abbreviated form from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Bukhārī appended the following in the margin of his book, 'Ḥammād b. Salama narrated it.'" I note, however, that I did not see this. But God knows best.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd al-Mahrī related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, who said that Usāma b. Zayd al-Laythī informed him, from Nāfi', from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, who said, "When Khaybar was conquered, the Jews asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to allow them to remain on condition that they would work for one-half of what it produced. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'I will allow you to stay in it on that condition for as long as we wish.'

69. In a footnote to his translation of Ibn Isḥāq's work, (*op. cit.* p.523) Guillaume points out that this is an authentically Jewish expression and that its inclusion here attests to the accuracy of the narrator here.

70. This is a reference to the charges against the Jews of Khaybar for having broken promises and failed to fulfil contracts.

"And so they did. The dates, of one-half of Khaybar, were divided into shares and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would take a portion of one-fifth. From that fifth, he would provide 100 bags of dates and 20 of barley for each of his wives, annually.

"When ʿUmar wished to evict the Jews, he sent to the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and told them, 'Whichever of you wishes me to set aside for her (land that would produce) 100 bags, she may have the roots, land and water therefor, along with the plants to produce 20 bags of barley. This I will arrange. Those who prefer us to set aside what she owns of the fifth share as it has been, this too we will do.'"

Abū Dāʾūd narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said, "Nāfiʿ related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, that ʿUmar stated, 'O people, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a pact with the Jews of Khaybar on the understanding that he could expel them if he wished. Those with property there should go to it; I am expelling the Jews.' And he did expel them."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, (who said) that Jubayr b. Muṭʿim informed him as follows, "I and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān walked over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'You gave to Banū al-Muṭṭalib a part of the fifth share of Khaybar but left us out, even though we and they have the same status with you.' He replied, 'Well, Banū Hāshim and Banū al-Muṭṭalib are one.' Jubayr b. Muṭʿim stated, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave no share to Banū ʿAbd Shams, nor to Banū Nawfal.'"

He is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*; Muslim did not.

There is one version that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Banū Hāshim and Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib are one; they were not separate from us before Islam or thereafter."

Al-Shāfiʿī stated, "They went into the defile with them and gave them help after their having accepted Islam just as they had before Islam.

"Abū Ṭālib expressed displeasure with Banū ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal, saying, 'May God punish badly ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal for us, and the sooner the better!'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that al-Ḥasan b. Isḥāq related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Thābit, quoting Zāʾida, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "At Khaybar, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) awarded a double share to each horse and a single share to each man on foot.

"This pleased Nāfiʿ, who said, 'So if a man had a horse, he received three shares: two for the horse, one for himself.'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Saʿīd b. Abū Maryam related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar (who said), "Zayd informed me, from his father, that he heard ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb say, 'By Him who bears my soul in His hands, were I not afraid that the other Muslims might be left in poverty, I would divide up (among the warriors) each village conquered for me, just as the Prophet (ṢAAS)

divided up Khaybar. However, I will leave it all to them as a (source of) treasury for them to distribute among themselves.'"

Al-Bukhārī also related this from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik; Abū Dā'ūd did so from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Ibn Mahdī, from Mālik, from Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, from 'Umar.

This text requires that Khaybar was divided up in its entirely among those who had earned the booty.

Abū Dā'ūd stated, "Ibn al-Sarḥ related to us, (who said), 'Ibn Wahb informed us, saying, "Yūnus informed me, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, 'I learned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took Khaybar by force, after fighting, and left some of its inhabitants still there after the battles.'"'"

Al-Zuhrī stated on this, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided Khaybar into fifths, allotting it all to those who fought there."

However, there is some disagreement over al-Zuhrī's statement. What is true is that all of Khaybar was not divided up; in fact, only one-half of it was divided between the men, as will be shown.

Mālik and his followers use this argument, stating that the Imām may choose what is best to do with conquered territories. He may divide them up (between those capturing them), or he may set them aside for the benefit of all Muslims. Alternatively, he may, if he wishes, divide up part of them and set aside part to care for whatever circumstances and needs may arise.

Abū Dā'ūd stated, "Al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān, the *muezzin*, related to us, quoting Asad b. Mūsā, quoting Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā' (who said) 'Sufyān related to me, from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, from Bashīr b. Yasār, from Sahl b. Abū Ḥathma, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided Khaybar into two halves; one-half was for his own responsibilities, and one-half went to the Muslims; he divided it up among them on the basis of 18 parts."'"

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*. He then related, from a *ḥadīth* of Bashīr b. Yasār that is *mursal*, incomplete in its line of transmission, "he assigned to the half allotted for his needs (responsibilities) al-Waṭīḥ, al-Katība, al-Sulālim and their adjoining properties, and gave to the Muslims the half consisting of al-Shiqq and al-Naṭāt and their adjoining properties; the portions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was what adjoined both of these."

He also stated that Ḥusayn b. 'Alī related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, from Bashīr b. Yasār, the freed-man of the *anṣār*, from men among the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). (These men stated) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gained victory over Khaybar and divided it into 36 shares, each of which combined 100 shares. To the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims went one-half of this. The second half he put aside for those from the delegations who came to stay with him, and for other matters, along with some portions set aside for those who suffered special misfortune.

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this.

He also stated that Muḥammad b. ʿIsā related to him, quoting Mujmiʿ b. Yaʿqūb b. Mujmiʿ b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī (who said), "I heard Abū Yaʿqūb b. Mujmiʿ say, on the authority of his uncle ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī, from his uncle Mujmiʿ b. Ḥāritha al-Anṣārī – he being one of the reciters of the Qurʾān – say, 'Khaybar was apportioned to those who had (also) been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya. He divided it up into 18 parts. The army consisted of 1,500 men, including 300 cavalry. He alloted two shares to each man with a horse, and one share to each man on foot.'"

Abū Dāʾūd is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Mālik stated, from al-Zuhrī, that Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab informed him that the Prophet (ṢAAS) conquered part of Khaybar by force.

Abū Dāʾūd also related this. He then stated, "The following was recited to al-Ḥārith b. Miskīn while I was present, 'Ibn Wahb informed you all (as follows), "Mālik b. Anas related to me, from Ibn Shihāb, that part of Khaybar was taken by force and part by peace treaty. Most of al-Katība was taken by force, and there was also a peace agreement about it. I asked Mālik, 'What is al-Katība?' He replied, 'It is land at Khaybar; it consists of 40,000 *ʿadhq*.'"'" Abū Dāʾūd stated, "*al-ʿadhq*" means 'date-palms'; it can also mean date fronds."

Al-Bukhārī, moreover, stated that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Ḥaramī, quoting Shuʿba, quoting ʿAmāra, from ʿIkrima, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "When Khaybar was conquered, we said, 'Well, now we'll have our fill of dates!'

(Al-Bukhārī went on) "Al-Ḥasan related to us, quoting Qurra b. Ḥabīb, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Dinār, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'We never had our fill' – meaning of dates – 'until we conquered Khaybar.'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Al-Shiqq and al-Naṭāt were part of the share of the Muslims. Al-Shiqq consisted of 13 shares, al-Naṭāt of 5. The total was divided into 1,800 shares. This was paid to those who were present at al-Ḥudaybiyya, both those present at Khaybar and those absent from it. And of those who were present at al-Ḥudaybiyya only Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh was absent from Khaybar; he was awarded his share.

"Those present at al-Ḥudaybiyya consisted of 1,400 men. With them were 200 horses; 2 shares went to each horse. To each 100 men went a portion consisting of 18 shares. Four hundred shares went to the 200 horsemen; this was for their horses."

Al-Bayhaqī related similarly through Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān – namely that they consisted of 1,400 men, with whom there were 200 horses.

I note: the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used an arrow to select the order of the award of shares. The first share of the allotment of al-Shiqq went to ʿĀṣim b. ʿAdī.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Katība was a fifth portion assigned to God Almighty; of it a portion went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), another to (impoverished) relations,

orphans, the destitute and wayfarers, another to feed the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS), another to feed the families of those who went out to arrange the peace treaty with the people of Fadak.[71] These included Muḥayyisa b. Masʿūd, to whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) allotted 30 bags of dates and 30 bags of barley. Its (Fadak's) two valleys that were set aside for him were named Wādī al-Surīr, and Wādī Khāṣ."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to give the details of all the allotments made at Khaybar; he did so fully and very well, may God have mercy on him.

The men placed in charge of the division and the accounting were Jabbār b. Ṣakhr b. Umayya b. Khansā', brother of Banū Salama, and Zayd b. Thābit, may God be pleased with them both.

The commander who had authority over valuation of the date-palms of Khaybar was ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. He did this for two years. Following his death, may God be pleased with him, at the battle of Mu'ta, Jabbār b. Ṣakhr, may God be pleased with him, took over his work.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Mālik, from ʿAbd al-Majīd b. Suhayl, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī and Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed a man in command of Khaybar who brought him some dates that were *janīb*, "of very high quality". The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, "Are all the dates of Khaybar like this?" He replied, "No, I swear by God, Messenger of God! We take a *saʿ* weight of this (dates of high quality) for two *saʿ* or three *saʿ* (of lesser quality)." He told him, "No, don't do that. Sell the lesser quality dates for cash and then with that cash buy the *janīb* dates."

Al-Bukhāri stated that al-Darāwardī said, quoting ʿAbd al-Majīd, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, that Abū Saʿīd and Abū Hurayra both related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent a brother of Banū ʿAdī of the *anṣār* to Khaybar and appointed him in charge of it. And the same is related on a different line of transmission from ʿAbd al-Majīd, from Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Samān, from Abū Saʿīd and Abū Hurayra.

I note as follows. The properties of Khaybar gained by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims and all of Fadak, constituted a large part of the territory of Khaybar. They (the Jewish inhabitants) had emerged and made peace with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) because of their great fear of him. To all this were added the acquisitions mentioned above from Banū al-Naḍīr where the Muslims similarly had no need to use force.

These were the personal property of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). From them he would subtract the yearly expenses of his family and then treat the remainder as belonging to God. He would use it to pay for the mounts, weapons

71. According to Ibn Isḥāq, when the inhabitants of Fadak heard of the conquest of Khaybar, they sent emissaries to the Prophet (ṢAAS), offering a treaty of peace under which they would remain there and keep half their produce.

and other needs of the Muslims. When he died, Fāṭima and his wives – or most of them – believed that these properties would be inherited from him. They had not been informed of a statement that has been established to have been made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as follows, "We prophets do not leave inheritance; what we leave becomes *ṣadaqa*, a public charity."

When Fāṭima and the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS), along with al-ʿAbbās, sought their share of this and asked (Abū Bakr), the Trusting, to pay it to them, he related to them what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, namely, "We do not leave inheritance; what we leave becomes a *ṣadaqa*." He told them, "I will provide for those whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cared for; I swear by God, the relatives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) are dearer to me than my own."

He spoke the truth, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure! In that he was faithful, well-guided and adhering to the truth.

Al-ʿAbbās requested, as did ʿAlī on behalf of Fāṭima, since they had failed to receive an inheritance, that they should have access to that charitable fund and use it for those expenses that the Prophet (ṢAAS) used to meet. But Abū Bakr refused that, considering it his duty to proceed as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done, and not to deviate from his path and practices.

Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her, was annoyed with him about this and experienced some anger. Yet this was not appropriate for her. She and all the Muslims well knew his position and standing with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his role in assisting him both during his life and after his death. May God reward him well, on behalf of his prophet, Islam and his people.

Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her, died six months thereafter. ʿAlī then renewed his oath of allegiance. During the Caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, they asked him to give control of this *ṣadaqa* to ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās. They pressured him through a group of the Companions. And ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him, agreed to this. He did so because of the multiplicity of his duties, the extensiveness of his domain and the great spread of his subjects.

ʿAlī gained advantage over his uncle al-ʿAbbās in this matter. Then they accompanied each other and quarrelled in front of ʿUmar. And they brought along a group of the Companions to him and asked him to divide up the assets between them in such a way that each would be independent of the other. But ʿUmar resisted this strongly, fearing that such a division would be similar to the division through inheritance. He said, "Look after it together. And if you can't, then turn it over to me. By Him at whose command the heavens and earth stand, I'll never reach any other decision about this!" The property continued to be managed in this way, by their descendants, into the ʿAbbāside era, the expenditures continuing to be made as they had been by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). (This is what became of) the assets of Banū al-Naḍīr, from Fadak and the share of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from Khaybar.

DIVISION.

The slaves and the women who were there at Khaybar were awarded portions of the booty, but no actual shares in the assets gained.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal related to him, quoting Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal, from Muḥammad b. Zayd, (who said), "ʿUmayr, freed-man of Abū al-Laḥm, said, 'I was present at Khaybar with my masters. They talked about me to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he ordered that I be awarded a sword. I was just about to draw it when he was informed that I was a *mamlūk*, a slave. He then ordered I be given something (suitable) I would enjoy.'"

Both al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī related this, from Qutayba, from Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, 'good and authentic'." Ibn Māja related it from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, from Wakīʿ, from Hishām b. Saʿd, from Muḥammad b. Zayd b. al-Muhājir, from Munqidh, from ʿUmayr.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "There were women who were present at Khaybar with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He awarded them part of the booty, but he did not allot them shares.

"Sulaymān b. Suḥaym related to me, from Umayya, daughter of Abū al-Ṣalt, from a woman of Banū Ghifār, whose name was given me. She said, 'I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with some women of Banū Ghifār. We asked him, "Messenger of God, we would like to go forth with you," – he was then on his way to Khaybar – "to take care of the wounded and give whatever help we can to the Muslims." He replied, "May God bless you."'

"She went on, 'So we left with him. I was a young girl then and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed me on his mount behind himself, on a bag of provisions. When he dismounted to perform the *al-subḥ* prayer, I got down from the bag. On it I saw blood of mine; this was my first period. I hurried back to the camel, feeling embarrassed. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw I was upset and noticed the blood, he asked, "What is wrong? You probably menstruated." "Yes," I answered. He then said, "Cleanse yourself and then take a vessel of water, put some salt in it and use it to wash the blood off the bag. Then go back to your seat."'

"She went on, 'When God conquered Khaybar, he awarded us some of the booty. He took this necklace you see around my neck and gave it to me, himself putting it on me. By God, I will never be parted from it.' It was around her neck until she died and she left instructions that it be buried with her.

"She never cleansed herself after her menstruation without putting salt in the water. And she left instructions that it be put in the water to be used to wash her when she died."

Imām Aḥmad and Abū Dā'ūd related this similarly, from the *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Our teacher, Sheikh Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī stated in his notes, "Al-Wāqidī related it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Sabra, from Sulaymān b. Suḥaym, from Umm

ʿAlī, daughter of Abū al-Ḥakam, from Umayya, daughter of Abū al-Ṣalt, from the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan b. Mūsā related to us, quoting Rāfiʿ b. Salama al-Ashjaʿī (who said), "Ḥashraj b. Ziyād related to me, from his grandmother, his father's mother, who said, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the expedition to Khaybar, I being the youngest of six women. When news reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) that there were women accompanying him, he summoned us. We could see from his face that he was angry. He asked us, "Why have you come, and who gave you permission?" We replied, "We have come to hand out the arrows and to pour the *sawīq*;[72] we have with us medication for wounds and we can spin hair and use it for God's cause." "You may proceed," he told us.'

"She went on, 'When God conquered Khaybar for him, he drew arrows (to determine shares) for us, just as he did for the men.' I then asked her, 'Grandmother, what was allotted to you then?' 'Dates,' she replied."

I comment that all he gave them was the produce. He certainly did not give to them shares in the land, as he did to the men. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "In my book, (it states) from the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh, that ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī informed him, as follows, 'Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Jahm related to us, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faraj, quoting al-Wāqidī, (who said) "ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mūsā b. Jubayr, from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Anīs, who said, 'I went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Khaybar, and my wife, who was pregnant, accompanied me. On the way she had a discharge of blood. I reported this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he told me, "Soak some dates for her and when it all turns liquid, tell her to drink it." She did so and saw nothing to alarm her. When we had conquered Khaybar, he gave to the women, but did not allot them shares. He gave both to my wife and to my child who was born.'"'" ʿAbd al-Salām added, "I don't know whether it was a boy or a girl."

An Account of the arrival to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was encamped at Khaybar, of Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, and those who had remained in Abyssinia.

These were Muslims who had emigrated there, along with those from the people of Yemen who had joined them.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlā', quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Burda, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, "We learned of the departure of the Prophet (ṢAAS) while we were in Yemen and so we left as *muhājirīn* to join him. I was accompanied by my brothers, myself being the youngest. One was called Abū

72. A drink made of wheat or barley.

Burda, the other Abū Ruhm. We were among a number" (or the narrator may have given the figure 53, or 52) "of men of my people.

"We rode aboard a boat that took us to the Negus in Abyssinia. There we met up with Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib, with whom we stayed before all coming on together. We arrived at the Prophet (ṢAAS) after he had conquered Khaybar. Some people there said to us – meaning those who had travelled by boat – 'We joined in the hijra before you did!'

"Asmā', daughter of 'Umays – she having come with us, went in to visit Ḥafṣa, the wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), she, Asmā', having been one of those who had emigrated to the Negus. 'Umar then came in to Ḥafṣa while Asmā' was with her and when he saw the latter, he asked, 'And who is this?' 'Asmā', daughter of 'Umays,' she replied. 'Umar then said, 'Is this the "Abyssinian" and the "sailor"?' 'Yes,' Asmā' replied. He then commented, 'Well, we emigrated before you did. And so we have now more right to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than you do!' She became angry and replied, 'That's not so, by God! All the time you were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he was feeding your hungry and instructing your ignorant, while we were in the *dār*, the domain, of the *bu'adā'* and the *bughaḍā'*[73] in Abyssinia! And we were there serving God and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I swear by God, I'll not eat nor drink again before I tell the Prophet (ṢAAS) what you said, and I'll ask him. And I'll not lie or distort or add anything to it!'"

"When the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived, she said to him, 'Prophet of God, 'Umar said so-and-such' 'And what did you reply?' he enquired. 'I replied so-and-such,' she told him. He then said, 'No one has greater right to me than you do. He and his associates had one hijra, but you boat people had two!'

"She later said, 'I then saw Abū Mūsā and the boat people stream in to me, asking about this conversation. And nothing in the world could have more pleased and impressed them than what the Prophet (ṢAAS) had said about them.'

"Abū Burda narrated, 'Asmā' commented, "When I saw Abū Mūsā, he asked me to repeat this *ḥadīth*."'

"Abū Burda said, quoting Abū Mūsā, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "I well know the voices of the '*ash'arī* people', the reciters of the Qur'ān, when they go home at night. And I know their houses from their voices merely reciting the Qur'ān at night, even without seeing their dwellings during the day. One of them is Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, who, when he meets the enemy" – or he could have said, "cavalry" – "would say to them (the enemy), 'My companions order you to wait for them.'"'"

Muslim related this similarly from Abū Kurayb and 'Abd Allāh b. Barrād, from Abū Usāma.

Then al-Bukhārī stated that Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth, quoting Burayd (b. 'Abd Allāh) from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, "We came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) after Khaybar had been conquered.

73. That is, "those who are far away" and "those who are hateful". Obviously, the Arabic words have similar patterns and sound almost similar.

He did give us a share (of the booty), though he gave none to anyone who had not been present at the victory except for us."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this; Muslim did not. Abū Dāʾūd and al-Tirmidhī did relate it, authenticating it from a *ḥadīth* of Burayd.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus to request him for those of his Companions who had remained in Abyssinia. They arrived in the company of Jaʿfar, after the Prophet (ṢAAS) had conquered Khaybar.

He went on, "Sufyān b. ʿUyayna related, from al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Shaʿbī, that Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day when he conquered Khaybar. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kissed him between his eyes and hugged him, saying, 'I don't know which makes me happier – the conquest of Khaybar, or the arrival of Jaʿfar!'"

Sufyān al-Thawrī related it thus from al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Shaʿbī, only as *mursal*, with an incomplete chain of transmission.

Al-Bayhaqī recorded a line of transmission through Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn al-ʿArzamī, from al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Shaʿbī, from Jābir, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came back from Khaybar, Jaʿfar arrived from Abyssinia. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kissed him on the forehead when he met him, saying, 'By God, I don't know what makes me happier – the conquest of Khaybar or the arrival of Jaʿfar!'"

Al-Bayhaqi then stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to us, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. Abū Ismāʿīl al-ʿAlawī, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bayrūtī, quoting Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abū Ṭayba (who said), 'Makkī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ruʿaynī related to me, quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "When Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib arrived from Abyssinia, he was met by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When Jaʿfar saw him, he *ḥajala*, he hopped on one leg, to show his respect for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter then kissed him between his eyes."'"

Al-Bayhaqī then commented, "In the chain of authorities back to al-Thawrī there are persons not known."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Those Meccans who remained behind with Jaʿfar until they joined him at Khaybar were 16 men."

Ibn Isḥāq then listed their names and those of their wives. They were: "Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib al-Hāshimī and his wife Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmays, and his son ʿAbd Allāh, who was born in Abyssinia, Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams and his wife Amīna, daughter of Khalaf b. Asʿad, and his children, Saʿīd and ʿAmma, both born in Abyssinia, his brother ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and Muʿayqīb b. Abū Fāṭima, a member of the Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ family.

"Then there were Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays, ally of ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, Aswad b. Nawfal b. Khuwaylid b. Asad al-Asadī, Jahm b. Qays b. ʿAbd Shurahbīl al-ʿAbdarī, whose wife, Umm Ḥarmala, daughter of ʿAbd al-Aswad,

had died in Abyssinia; his son 'Amr and daughter Khuzayma died along with her, may God have mercy on them all. Then there were 'Āmir b. Abū Waqqāṣ al-Zuhrī, 'Utba b. Mas'ūd, an ally of theirs from Hudhayl, al-Ḥārith b. Khālid b. Ṣakhr al-Taymī, whose wife Rayṭa, daughter of al-Ḥārith, had died there, may God have mercy upon her, 'Uthmān b. Rabī'a b. Ahbān al-Jumaḥī, Muḥmiyya b. Juz' al-Zabīdī, ally of Banū Sahm, Ma'mar b. 'Abd Allāh b. Naḍla al-'Adawī, Abū Ḥatīb b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams, Mālik b. Rabī'a b. Qays b. 'Abd Shams, both from Banū 'Āmir. Along with this Mālik was his wife 'Amra, daughter of al-Sa'dī. Then there was al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Shams b. Laqīṭ al-Fihrī."

Ibn Isḥāq did not mention those others of Banū Ash'ar who were with Abū Mūsā and his two brothers Abū Burda and Abū Ruhm, and his paternal uncle Abū 'Āmir; in fact of the Ash'ar he referred only to Abū Mūsā, not even venturing to mention his two brothers, who were older than him, as is stated in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

It is as though Ibn Isḥāq, may God have mercy upon him, had not seen the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mūsā regarding this. But God knows best.

He went on, "In the two boats with them there were also women who had been the wives of the Muslims who had died in Abyssinia. What he did record here was substantial and good.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān (who said), "I heard al-Zuhrī say, when Ismā'īl b. Umayya asked him a question, "'Anbasa b. Sa'īd informed me that Abū Hurayra came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and made a request of him – that is, he asked him for a share in the booty. At this a man from Banū Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ said, "No, don't give it to him." Abū Hurayra commented (to the Prophet (ṢAAS)), "This is the murderer of Ibn Qawqal." The man replied: "That's a strange comment to come from a weasel who has come down from Qadūm al-Ḍa'n!"'"[74]

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this *ḥadīth*; Muslim does not.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that it was related from al-Zubaydī that al-Zuhrī said, "'Anbasa b. Sa'īd informed me that he heard Abū Hurayra informing Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ as follows: 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Abān (b. Sa'īd) on an expedition from Medina towards Najd.'

"Abū Hurayra stated, 'And Abān and his companions came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) at Khaybar after he had conquered it; the girdles of their horses were made of palm-fibre rope.'

"Abū Hurayra said, 'So I said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "Messenger of God, don't give them a share!" Abān exclaimed, "You're just a weasel that's come down from atop a *ḍa'l*,[75] a lotus tree!" At this the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Abān, sit down!" And he did not give them a share.'"

74. Qadūm al-Ḍa'n is the name of a mountain in the territory of Banū Daws, Abū Hurayra's tribe.

75. It will be noticed that in this *ḥadīth* the word for the name of the mountain has been changed to a word meaning a lotus tree.

Abū Dāʾūd gave a line of transmission for this *ḥadīth* from Saʿīd b. Manṣūr, from Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh, from Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Zubaydī with similar wording.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd (who said), "My grandfather, Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ informed me that Abān b. Saʿīd came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and greeted him. Abū Hurayra then said, 'Messenger of God, this is the murderer of Ibn Qawqal!' Abān retorted to Abū Hurayra, 'How strange! For you, a weasel coming down from Qadūm Daʾn to complain about me for the death of a man whom God honoured with martyrdom at my hand, a man whom God prevented from overcoming me!'"

He is alone in giving this *ḥadīth* in this position. In his section on *al-jihād*, warfare, after the *ḥadīth* of al-Humaydī, from Sufyān, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAnbasa b. Saʿīd, from Abū Hurayra, he said, "I came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was at Khaybar, after having conquered it. I said to him, 'Messenger of God, grant me a share!' Some of the family of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ said, 'Don't give him a share!' I then said, 'Messenger of God, this fellow is the murderer of Ibn Qawqal!'" From this point, the *ḥadīth* is the same as above.

Sufyān stated, "Al-Saʿīdī (by whom he meant ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd) related it to me, from his grandfather, from Abū Hurayra."

In this *ḥadīth* there is the statement of Abū Hurayra that he was not present at Khaybar, as was asserted in the prior accounts of this engagement. Imām Aḥmad related this through ʿArak b. Mālik, from Abū Hurayra and that he arrived to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after he had conquered Khaybar and stated, "He addressed the Muslims and they gave us a part of their shares."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Rawḥ related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from ʿAlī b. Zayd, from ʿAmmār b. Abū ʿAmmār, who said, 'I was never present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at any distribution of booty without him giving me a share, except at Khaybar; it was specifically for those who had been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya.'"

I note that Abū Hurayra and Abū Mūsa both arrived between al-Ḥudaybiyya and Khaybar.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Muʾāwiya b. ʿAmr, quoting Abū Isḥāq, from Mālik b. Anas (who said), 'Thawr related to me, quoting Sālim, the freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭīʿ, who said that he heard Abū Hurayra say, "When we conquered Khaybar, we did not gain any booty of gold or silver. We did take camels, cattle, personal possessions and properties. We then departed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for Wādī al-Qurā. With him was a slave of his called Midʿam, who had been presented to him by some of Banū al-Ḍabīb. While he was mounting the saddle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a stray arrow came in and struck him. People then said, 'Lucky for him; paradise!' But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Definitely not; by Him in Whose hands is my soul, the cloak he took at

Khaybar that the divider of the booty never received will light the fires (of hell) for him!'

"'"A man then approached, after having heard that from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), carrying one or two sandal straps and said, 'This is something I captured.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'A sandal strap or two of hellfire!'"'"

An Account of the poisoned sheep and the clear proof and evidence therein.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿUrwa narrated this from ʿĀ'isha, from the Prophet (ṢAAS). He then stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to us, quoting al-Layth (who said), Saʿīd related to me, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'When Khaybar was conquered for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a poisoned sheep was presented to him.'"

Thus he gave it here in abbreviated form.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Layth, from Saʿīd b. Abū Saʿīd, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'When Khaybar was conquered, a poisoned sheep was presented to the Prophet (ṢAAS). The latter then ordered, "Assemble for me the Jews who were here." They were brought and the Prophet (ṢAAS) asked them, "I am about to ask you something. Will you respond truthfully about it?" "Yes, we will, Abū Qāsim," they replied.

"'He then asked them, "Who is your father?" They replied, "Our father is so-and-so." He then said, "You lie; your father is so-and-so!" They responded, "You correctly speak the truth." He then asked, "Are you truthful about something if you are asked about it?" They replied, "Yes, Abū Qāsim! If we were to lie, you would know of it just as you did about our father." He then asked, "Who are those in hell?" They replied, "We will be there for a short while, then you will remain there after us." He responded, "By God, we'll never be there after you." He then asked them, "Will you be truthful about something if I ask you?" "Yes indeed, Abū al-Qāsim," they replied. He went on, "Did you put poison in this sheep?" "Yes," they replied. "What made you do that?" he asked. "We wanted to be rid of you if you were a liar; and if you were a prophet, it would not have harmed you."'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in his section on *al-jizya*, the poll-tax on non-Muslims, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf. He also gave it in the section on *al-maghāzī*, the military expeditions, from Qutayba, both of these quoting al-Layth. Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Saʿīd b. Sulaymān, quoting ʿAbbād b. al-ʿAwwām, from Sufyān b. Ḥusayn, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, and Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū Hurayra, that a Jewish woman presented a poisoned sheep to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He told his Companions,

'Stop! It is poisoned!' He then asked her, 'What made you do this?' She replied, 'I wanted to find out if you are a prophet. Because if so, God would make you aware of it. And if you were an impostor, I'd be ridding people of you.'" The narrator concluded, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not detain her."

Abū Dā'ūd related this from Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Saʿīd b. Sulaymān.

Al-Bayhaqī related it similarly through ʿAbd Al-Malik b. Abū Naḍra, from his father, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Shurayḥ related to us, quoting ʿAbbād, from Hilāl – he being Ibn Khabbāb – from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said) that a Jewish woman presented a poisoned sheep to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He sent for her and asked, 'What made you do that?' '*Aḥbabtu*, I wished' – 'or *araḍtu*, I wanted' – '(to establish) that if you were a prophet, then God would make you aware of it. And if you were not a prophet, people would be rid of you.'"

The narrator continued, "Whenever he experienced pain because of that (poison) he would have blood drawn. He went on, 'He made a trip on one occasion and when he had performed the pilgrimage, he experienced pain and had blood drawn.'"

Aḥmad alone gives this *ḥadīth* and its chain of transmission is good.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Hishām b. Zayd, from Anas b. Mālik (it states) that a Jewish woman brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a poisoned sheep and that he ate from it. She was then taken to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked her about this, and she replied, "I wanted to kill you!" He then commented, "God would never have given you power over me." (Or he may have said, "power over that".) People asked him, "Aren't you going to kill her?" "No," he replied.

Anas stated, "I continued thereafter to recognize its effects on the palate of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd al-Mahrī related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb (who said), "Yūnus informed me, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, 'Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh used to relate that a Jewish woman of Khaybar poisoned a roasted sheep then presented it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who took a shoulder and ate from it. A number of his Companions ate along with him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told them, 'Take your hands away!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent for the woman and asked her, 'Did you poison this sheep?' The Jewess replied, 'Who told you?' 'This in my hand told me,' he answered, referring to the shoulder of meat. She then said, 'Yes, I did.' He asked, 'What did you intend by that?' She replied, 'I told myself that if you were a prophet, it would not harm you. And if you were not a prophet, we would be rid of you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then forgave her and did not punish her. Some of his Companions who had eaten of the sheep did die. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had blood drawn from his upper back because of his having eaten

from the sheep. Abū Hind, an *anṣārī* of Banū Bayāḍa, drew the blood with the point and blade of a sword."

Abū Dā'ūd then stated that Wahb b. Baqiyya related to him, quoting Khālid, from Muḥammad b. 'Amr, from Abū Salama (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was presented by a Jewess at Khaybar with a roast lamb. The *ḥadith* proceeds as did the above from Jābir. It goes on, "Bishr b. al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr died and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for the Jewess and asked her, 'What made you do this?'" The *ḥadīth* goes on to recount much the same as did that of Jābir, but states that he then ordered her execution. This account does not refer to the matter of drawing blood.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "We related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. 'Amr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra."

He went on, "It is probable that he did not execute her initially, but did so when Bishr b. al-Barā' died."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhrī, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka'b b. Mālik, that a Jewess presented a roast sheep to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar. He asked her, "What's this?" "A gift," she replied. She was careful not to say a *ṣadaqa*, a charitable donation, for he would not then have eaten it.

(The account went on) "He ate from it, as did his Companions. But then he told them, 'Stop!' He asked the woman, 'Did you put poison in it?' 'Who told you that?' she asked. 'This bone did,' he replied, referring to a leg of it he had in his hand. 'Yes, I did,' she told him. 'Why?' he asked. 'What I wanted was that if you were an impostor, we would be rid of you. And if you were a prophet, it would not harm you.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had blood drawn from his upper back and ordered his Companions to do the same. Some of them died."

Al-Zuhrī stated, "She then accepted Islam and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left her alone."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*. Perhaps 'Abd al-Raḥmān conveyed it from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, may God be pleased with him."

Ibn Lahī'a reported from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa, as did Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from al-Zuhrī, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Khaybar, killing some of its inhabitants, the Jewess Zaynab, daughter of al-Ḥārith, who was the niece of Marḥab, presented to Ṣafiyya some roast mutton that she had poisoned. She included plenty of shoulder and leg because she had learned that these were the parts of a sheep most liked by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to Ṣafiyya accompanied by Bishr b. al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr, of Banū Salama. She offered him the roast mutton and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took some shoulder and bit from it. Bishr took a bone and bit from it. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) swallowed his morsel, Bishr b. al-Barā' swallowed what was in his mouth. The Messenger of

God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Take away your hands! The shoulder of this sheep tells me that my death will be announced because of it!' Bishr b. al-Barāʾ then said, 'By Him who honoured you, I found that too in the piece I ate! The only thing that prevented me from voicing it was that I respected you too much to want to make you dislike your food! And when you swallowed what you had in your mouth, I could not allow myself to protect my life to the exclusion of you. I had hoped you would not have swallowed it, for in it is my death too.' And before Bishr could get up, his colour turned ashen and his pains were such that he could not move before he died."

Al-Zuhrī quoted Jābir as saying, "That day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had blood drawn. It was a freed-man of Banū Bayāḍa who drew it using a sword point and blade. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lived on for three more years until he suffered the pain from which he died. He said, 'I have continued to have pains often because of that piece of mutton I ate at Khaybar right on up to now, when my aorta is splitting."[76]

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died a martyr."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) felt secure, Zaynab, daughter of al-Ḥārith, wife of Sallām b. Mishkam, presented him with a roasted sheep. She had enquired what part of that meat the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) preferred, and had been told that it was the shoulder. She put a great deal of poison in the shoulder, as well as in the rest of the sheep, and brought it to him. When she placed it before him, he took the shoulder section and bit from it but did not swallow it. With him was Bishr b. al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr. He had taken some of it just as had the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done, but Bishr had swallowed his. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spat it out and said, 'This bone tells me it is poisoned!'

"He then summoned her and she confessed. He asked her, 'What brought you to do this?' She replied, 'You well know what you did to my people! So I told myself, "If he is an impostor, I'll be rid of him. And if he is a prophet, he will be told of it."'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) let her go, but Bishr died of the piece he had eaten."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Marwān b. ʿUthmān b. Abū Saʿīd b. al-Muʿallī related to me as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said during that illness from which he died, when the sister of Bishr b. al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr went in to see him, "Umm Bishr, now is the time when my *abhur*, my aorta, is severing from that piece of food I ate in the company of your brother, at Khaybar."'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "The *abhur* is the artery attached to the heart."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Muslims consider that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died a martyr as well as having been honoured by God with prophethood."

76. That is, "when my death is imminent".

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, "Hilāl b. Bishr and Sulaymān b. Yūsuf al-Harrānī related to us as follows: 'Abū Ghiyāth b. Ḥamad related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Naḍra, from his father, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī, that a Jewess presented a roasted sheep to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When people put out their hands (to eat it) he called out, "Stop! One of its limbs is telling me that it is poisoned!" He summoned the woman and asked her, "Did you poison your food?" "Yes," she replied. "Why did you do that?" he asked her. She replied, "If you were an impostor, I would be ridding the people of you; and if you were truthful, then God would tell you of it."

"'He then stretched forth his hand, saying, "Eat, *bismi Allāhi*, 'in the name of God'."'"

The narrator continued, "So we did eat, invoking God's name, and it did not harm any one of us."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār then added, "This is only related from ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Abū Naḍra, on this one line of transmission."

I note that there are very strange and offensive aspects to this *ḥadīth*. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidī stated that ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn, before he accepted Islam, saw visions in his sleep while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was besieging Khaybar. These visions inspired in him a desire to battle against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and to conquer him. When he did go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Khaybar, he found he had already taken it. So ʿUyayna said, "Muḥammad, give me some of the booty you have taken from my allies" – meaning the people of Khaybar. But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), told him, "Your visions lied!" And he then told ʿUyayna what he had seen in his dream.

(The account went on) "ʿUyayna then went home and was met by al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf, who said, 'Did I not say you were putting your loyalty in the wrong place? By God, Muḥammad will triumph over all between East and West! Jews used to inform me of this. I swear, I heard Abū Rāfiʿ Sallām b. Abū Ḥuqayq say, "We envy Muḥammad for the prophethood, since it has now left Aaron's people. He has been sent, though Jews will not obey me in this. We will suffer two massacres from him – one at Yathrib, the other at Khaybar."'"

Al-Ḥārith went on, "So I asked Sallām, 'Will he govern the earth?' 'Yes,' he replied, 'he will, by the Torah that was revealed to Moses, but I don't want Jews to be told of what I said of him.'"

Division.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When he had finished with Khaybar, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for Wādī al-Qurā. He besieged its inhabitants for some days and then returned to Medina."

He then went on to relate the story of Midʿam and how he was struck and killed by a stray arrow. (He told) how people then said, "Lucky for him: paradise!" The

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had responded, "Definitely not; by Him in whose hands is my soul, the cloak he took at Khaybar that the distributor of the booty did not receive will light fires (of hell) for him!"

It has been earlier related in similar form as in the account of Ibn Isḥāq from the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī. But God knows best.

An account of his battle at Wādī al-Qurā will follow.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd related to him, from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabbān, from Abū ʿUmra, from Zayd b. Khālid al-Juhanī, that one of the bravest of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at Khaybar. When this was related to the Prophet (ṢAAS) he said, "Pray for your comrade!" The faces of those present showed their surprise at his saying this and he went on, "Your comrade strayed from God's path." (The account states) "So we searched his belongings and discovered one of those Jewish shell necklaces not worth more than a couple of dirhams!"

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī related this similarly from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān. Abū Dāʾūd, Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal and Ibn Māja also related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth b. Saʿd, all three attributing it to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī.

Al-Bayhaqī related that Banū Fazāra wanted to do battle against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on his way back from Khaybar and assembled for this purpose. He then sent a messenger to them suggesting a specific site for the battle. Having ascertained this, they fled as fast as they could, moving far outside his path.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded further and when Ṣafiyya was free of her period he consummated his marriage with her at a place called Sudd al-Ṣahbāʾ, on his route to Medina. He served *ḥays* for a wedding feast and stayed there with her for three nights. She accepted Islam and he freed her and married her. He gave her freedom as her dowry. She was one of the *ummahāt al-muʾminīn*, 'mothers of the believers' as his Companions understood when he placed a veil over her when she rode behind him on the same mount. May God be pleased with her.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related in his biography of the Prophet (ṢAAS) as follows, "When he married Ṣafiyya at Khaybar – on the way back – the woman who combed her hair and prepared her for him was Umm Sulaym, daughter of Milḥān, the mother of Anas b. Mālik. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spent the night with her in a pavilion of his, while Abū Ayyūb kept watch over him, wearing his sword, patrolling around the tent until morning. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him there, he asked him, 'What is wrong, Abū Ayyūb?' He replied, 'I was afraid for you from this woman. She is a woman whose father, husband and people you have killed. And until recently she was a disbeliever. So I feared for you from her.' They say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'O God, preserve Abū Ayyūb, just as he spent the night watching over me.'"

He went on, "Al-Zuhrī related to me, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, how they had overslept past the morning prayer on their way back from Khaybar. He told how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was the first of them to wake up and that he then asked, 'What have you done to us, Bilāl!' He replied, 'Messenger of God,

He who took my soul was He who took yours too!' 'You speak the truth,' he agreed. He then rode his camel a little way off and dismounted, performed the ablution and the prayer as he had done previously."

Mālik related it similarly from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd, but *mursal*, incomplete in its line of transmission. And this too is *mursal*, from this line as given.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb (who said), "Yūnus informed me, from Ibn Shihāb, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra (who said), the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having finished with Khaybar, travelled on by night until we reached al-Karī, and there he had his wedding. He told Bilāl, 'Keep awake for us tonight.' But Bilāl's eyes closed in sleep as he rested against his baggage and neither the Prophet (ṢAAS) nor he, nor any of the others woke up before the sun struck them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was the first to wake up. In alarm he called out Bilāl's name. Bilāl replied, 'By my father and mother, Messenger of God, He who took my soul away also took yours!'

"They rode their camels off a little way and then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the ablution. He gave orders to Bilāl who announced the prayer, and then he led the morning prayer for them. When he had finished it, he said, 'One who forgets a prayer should perform it when he remembers. For God Almighty says, "Perform the prayer for remembrance (of Me)"'" (*sūrat Ṭā Hā*; XX, v.14).

Yūnus stated, "Ibn Shihāb used to recite it (the *ḥadīth*) like that."

Muslim related it the same from Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb. Therein is stated that this was on their return from Khaybar.

In the *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Jāmiʿ b. Shaddād, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū ʿAlqama, from Ibn Masʿūd, it is stated that occurred on their return from al-Ḥudaybiyya. In one report from him (it states) that it was Bilāl who kept awake for them. And there is a report from him (Bilāl) that it was he who used to keep awake for them.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "It is likely that this happened twice."

He went on, "And in a *ḥadīth* of ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn and Abū Qatāda (there is reference to) their sleeping through the prayer. Also in it is the reference to the water vessel. It is likely that this makes reference to one of the two occasions in question, or it might be a third."

He went on, "Al-Wāqidī related in a *ḥadīth* of Abū Qatāda that that happened on their way back from the expedition against Tabūk. He stated, 'Zāfir b. Sulaymān narrated, from Shuʿba, from Jāmiʿ b. Shaddād, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Ibn Masʿūd, that that occurred on their way back from Tabūk. But God knows best.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then proceeded to relate what the author of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection reported concerning the anecdote of ʿAwf al-Aʿrābī, from Abū Rajā', from ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn. It tells of their having slept through the prayer and that there was a woman who owned two water skins from which sufficient water was drawn to quench the entire army without diminishing the water in them.

He then recounted what Muslim related from the *ḥadīth* of Thābit al-Bunānī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ribāḥ, from Abū Qatāda. It is a long *ḥadīth* and tells of their sleeping through the prayer and of the great quantity of water taken from that water vessel. ʿAbd al-Razzāq related this from Maʿmar, from Qatāda.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, from ʿĀṣim , from Abū ʿUthmān, from Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, about the expedition of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) against Khaybar. Abū Mūsā stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved out towards Khaybar and when his men looked down into a valley, they raised their voices in a shout of *'Allāhu Akbar! Lā Ilāha illā Allāh*! God is most Great! There is no god but God!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'Restrain yourselves! You are not calling out to someone deaf or far away; you are addressing One who is All-Hearing and near at hand; He is with you!'

"I was directly behind the mount of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he heard me as I said, '*Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi Allāh*, "There is no strength nor power except with God".' He said, 'Abd Allāh b. Qays.' I responded, 'At your service, Messenger of God.' He then said, 'Should I not direct you to a phrase from the treasures of paradise?' 'Yes, please do, Messenger of God, may my father and mother be your ransom!' He went on, '*Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi Allāh*.'"

The other authorities relate this too, along various lines of transmission, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mull, father of ʿUthmān al-Nahdī, from Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.

What is correct is that this incident refers to their return from Khaybar. Abū Mūsā only arrived after the conquest of Khaybar, as is related above.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so I have been informed, after he had conquered Khaybar, gave to Ibn Luqaym al-ʿAbsī its chickens and livestock. On the conquest of Khaybar, Ibn Luqaym spoke the following verses,

'Naṭāt was attacked by the Prophet with a well-armed
and very powerful squadron;
It was certain for shame when it was divided up and
the warriors of Aslam and Ghifār were there in its
midst.
They attacked Banū ʿAmr b. Zurʿa early in the morning,
and al-Shiqq's inhabitants had a grim day.
They made its cocks run in its open spaces, and left
only chickens squawking in the trees.
Each fort had someone from Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal or Banū
al-Najjār working with their horses.
And there were *muhījirīs*, their badges showing above
their helmets, not considering flight.
I knew that Muḥammad would triumph and would certainly
stay there for many months of Ṣafar.

Jews there opened their eyelids in the warfare that day
beneath the dust.'"

DIVISION.

An Account of those of the Companions who were martyred at Khaybar, may God be pleased with them, according to what Ibn Isḥāq b. Yasār, may God have mercy on him, and other authorities on the military engagements reported.

Of the best of the *muhājirīn* were Rabī'a b. Aktham b. Sakhbara al-Asadī, freed-man of Banū Umayya, and Thaqīf b. 'Amr and Rifā'a b. Masrūḥ, allies of Banū Umayya, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Hubayb b. Uhayb b. Suḥaym b. Ghīra of Banū Sa'd b. Layth, ally of Banū Asad, and their nephew. Of the *anṣār*, there were Bishr b. al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr, who ate from the poisoned sheep in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as is told above, and Fuḍayl b. al-Nu'mān, both these men being of Banū Salam. Then there were Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Qays b. Khālid b. 'Āmir b. Zurayq al-Zarqī, Maḥmūd b. Maslama al-Ashhalī, Abū Ḍayyāḥ Ḥāritha b. Thābit b. al-Nu'mān al-'Amrī, al-Ḥārith b. Ḥāṭib, 'Urwa b. Murra b. Surāqa, Aws b. al-Fā'id, Unayf b. Ḥabīb, Thābit b. Athila, Ṭalḥa, 'Umāra b. 'Uqba, killed by an arrow, 'Āmir b. al-Akwa', and then Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa'; he was struck in his knee by the edge of his sword and it killed him, as is told above; may God be pleased with him. Then there was al-Aswad, the shepherd. Ibn Isḥāq is alone in telling here the story of the last-mentioned. We already related it early on in the account of the expedition. And to God belong all praise and credit.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "According to Ibn Shihāb, those of Banū Zahra who were martyred were Mas'ūd b. Rabī'a, an ally of theirs from al-Qāra. And of the *anṣār* of Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf there was Aws b. Qatāda, may God be pleased with them all."

THE INCIDENT INVOLVING AL-ḤAJJĀJ B. 'ILĀṬ AL-BAHZĪ, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When Khaybar had been conquered, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) talked with al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilaṭ al-Sulamī, of the sub-tribe of Bahz, who asked him, 'Messenger of God, in Mecca I own money in the possession of my wife Umm Shayba, daughter of Abū Ṭalḥa (she had earlier borne him his son Mu'riḍ b. al-Ḥajjāj) and I also have other funds held by various merchants there. Please allow me to go there.' He did so. Al-Ḥajjāj then said, 'Messenger of God, I'll be forced to speak lies.' 'Do so,' he told him.

"Al-Ḥajjāj stated, 'I travelled to Mecca and at the pass al-Bayḍā' there were men of Quraysh listening for news and asking about the activities of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They had heard that he had gone to Khaybar, which they knew to be the chief village of Ḥijāz, productive, well-fortified and well populated. They were seeking information from travellers.

"'When they saw me, they said, "It's al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿIlāṭ." (They did not know of my acceptance of Islam.) "He'll have news, by God. Tell us, Abū Muḥammad. We have learned that *al-Qāṭiʿ*, 'the breaker of family ties', has gone off to Khaybar, a town of Jews and the 'farm of the Ḥijāz'." I replied, "I heard that too; and I have news that will please you." They crowded at both sides of my camel asking, "Well, what is it, Ḥajjāj!" I replied, "He has been badly defeated, such as you could never imagine. Very many of his men have been killed and Muḥammad has been taken captive. And they (the Jews) have said, 'We'll not kill him; instead, we'll send him in to Mecca where they can kill him among themselves in revenge for those of their men he killed.'" (Hearing this) the Quraysh men went off into Mecca shouting, "News has arrived! You need only wait and Muḥammad will be brought in to be killed among you!"'

"Al-Ḥajjāj went on, 'I asked them, "Please help me collect the money I own and is owed me in Mecca; I want to go to Khaybar and acquire the spoils from Muḥammad and his men before some other merchants precede me there." And they did, gathering my assets faster than I had ever heard before. I then went to my wife and said, "I want my money," (I had left money there with her), "for I want to go to Khaybar to seize opportunities to buy before other merchants precede me there."

"'When al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib[77] heard the news and about myself, he came and stood beside me in the tent of a merchant. He asked, "Ḥajjāj, what news is this you bring?" I replied, "Could you keep safe what I might entrust with you?" "Yes," he answered. "Then wait", I told him, "till I can meet you alone; I'm collecting my funds, as you can see; please leave me until I finish." When I had finished getting together everything I had in Mecca and was ready to leave, I met al-ʿAbbās and said, "Abū al-Faḍl, keep private what I tell you for three days, because I fear pursuit. After that, say whatever you like." "I agree," he said. I then told him, "I left your nephew the bridegroom of their king's daughter" – meaning Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy – "after he had conquered Khaybar and had taken away all it contained for himself and his men." "What are you saying, Ḥajjāj?" he asked. "It's true, by God," I assured him, "but keep it confidential about me. I have accepted Islam and only came for my money fearing it might be seized. When three days have elapsed, you can tell what you know as ever you want."

"'On the third day, al-ʿAbbās dressed in a fine robe, put on perfume, took his walking stick and went out to the *kaʿba*, which he perambulated. When people

77. An uncle of the Prophet (ṢAAS); he had remained in Mecca throughout the conflict between the Muslims and Quraysh.

saw him, they said, "Abū al-Faḍl, this must imply, by God, that you are remaining steadfast in the face of some great misfortune!" "Not at all, by God, by Whom you swear oaths. Muḥammad has conquered Khaybar and has married their king's daughter after seizing all their possessions, which now belong to him and his men." "Who brought you this news?" they asked. "The same man who brought news to you! He came to you as a Muslim, took his money and has gone off to join Muḥammad and his men!" "O servants of God," they exclaimed, "God's enemy has escaped! If we had known this he would have had trouble with us!" Soon after, news came to them confirming this.'"

It is thus that Ibn Isḥāq related this story, without a full chain of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad substantiated it by saying, "'Abd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Ma'mar (who said), 'I heard Thābit relating from Anas, as follows, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Khaybar, al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāṭ asked him, 'Messenger of God, I have funds and family in Mecca. I would like to bring them. Would I be excused if I maligned you or told lies?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him to say whatever he liked. So he went to his wife after his arrival there and said, 'Gather up for me what you have; I want to purchase the booty from Muḥammad and his men. They have been captured and their possessions seized.'

"'"This news spread throughout Mecca. The Muslims were defeated and the polytheists expressed their jubilation. When the news reached al-'Abbās, he was devastated; he could scarcely stand up."'

"Ma'mar stated, 'Uthmān al-Khazrajī informed me, from Miqsam, who said, "He (al-'Abbās) picked up a son of his named Qutham stretched out on the ground and placed him on his chest, reciting the following verse,

> 'My darling Qutham, who has such a nice little nose,
> A child of affluence, despite what is claimed.'"'

"Thābit stated, from Anas, 'He then sent a young slave of his to Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāt with the message, "Woe on you for what you brought! What is it you are saying? What God promised is better than what you brought!" Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāṭ responded, "Give my greetings to Abū al-Faḍl and ask him to let me come to him in one of his houses. I have news that will please him." The slave went back home and when he got there called out, "Rejoice, Abū al-Faḍl!" Al-'Abbās jumped with joy and kissed him on the forehead. When the slave told him what Ḥajjāj had said, al-'Abbās gave him his freedom.

"'Then al-Ḥajjāj came to him and told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had conquered Khaybar and had captured their possessions, which had been apportioned. He recounted how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had chosen Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy, for himself and offered her a choice between having her freedom and marrying him, or joining her family; she had chosen for him to free her and to be his wife. Al-Ḥajjāj went on, "But I've just come for my

funds that are here and I want to take it. I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for permission to come and he gave it to me, telling me to say whatever I liked. *So keep this private for three days then tell whatever you want.*"

"'So his wife gathered all his funds, jewellery and others of his possessions she had with her, gave them to him and he moved on with it. Three days later al-ʿAbbās came to al-Ḥajjāj's wife and said, "What happened to your husband?" She related to him that he had left on such-and-such a day. She told him, "May God not sadden you, Abū al-Faḍl. The news you received did upset us." He replied, "Indeed not; God does not sadden me and, praise be to God, nothing has happened to displease me. God has conquered Khaybar for His messenger and its properties have been allotted already. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has chosen Ṣafiyya for himself. If you care for your husband, you should join him." "By God, am I to think you're telling me the truth?" she asked. "Indeed I am and the situation is as I have told you," he assured her.

"'Al-ʿAbbās then went to an assembly of Quraysh. As he went by them, they called out, "May nothing but good befall you, Abū al-Faḍl." He replied, "Nothing but good has, praise be to God! Al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿIlāṭ related to me that God has conquered Khaybar for His messenger. Its properties have been allotted, and he has chosen Ṣafiyya for himself. He asked me to keep this confidential for three days. He came back only to collect his money and possessions here, and then he left."'

"God now reverted to the polytheists that depression that had been upon the Muslims. Having previously taken sadly to their homes, the Muslims now came forth and went to al-ʿAbbās and he told them all he knew. They were delighted, their depression, anger and sadness now transferring to the polytheists."

The chain of authorities for this *ḥadīth* meets the criteria of both the great authorities. Yet only al-Nasāʾī of all six authors of the great collections of *aḥādīth* included it. He quoted Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, and his *ḥadīth* is similar.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it through Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq. He also related it through Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān, from Zayd b. al-Mubārak, from Muḥammad b. Thawr, from Maʿmar in similar form.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba similarly stated in his work on the military engagements that much betting and wagering now arose among Quraysh. Some people said, "Muḥammad and his men will prevail." Others said, "The two allies and the Jews of Khaybar will prevail." Al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿIlāṭ al-Sulamī, from the sub-tribe of al-Bahz had accepted Islam and witnessed, along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the conquest of Khaybar. His wife was Umm Shayba, sister of ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. Al-Ḥajjāj had much money; he owned mines in Banū Salīm territory. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prevailed over Khaybar, al-Ḥajjāj asked permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to go to Mecca to gather together his funds. He gave permission; the *ḥadīth* proceeds hereafter as above. But God knows best.

Al-Suhayli, may God be pleased with him, stated, "On the reason for al-Ḥajjāj accepting Islam we narrated a strange story concerning the *jinn*, 'the spirits'. He was the father of Naṣr b. Ḥajjāj, who was banished by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, from Medina because he had seduced some of the city's young women. Al-Farīʿa, daughter of Ḥammām, mother of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, spoke the following line about him,

'Indeed not; no way to wine for me to drink, and no way
to Naṣr b. Ḥajjāj.'

"When he went to Syria, he fell in love with the wife of Abū al-Aswad al-Sulamī, and wasted away for love of her. He was known as al-Ḍinnī, 'he who wasted away'. He died from this."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Among the poetry composed about the expedition to Khaybar are the verses by Ḥassān b. Thābit,

'Those of Khaybar fought only badly for the farms and
date-palms they had accumulated.
They disliked death and so their possessions became
booty; they acted like blameworthy cowards.
Would they flee death? The death of those who starve
is not pretty.'"

Kaʿb b. Mālik said, according to what Ibn Hishām related from Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī,

"We descended on Khaybar and its wells, the veins of
our heroes' hands standing out,
Men brave in fierce battle, not lacking strength,
daring in every encounter.
Many are the ashes beneath their pots each winter,
men who strike with Yemeni swords made of Indian
steel,
Considering death a reward from God if they achieve
martyrdom; they hope for it, considering it a success
for Aḥmad.
Protecting and guarding Muḥammad's honour, protecting
him with tongue and hand,
Helping him in every matter that concerns him,
generously offering their lives for that of Muḥammad,
Believing sincerely in news of the unknown world,
seeking honour and success in the future thereby."

Section: On the passage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) past Wādī al-Qurā and his besieging the Jews and how they made peace with him, as related by al-Wāqidī.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz related to me, from al-Zuhrī,

from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Khaybar to Wādī al-Qurā. Rifāʿa b. Zayd b. Wahb al-Judhamī had presented a black slave named Midʿam to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It was he who would set the saddle upon the mount of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When we made a halt at Wādī al-Qurā we came up against some Jews, and some bedouin also approached it. While Midʿam was setting the saddle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in position – some Jews having already greeted us with arrow shots when we dismounted and we were therefore not ready packed and loaded, they being above us in their fortresses shouting – a stray arrow came in and struck and killed Midʿam. People said, "Lucky for him: paradise!" But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Definitely not, by Him in whose hands is my soul. The cloak he took at Khaybar from the spoils that the distributor of the booty did not receive will light fires (of hell) for him!" When people heard this, a man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with one or two sandal straps. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, "A sandal strap or two of hell-fire!"'"

This story is in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from the *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from Thawr b. Yazīd, from Abū al-Ghayth, from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), in similar form.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) equipped his men for battle and arranged them in lines. He gave his banner to Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, a flag to al-Ḥabāb b. al-Mundhir, another to Sahl b. Ḥanīf and another flag to ʿIbād b. Bishr. He then called the enemy to Islam and told them that if they did they would win their possessions and spare their blood and that God would reward them.

"One of the enemy then came out to challenge for single combat and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām went out against him and killed him. Then another made the challenge and ʿAlī went out against him and killed him. This went on till 11 of them had been killed; each time one of them was killed, the rest were invited to accept Islam.

"When prayer times came that day, he would pray with his Companions then return and call upon them to accept Islam and to come to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, and His messenger. He went on fighting them till evening. Early next morning he attacked them again and the sun had not risen more than the length of a spear before they surrendered. He conquered it by force and so God gave them their possessions as booty; they won large quantities of furnishings and various goods.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained at Wādī al-Qurā for four days. He divided up what he had taken among his men, leaving the land and palm trees in the hands of the Jews, putting them in charge of it. When news reached the Jews of Taymāʾ how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had defeated Khaybar, Fadak and Wādī al-Qurā, they made peace with him, agreeing to pay the *jizya*, the poll-tax. They kept their possessions.

"Although ʿUmar had later evicted the Jews from Khaybar and Fadak, he did not force out the people of Taymāʾ and Wādī al-Qurā, because the latter extended into the land of Syria; he considered that what was between Wādī al-Qurā and Medina to be part of Ḥijāz, areas beyond any part of Syria.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left to return to Medina, having now finished with Khaybar and Wādī al-Qurā and God, Almighty and Glorious is He, having given him much booty."

Al-Wāqidī went on, "Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad related to me, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ṣaʿṣaʿa, from al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb, from Umm ʿImāra, who said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Jurf saying, "Do not make your way to the women after the *ṣalāt al-ʿashāʾ*, the late evening prayer." One man from the quarter did make his way to his family, but found what he did not like. But he left her free and did not himself leave her. He was reluctant to give up his wife by separating from her. He had children by her and loved her. So by disobeying the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he had seen what he did not like.'"

DIVISION.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that when Khaybar was conquered, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed the Jews in charge of it in return for a half of its dates and other produce.

In some phrases of this *ḥadīth* it is implied that he was removing it from their ownership, while in others it is stated , "The Prophet (ṢAAS) stated to them, 'We will keep you in them for as long as we wish.'"

In the *Sunan* works it is stated that he would send ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa to appraise it for them when he came to take the harvest, holding them responsible for it. When ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa was killed at Muʾta, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Jabbār b. Ṣakhr to do this, as is told above. The place citing these phrases and discussion of their provenance is in the section on temporary sharecropping contracts in the work *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*, if God so wills it, and in Him is our trust.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "I asked Ibn Shihāb how it was that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had given the Jews of Khaybar their palm-groves. He informed me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Khaybar by force and after fighting. Khaybar was part of what God bestowed upon him as war booty; he divided its proceeds into fifths, distributing it among the Muslims. After the fighting, some of its inhabitants came out to leave and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for them to approach and told them, 'If you wish, I will make over these properties to you on condition that you work them; their proceeds will be divided between us. I will let you stay for as long as God lets you stay.'

"They accepted and worked the land in accord with this agreement. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to send ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa to divide up the proceeds, treating them fairly in the appraisal.

"When God took to Himself His Prophet (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr affirmed Khaybar in their control on the same basis as that which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had maintained before he died. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb reconfirmed them in this from the beginning of his rule. But then ʿUmar learned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said during that illness during which God took hold of him, 'Two religions shall not be together in the Arabian peninsula!' ʿUmar examined this issue closely until he became utterly convinced of its authenticity, at which point he sent a message to the Jews saying, 'God has granted me permission to evict you. I have learned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Two religions shall not be together in the Arabian peninsula." Anyone with a contract with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) should bring it to me and I will enforce it. Those without such contracts should prepare to leave.' And ʿUmar did evict those who had no contracts with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

I comment that the Jews of Khaybar in latter-day times, after 300 (years) claim to have in their possession a document from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in which it states that he exempted them from paying the *jizya*, the poll-tax.

Some scholars have been so deluded by this document as to advocate exempting them from the *jizya*, this being Sheikh Abū ʿAlī b. Khayrūn, of the Shāfiʿī school. The document is spurious and fake, devoid of authenticity; I have demonstrated its foolishness from many viewpoints in a separate book.

A number of colleagues have referred to it and to its foolishness in their writings, such as Ibn al-Ṣibāgh, in his work *Masāʾil* and Sheikh Abū Ḥāmid in his commentary. Ibn al-Maslama devoted a separate section to refer to and to refute it. Now, 700 years later, they are all excited about this and have brought out a book with a copy not mentioned by the early authorities. I have examined it and found it to be fake. It contains testimony of Saʿd b. Muʿādh, though he had died before the date of Khaybar. It also gives the testimony of Muʾāwiya b. Abū Sufyān, though he had not yet accepted Islam. At its end it states, "And ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib wrote it." This is incorrect, a mistake. It refers to the *jizya*, too, even though this had not yet been legislated. This tax was first introduced and taken from the people of Najrān. They are said to have arrived at the end of 9 AH. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Nāfiʿ, freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar related to me, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'I, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad went out to inspect our properties at Khaybar. When we arrived there, we separated and went to our properties. During the night, while I slept on my bed, an attack was made on me and my wrists were dislocated. When I cried out for my companions, they came and asked me who had done this. I told them I did not know. They administered to my hands and then took me to ʿUmar, who declared, "This is the work of the Jews of Khaybar!"

"'He then stood up before the people to make a speech and said, "People, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had an agreement with the Jews of Khaybar that we

should evict them if we wished. They have attacked ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and dislocated his hands, as you have learned, having attacked one of the *anṣār* before him. We have no doubt that it was they who did it; we have no enemies here besides them. Those who have property at Khaybar should proceed to them; I am going to evict the Jews." And he did evict them.'"

I note that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had a share of the booty at Khaybar. He left it as a *waqf*, a charitable endowment, in God's cause, stipulating that it be managed in accord with the instruction set by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), recorded in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. He directed that it be managed by the most righteous of his male and female descendants.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated (in a heading) in his work *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*), "A summary of the chapters on the military expeditions which are mentioned as having occurred after the conquest of Khaybar and before the *ʿumrat al-qaḍā'*, even though the date of some of these is not considered clear by the scholars of the military chronicles."

THE EXPEDITION OF ABŪ BAKR AL-ṢIDDĪQ TO BANŪ FAZĀRA.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Bahz related to him, quoting ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, quoting Iyās b. Salama (who said), "My father related to me, saying, 'We went forth with Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having given him command over us. We attacked Banū Fazāra, and when we arrived near the well, Abū Bakr gave us orders and we dismounted to rest for the night. When we had performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer, Abū Bakr ordered us to attack. We killed at the well those who passed before us.'

"Salama went on, 'I then looked over at the mass of the enemy which included children and women moving towards the mountain while I pursued them. I was concerned that they would get to the mountain ahead of me, so I cast an arrow which fell between them and the mountain. I then led them back to Abū Bakr whom I reached at the well. Among the enemy there was a woman of Fazāra wearing a worn-out leather garment. With her she had her daughter, an unusually attractive Arab girl. Abū Bakr presented her daughter to me. I did not sleep with her before we reached Medina, then again I went to bed without sleeping with her. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met me in the market and asked me, 'Salama, give the woman to me!" I replied, "By God, Messenger of God, she attracts me greatly but I've not slept with her." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent and left me. Next day he met me in the market and said, "Salama, give the woman to me!" I replied, "By God, Messenger of God, she attracts me greatly, but I've not slept with her!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent and left me. Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met me in the market and said, "Salama, give the woman to me, may God preserve your father!" I replied, "I swear by God, Messenger of God, I've not slept with her, but she is yours." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent her to the people of

Mecca who had in their hands some Muslim prisoners. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ransomed them with this woman.'"

Muslim and al-Bayhaqī related this from a *ḥadīth* of ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār.

THE EXPEDITION OF ʿUMAR B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM, TO TURBA, IN HAWĀZIN TERRITORY, FOUR MILES BEYOND MECCA.

Then al-Bayhaqī related, through al-Wāqidī with the lines of tradition given by him, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, along with 30 riders and a guide of Banū Hilāl. They travelled by night and kept concealed by day. When they reached the enemy territory, they fled and so ʿUmar returned to Medina. He was asked, "Would you like to do battle with Khathʿam?" He replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me only to battle Hawāzin in their lands."

THE EXPEDITION OF ʿABD ALLĀH B. RAWĀḤA TO YUSAYR B. RIZĀM, THE JEW.

He then related, through Ibrāhīm b. Lahīʿa, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, and through Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from al-Zuhrī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa with 30 riders – inclusive of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥā – to Yusayr b. Rizām, the Jew, whom they reached at Khaybar. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had heard that he was joining with Ghaṭafān to attack him along with them. When they (the Muslims) met with him, they told him, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has sent us to you to place you in charge of Khaybar." They stayed with him until he eventually followed them with 30 men, each of whom had a co-rider from the Muslims. When they all reached Qarqara Niyār, a place some 6 miles from Khaybar, Yusayr b. Riẓām regretted what he had agreed and reached for the sword of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. The latter was aware of this and first held back his mount, then rushed ahead, leading the others. When he could overcome Yusayr, he struck his leg, cutting it off. Yusayr then charged ahead, wielding a cudgel of fir wood and with it struck at the face of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, hitting him on top of his head. Each of the Muslims then turned upon his co-rider and killed him. (All were killed) except one Jew whom they were unable to catch. None of the Muslims were killed; and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spat upon the wound of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. The wound did not fester and it did not hurt him for as long as he lived.

ANOTHER EXPEDITION WITH BASHĪR B. SAʿD.

A *ḥadīth* is related through al-Wāqidī, with its chain of transmission, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Bashīr b. Saʿd with 30 riders to Banū Murra, in

Fadak territory. He drove off their camels and they did battle with him. The Jews killed all the men with him; Bashīr displayed great courage that day and fought most fiercely. Eventually he took refuge in Fadak, spending the night with a Jew there. After that he made his way back to Medina.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent forth Ghālib b. ʿAbd Allāh against them, along with a group of his chief Companions." He then mentioned Usāma b. Zayd, Abū Masʿūd al-Badrī, and Kaʿb b. ʿUjra.

Thereafter al-Wāqidī went on to relate how Usāma b. Zayd killed Mirdās b. Nuhayk, an ally of Banū Murra. He told how, when he held his sword over him, Mirdās spoke the words, *Lā Ilāha illā Allāh*! "There is no god but God!" and that those with him criticized Usāma since the man had gone on saying this until he had brought his sword down. Al-Wāqidī said that Usāma later regretted what he had done.

Yūnus b. Bukayr related this story from Ibn Isḥāq, from a sheikh of Banū Salama, from men of his tribe, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Ghālib b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kalbī to the territory of Banū Murra. He captured Mirdās b. Nuhayk, an ally of theirs from al-Ḥurqa, and Usāma killed him.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Usāma b. Muḥammad b. Usāma related to me from his father, from his grandfather Usāma b. Zayd, who said, 'I and one of the *anṣār* captured him' (meaning Mirdās b. Nuhayk). 'And when we drew our swords over him, he said, "I testify that *lā Ilāha illā Allāh*!" But we did not put down our swords and killed him. When we went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and related this to him, he asked, "Usāma who will be for you (regarding such a case where it has been testified) that *lā Ilāhā illā Allāh* 'there is no god but God'?" I replied, "But Messenger of God, he only said it to avoid being killed." He repeated, "Usāma, who will be for you (regarding such a case where it has been testified that) *lā Iāha illā allāh*?" And, I swear, he kept on repeating this to me until I wished I had not previously been a Muslim, that I had only become one that day and that I had not killed him. So I told him, "Messenger of God, I give my word that I will never kill any man who says, '*lā Ilāha illā Allāh*'." He then asked me, "And what about after me?" "And after you (your death) too," I replied.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym b. Bashīr related, quoting Ḥuṣayn, from Abū Ẓubyān, who said, "I heard Usāma b. Zayd relate as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out to al-Ḥurqa of Juhayna. We attacked them in the morning. One of their men fought extremely well against us, and when they retreated, it was he who defended their rear. I and an *anṣārī* overcame him and as we did so, he said, "*lā Ilāha illā Allāh*". The *anṣārī* stood back from him, but I killed him. News of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he asked, "Usāma, did you kill him after he said, '*lā Ilāha illā Allāh*'?" I replied, "But Messenger of God, he only said that to avoid death." But he kept on asking me the same until I wished I had only become a Muslim that day.'"

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave this account from a *ḥadīth* of Hushaym in similar terms.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba related to me, from Muslim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Juhanī, from Jundub b. Makīth al-Juhanī, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Ghālib b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kalbī, Kalb of Layth, to Banū al-Mulawwaḥ at al-Kadīd with orders to attack them. I was with his expedition and we went out as far as al-Qudayd, where al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. al-Barṣāʾ al-Laythī met us and we took him prisoner. He said, "I came out only to accept Islam." Ghālib b. ʿAbd Allāh told him, "If you were on your way to accept Islam, then it won't hurt you to be tied up for a day and a night. And if you really had some other purpose, then we'll have you secured."

"'So he tied him up and left him under the charge of a young black man we had with us, whom he told, "Stay with him until we come back for you; if he gives you trouble, cut off his head!" So we went on to the al-Kadīd valley, where we made a halt in the early evening and my companions sent me on towards al-Kadīd. I made my way to a hill that would allow me to overlook the village. I stretched out on the ground. It was before sunset. One of their men came outside and saw me stretched out on the hill. He told his wife, "I can see something dark on this hill that I did not notice earlier in the day. Look and see whether the dogs have dragged out some of your utensils." She did look, then said, "I swear, I'm not missing anything." The man then said, "Hand me my bow and two arrows from my quiver." She did so and he shot an arrow at me that struck me in the side' (or he may have said, 'on my forehead'). 'I pulled it out and put it aside, without moving. He then shot the other arrow at me, piercing the top of my shoulder. I withdrew it too and put it aside without moving. The man then told his wife, "I'm sure my arrows would have hurt him; if he were a scout, he would have moved. In the morning, go out and retrieve my arrows; I don't want the dogs to chew them up."'"

He went on, "We left them alone until their herd had been milked and were lying down quietly and a part of the night had passed. We then launched an attack upon them. We killed some and drove off their herd, heading away with them. Their shouts soon aroused others of them nearby. We raced off, eventually passing by al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. al-Barqāʾ and his companion. We continued on, with him accompanying us, until we heard the shouts of our pursuers who were too numerous for us to tackle. Soon all that separated us from them was the Qudyd valley. Then God sent down a flood of water from wherever He wished; we had not previously seen any rain, nor conditions for it. It came down so hard tht no one could withstand it. I saw the enemy force standing there staring at us, unable to get at us, while we drove off their animals" – or "led them off" (al-Nufaylī was uncertain). "We hurried away with them until we reached the track; when we had proceeded down it, they were unable to retrieve what we had taken."

Abū Dāʾūd related it from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq; in his account the narrator's name is given as ʿAbd Allāh b. Ghālib, whereas the correct name is Ghālib b. ʿAbd Allāh, as above.

Al-Wāqidī gave this story with a different line of authorities and in his version it was stated that he was accompanied by 130 men.

Al-Bayhaqī at this point narrated, through al-Wāqidi, the expedition of Bashīr b. Sa'd also in the vicinity of Khaybar. They encountered a large force of Arabs and seized much livestock. His dispatch on this expedition had been at the suggestion of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, may God be pleased with both. With him there were 300 Muslims, along with their guide Ḥusayl b. Nawbara; it was he who had been the guide of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Khaybar. Al-Wāqidī stated this.

THE EXPEDITION OF ABŪ ḤADRAD TO AL-GHĀBA.

Yūnus stated, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, "It was Ja'far b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aslam who related to me the story of Abū Ḥadrad to al-Ghāba. He quoted Abū Ḥadrad as saying, 'I arranged marriage with a woman of my tribe, promising her a dowry of two hundred dirhams. So I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to seek his help in my wedding. He asked me, "How much dowry did you promise her?" "Two hundred dirhams," I told him. He exclaimed, "Goodness gracious, I swear by God, if you were just picking up the money from a valley floor, you couldn't have given more! I swear, I don't have enough to help you." A few days later a man from Jasham b. Mu'āwiya approached; his name was Rifā'a b. Qays – or Qays b. Rifā'a. He was accompanied by a large group of Jasham men, with whom he encamped at al-Ghāba, with the intention of combining with Qays to fight against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was a man of fine birth and reputation among Jasham.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned myself and two other Muslims and said, "Go out and get some information about this man." He then gave us a decrepit old she-camel, mounting one of us on it. I swear, it was so weak it could only get up with him, when some men pushed it up from behind. It could scarcely stand up. He told us, "Make do with her."

"'So we left bearing arms consisting of swords and arrows. When we arrived at sunset close to the village, I hid on one side and told my companions to hide on another. I told them, "If you hear me crying *Allāhu Akbar*! and running to their camp, then you shout the same and follow me."

"'We remained waiting to attack them by surprise until night overcame us. The darkest part of the night passed. They had a shepherd who had gone out to graze their flock. He was late in returning and they were worried about him. Their leader, Rifā'a b. Qays eventually got up and took his sword, which he hung around his neck, saying, "By God, I'm going out to find out about our shepherd; something must have happened to him." Some of those with him said, "By God, don't you go; we'll do it for you." "No," he replied. "Only I will go. I don't want any of you to follow me."

"'He then came out and passed by me. When he was in my range, I shot an arrow at him, piercing him in the heart. I swear, he did not utter a sound!

I jumped out at him and cut off his head, then raced towards their camp, shouting *Allāhu Akbar*! My companions did the same. I swear, they fled in disorder, taking with them their women, children and those possessions they could. We drove off large numbers of their camels and livestock which we took back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I went to him carrying the man's head. He gave me 13 baggage camels from those we captured as my dowry. So I concluded my marriage.'"

THE EXPEDITION IN WHICH MUḤALLIM B. JUTHĀMA KILLED ʿĀMIR B. AL-AḌBAṬ.

Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Qusayṭ related to me, from Ibn ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad, from his father, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out against Iḍam. Our group of Muslims included Abū Qatāda al-Ḥārith b. Ribʿī and Muḥallim b. Jaththāma b. Qays. We went on until we were in the Iḍam valley. There ʿĀmir b. al-Aḍbaṭ al-Ashjaʿī passed us by; he was riding a young camel, carrying a few provisions and a vessel of yoghurt. He saluted us with the Muslim words of greeting and so we refrained from attacking him. But Muḥallim b. Jaththāma attacked and killed him because of some earlier unresolved problem and seized his camel and provisions. When we reached the Messenger of God, (ṢAAS) we told him our news and it was about us that the following verses of the Qur'ān were revealed, 'O you who believe! When you go forth in God's cause, be circumspect. Do not say to those who greet you in peace, "You're no Muslim!" and seek for worldly gain. With God there will be many rewards. That is the way you behaved previously, but God has now favoured you. Be aware that God has knowledge of what you do'" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.94).

Imām Aḥmad related this from Yaʿqūb, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Qusayṭ, from al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad, from his father.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to me, saying, 'I heard Ziyād b. Ḍumīra b. Saʿd al-Ḍamrī narrating a *ḥadīth* from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from his father and from his grandfather, both of whom said – they had both been present at Ḥunayn – "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr*, noon prayer, then went under the shade of a tree where he sat. ʿUyayna b. Badr went over to him and demanded the blood of ʿĀmir b. al-Aḍbaṭ al-Ashjaʿī, chief of (Banū) ʿĀmir. 'Would you agree to now accept 50 camels and another fifty when we return to Medina?' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked. ʿUyayna b. Badr responded, 'By God, I'll not leave him alone till his women experience the same sorrow my women have.'

"'"A man from Banū Layth named Ibn Mukayl, a short man, arose. He said, 'Messenger of God, I find nothing comparable to this death since the beginnings of Islam. All I can compare it to is the rear sheep that flee when their leader out in front is shot. Keep to the traditional ways today and bring change tomorrow!'

"'"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reiterated, 'Will you agree to accept 50 camels now and 50 when we return to Medina?' He kept on at them till they accepted the blood-wit. The family of Muḥallim b. Jaththāma now asked, 'Bring him over so that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) may forgive him.'

"'"They brought a tall, thin man dressed in a gown in which he was prepared to be executed, and he stood before the Prophet (ṢAAS), who then spoke, 'O God, do not pardon Muḥallim!' He repeated this three times. Muḥallim arose, wiping away his tears with the hem of his gown."'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "His people claim that after that he did forgive him."

Abū Dā'ūd related this similarly through Ḥammād b. Salama from Ibn Isḥāq. Ibn Māja related it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar, from Ibn Isḥāq, from Muḥammad b. Ja'far, from Zayd b. Ḍamīra, from his father and his uncle. His account contains part of the *ḥadīth*.

The correct version is as Ibn Isḥāq related, from Muḥammad b. Ja'far, from Ziyād b. Sa'd b. Ḍamīra, from his father and his grandfather. Abū Dā'ūd related it similarly through Ibn Wahb, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith, from Muḥammad b. Ja'far, from Ziyād b. Sa'd b. Ḍamīra, from his father and his grandfather approximately as above.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Sālim Abū al-Naḍr related to me that the account states, 'They did not accept the blood-wit until al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis addressed them privately, saying, "People of Qays, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked you to give up a dead man to make peace between people thereby, but you refused him this. Are you secure against the possibility that he will be angry at you, and that God will be angry at his anger? Or that he will curse you and that God will curse you because of his curse? Give him over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), or I will bring 50 men of Banū Tamīm who will all swear that the dead man was an unbeliever who never performed the prayer, and that therefore no compensation for his death should be sought." When he said this to them they accepted the blood-money.'"

This *ḥadīth* is *munqaṭi'*, "without a complete chain of transmission", and is *mu'ḍil*, "problematic".

Ibn Isḥāq related from a reliable source, from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, that when Muḥallim sat before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the latter asked him, "Did you offer him security then murder him?" and that he then cursed him.

"Al-Ḥasan said, "And I swear Muḥallim lived only seven days more thereafter before he died. The earth spat him out. Then they buried him again, but the earth again spat him out. When this happened yet again, they covered him over with stones to hide him. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, 'The earth covers over worse than him, but God wishes to warn you of what conduct is impermissible, by showing you this.'"

Ibn Jarīr said, "Wakī' related to us, quoting Jarir, from Ibn Isḥāq, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out Muḥallim

b. Juththāma on a mission. ʿĀmir b. al-Aḍbaṭ encountered them and saluted them with the Muslim greeting. But there had been a dispute between them before the coming of Islam and Muḥallim shot an arrow at him and killed him. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he spoke with ʿUyayna and al-Aqraʿ about it. Al-Aqraʿ said, "Messenger of God, keep to custom today and make changes tomorrow." ʿUyayna said to him, "No, by God, not until his women taste the same bereavement." Muḥallim approached, dressed in two outer garments, and sat before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking his forgiveness, but the latter told him, "May God not forgive you!" They related that to him and he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) said, "The earth accepts those worse than your companion, but God wished to warn you of what is impermissible to you." They then threw him down and dumped him on a mountain side, covering him with stones. And there was revealed, "O you who believe! When you go forth in God's cause, be circumspect."'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related this from al-Zuhrī. Shuʿayb related it from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb from Qubaysa b. Dhuʾyib, his story being similar to this. However, his account does not name Muḥallim b. Juththāma, nor ʿĀmir b. al-Aḍbaṭ. Al-Bayhaqī related it in a similar account from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. That account stated, "And it was about him that the words of the Almighty were revealed, 'O you who believe! When you go forth in God's cause, be circumspect.'"

I note that I have sufficiently discussed the reasons for the revelation of this verse and its import in my *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And to God belong all praise and credit.

THE EXPEDITION OF ʿABD ALLĀH B. ḤUDHĀFA AL-SAHMĪ.

It is established in both *ṣaḥiḥ* collections through al-Aʿmash, from Saʿd b. ʿUbayda, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥubalī, from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave charge of an expedition to one of the *anṣār*, telling those men he sent with him to listen well and to obey him. For some reason they angered him, so he said, 'Get some firewood!' They did so. He then said, 'Light it!' They did so. He then said, 'Enter the fire!' The men looked at one another and said, 'But the only reason we fled to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was to avoid the fire!' His anger subsided and the fire was extinguished.

"When they came back to the Prophet (ṢAAS) they related this to him and he said, 'If they had entered it, they would never have come out of it, for obedience is only in that which is good.'"

This anecdote is also firmly established in both *ṣaḥiḥ* collections, through Yaʿlā b. Musallam, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās. We have discussed this sufficiently in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And to God belong all praise and credit.

THE 'UMRAT AL-QAḌĀ', THE 'FULFILMENT PILGRIMAGE'.

It is (also) known as *al-qiṣāṣ*. Al-Suhaylī preferred this. It is otherwise called *'umrat al-qaḍiya*, "the decision pilgrimage". The first name relates to fulfilment of what was arranged at al-Ḥudaybiyya. The second name is taken from the words of the Almighty, *wa al-ḥurumātu qiṣāsun*, "Those things forbidden are subject to retaliation" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.194). The third name comes from the decision he made with them based on his retiring from them that year provided that he would return the next, and that he would enter Mecca only with his sword still sheathed and that he not stay longer than three days.

This *'umra* is the one referred to in the words of the Almighty in the sacred *sūrat al-Fatḥ*: "God will fulfil the true visions of His messenger: you will certainly enter, if God wills it, the holy mosque in safety, with your heads shaved and cut, not fearing" (*sūrat al-Fatḥ*; XLVIII, v.27). We have examined this verse sufficiently in our work, *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*).

It was this that was promised in the words of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Responding to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's question, "Did we not say that we would come to the house and would circumambulate it?" he replied, "Yes indeed; but did I tell you you would go there this year?" "No," 'Umar replied. "Well," he reiterated, "you will go there and you will circumambulate it."

It was also referred to in the verses of 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa when he entered Mecca before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the day of the *'umrat al-qaḍā'*, saying,

> "Unbelievers, clear out of his path; today we will
> fight you about its interpretation
> Just as we already fought you about its revelation."

This refers to interpretation of the vision the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to see that came to pass like the break of day.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from Khaybar to Medina, he remained there for Rabī' al-Awwal and Rabī' al-Thānī, Jumāda al-Uwlā, Jumāda al-Ākhira, Rajab, Sha'bān, Ramaḍān and Shawwāl. Meanwhile, he sent out his various expeditions.

"He then set forth on the *'umrat al-qaḍā'*, in Dhū al-Qa'da, that same month when the polytheists had previously blocked his path; this was in place of the *'umra* they had denied him."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed 'Uwayf b. al-Aḍbaṭ al-Duwalī in command of Medina. It is also called the *'umrat al-qiṣāṣ* because they blocked the way of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Dhū al-Qa'da, the holy month of 6 AH. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) retaliated against them by entering Mecca in Dhū al-Qa'da, the holy month when they had blocked him, in 7 AH. We have been informed that Ibn 'Abbās said, 'It was concerning that that God Almighty revealed the words, "Those things forbidden are subject to retaliation."'"

Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān quoted his father as saying about the *maghāzī*, the military expeditions, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from Khaybar, he remained in Medina, sending out his expeditions until Dhū al-Qaʿda arrived. He then called out to the people, 'Get ready for the *ʿumra*.' They gathered their baggage and left for Mecca."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Muslims whose way had been blocked went forth with him on that *ʿumra* of his, it being 7 AH. When the Meccans heard of this, they kept out of their way. Quraysh meanwhile told one another that Muḥammad was in great difficulty and distress.

"A reliable source related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, who said, 'They lined up at the assembly hall to look at him and those with him. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went inside the mosque, he tossed the hem of his mantle over his left shoulder, exposing his right arm and said, "May God have mercy upon a man who today demonstrates his strength to them."

"'He then saluted the *al-rukn*, the "corner", and came outside again, jogging, as did his Companions with him. He continued on until the *kaʿba* concealed him from them; he saluted the *rukn al-yaman*, the "south" or "Yemen" corner. Then he walked on and saluted the *rukn al-aswad*, the "black stone" corner.[78] He then jogged three circuits and walked the rest.' Ibn ʿAbbās used to say, 'People used to think that this (procedure) was not incumbent upon them. They thought this on the grounds that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only did this because of that tribe of Quraysh and what he had heard of them, until the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, the "farewell pilgrimage"; the *sunna*, the normative Muslim practice, continued it.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād – he being Ibn Zayd – from Ayyūb, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, the polytheists said, 'Here comes a delegation of people whom the Yathrib fevers have weakened!' And so the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered them to jog for the three courses and to walk between the two corners. All that prevented him telling them to jog throughout all the circuits was his wish to spare them (the effort)."

Abū ʿAbd Allāh stated, "Ibn Salama – meaning Ḥammād b. Salama – added, from Ayyūb, from Saʿīd, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the latter said, 'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) came (to Mecca) that year when it was safe, he said, "Jog, so that the polytheists can see your strength. The polytheists will be positioned in front of Mt. Quʿayquʿān."'"

Muslim related this from Abū al-Rabīʿ al-Zahrānī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd. Al-Bayhaqī traced the *ḥadīth* through Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, (who said) that he heard Ibn Abū Awfā say, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra*, we shielded him from the polytheist youngsters and from the polytheists themselves in case they might harm him."

78. A black spherical stone, thought to be a meteorite; it is still embedded in a corner of the *Kaʿba*.

There will come hereafter the rest of the commentary concerning that event.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca to perform that pilgrimage, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa kept hold of his camel's halter and recited,

"Unbelievers, clear out of his path; clear out, for
all good is in His messenger.
O Lord, I am a believer in his words; I know God's
truth in accepting it
We fought you about its interpretation, just as we
fought you about its revelation,
With blows that remove heads from necks and divert
friend from friend."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The words, 'We fought you about its interpretation' to the end of the lines are verses of ʿAmmār b. Yāsir relating to a different occasion – meaning the battle of Ṣiffin." Al-Suhaylī stated this.

Ibn Hishām further stated, "The proof of this is that Ibn Rawāḥa was referring only to the polytheists, who never had accepted the (fact of) revelation. And only those who accept the revelation would do battle over the interpretation."

Ibn Hishām's statement is open to dispute. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related, from a different line of transmission, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas, who said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the *ʿumrat al-qaḍā'*, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa walked in front of him; in one account he did so while he held his leather stirrup. As he walked, he spoke the lines,

'Unbelievers, clear out of his path; the al-Raḥmān,
the Most Merciful, has given revelation in revealing
it;
That the best fight is in His cause; we have fought
you over its interpretation.'"

In another version, with precisely the same chain of transmission, the words are,

"Unbelievers, clear out of his path; today we fight you
over its revelation,
With blows that will remove heads from necks and divert
friend from friend.
O Lord, I believe in what he says."

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Hishām b. Saʿd, from Zayd b. Aslam, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca the year of *al-qaḍīya*, the *ʿumra* in question, and circumambulated the *kaʿba* mounted on his camel. He saluted the *al-rukn*, "the corner (with the Black Stone)", using his staff. Regarding this, Ibn Hishām said, "He did so not due to any illness, while the Muslims were crowding around him, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa was reciting,

'In the name of Him besides whose religion there is
none, in the name of Him whose messenger is
Muḥammad,
Clear out of his path, unbelievers!'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, from al-Zuhrī as follows, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth the year following that of al-Ḥudaybiyya on the *ʿumra* pilgrimage, in Dhū al-Qaʿda of 7 AH. This was the same month that the polytheists blocked him from entry to the sacred mosque. When he reached Yaʾjij, he laid down all their weapons – leather shields, armour, spears and arrows. They then entered carrying the swords borne by mounted men. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib on ahead of himself to Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith, the al-ʿĀmirī woman, and proposed marriage to her. She appointed al-ʿAbbās in charge of her affairs; his wife, Umm al-Faḍl, daughter of al-Ḥārith, was her sister. Al-ʿAbbās then agreed to her marriage to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, he ordered his Companions, 'Uncover your shoulders, and be vigorous as you circumambulate.' This was so that the polytheists would see their skin and their strength. He outwitted them all he could. The people of Mecca, men, women, and children, gathered around him, staring at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions, as they circumambulated the *kaʿba*. Meanwhile, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa walked ahead of him, speaking verse and brandishing his sword, saying,

'Unbelievers, clear out of his path; I am a witness
that he is His messenger;
The al-Raḥmān, the Most Merciful, sent down about His
revelation, in sheets that are recited to His messenger.
Today we will fight you over its interpretation, as we
fought you over its revelation,
With blows that will remove heads from necks and divert
friend from friends.'

"Some polytheist chiefs remained away rather than look on with anger, resentment and envy towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They went off to Mt. al-Khandayna. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Mecca for three nights, at which point the period of safe access agreed upon at al-Ḥudaybiyya ended.

"When morning of the 4th day came, Suhayl b. ʿAmr and Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā arrived, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated with his Companions, conferring with Saʿd b. ʿUbāda. Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā shouted, 'We invoke God and the pact to you, because you have not left our land and the three nights are over!' Saʿd b. ʿUbāda replied, 'You lie, may you have no mother! It is not your land, nor that of your forefathers. By God, he will not

leave!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called out to Suhayl and Ḥuwayṭib, saying, 'I have arranged marriage with one of your women. It will not harm you for me to stay until I consummate the marriage with her. We can prepare food and you can eat with us.' They replied, 'We will insist on invoking God and the pact unless you leave us.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders to Abū Rāfiʿ and he announced the departure. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode off and halted in the valley of Saraf. The other Muslims had remained behind; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had entrusted Abū Rāfiʿ with bringing Maymūna. He stayed at Saraf until Maymūna arrived to him there. Maymūna had been caused great distress and been harmed by the foolish polytheists and their children. When she arrived to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Saraf, he consummated his marriage with her. Thereafter, at night, he travelled on and reached Medina.

"God decreed that Maymūna's death should occur at a later day at Saraf; she died where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had consummated marriage with her."

He then went on to relate the story of the daughter of Ḥamza and concluded by saying, "God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed concerning that *ʿumra*, the words, 'The holy month for the holy month, and the things forbidden are subject to retaliation.'" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made the pilgrimage in that same holy month in which they had blocked his path.

Ibn Lahīʿa related from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr approximately this same text, which is further substantiated by numerous witnesses in many *aḥādīth*.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī it is stated, through Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to make the *ʿumra* pilgrimage, but the Quraysh unbelievers blocked his path to the *kaʿba*. He made sacrifice and shaved his head at al-Ḥudaybiyya and made a pact with them that they would make the *ʿumra* the following year; the only arms (the Muslims) would bear would be swords and he would remain only so long as they agreed.

He did perform the *ʿumra* the following year and entered it in accord with the pact he had made. After he had been there for three days, they told him to leave, and he did so.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Nāfiʿ related to me, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'This pilgrimage was not retaliatory but accorded with the conditions placed upon the Muslims; that in exchange they would perform the *ʿumra* in that same month that the polytheists had previously blocked them.'"

Abū Dā'ūd stated, "Al-Nufaylī related to me, quoting Muḥammad b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from ʿAmr b. Maymūn (who said), 'I heard Abū Ḥāḍir al-Himyarī relate that Maymūn b. Muhrān said, "I went out to make the

ʿumra pilgrimage the year the Syrians besieged Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. Men of my tribe sent some animals with me for sacrifice.

"'When we encountered the Syrians, they prevented us from going inside the sacred area. So I sacrificed the animals where I was, performed the other pilgrimage rites and then returned home. When I went out the following year to complete the *ʿumra*, I went to see Ibn ʿAbbās and I asked him and he replied, "You should change the animals for sacrifice; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his Companions to sacrifice different animals than they had in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya on the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*."'"

Abū Dāʾūd was alone in giving this, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Ḥāḍir ʿUthmān b. Ḥāḍir al-Himyarī, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Ḥākim narrated to us, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Isḥāq, who said, 'ʿAmr b. Maymūn related to me as follows, "My father used to ask often, 'Did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) change the animals he sacrificed when the polytheists blocked him from the *kaʿba*?' He never got any information on this until I heard him ask Abū Ḥāḍir al-Himyarī about that and he told him, 'You've found an expert! I went on the pilgrimage the first year Ibn al-Zubayr was engaged in the siege. I was given some animals to sacrifice, but they (the Syrians) came between us and the *kaʿba*. So I slaughtered them in the sacred area and returned to Yemen where I told people, "I have in the Messenger of God an example!" The following year I again went on the *ʿumra*; I encountered Ibn ʿAbbās and asked him whether or not I should change the animals for sacrifice. He replied, "Yes; do change. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions did change the sacrificial animals from those they slaughtered when the polytheists blocked their path to different ones on the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*. They found camels expensive for them, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave them permission to sacrifice cattle."'"'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Ghānim b. Abū Ghānim related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dinār, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Nājiyya b. Jundab al-Aslamī in charge of the animals to be sacrificed. He would go on ahead searching for fodder among the trees, accompanied by four young men of Aslam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took out 60 head on the *ʿumrat al-qaḍiyya*.'"

Muḥammad b. Nuʿaym al-Mujammir related to me, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "I was with the man in charge of the sacrificial animals, driving them."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth reciting *Labbayka*! 'I am at Your service!' and the Muslims with him recited the same. Muḥammad b. Maslama went on with the cavalry to Marr al-Ẓahrān, where he encountered a few men of Quraysh. They asked Muḥammad b. Maslama some questions and he replied, 'This is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he will arrive at this place tomorrow morning, if God wills it.' They (the Quraysh) noticed that

Bashīr b. Sa'd had many weapons with him and so they left in a hurry and went to Quraysh whom they informed of the weapons and cavalry they had seen. Quraysh were scared by this. They told one another that they had not stirred up any trouble and they were maintaining their pact of a truce, and they wondered why the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men were attacking them.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a halt at Marr al-Ẓahrān. He sent on the weapons to the Ya'jij valley, from where they could see the stones marking the limits of the sacred territory. Quraysh sent out Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Aḥnaf with a party of Quraysh and they encountered him at the valley of Ya'jij; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there with his men having met up with the animals to be slaughtered and the weapons. The Quraysh asked, 'Muḥammad, you've never been known to break your word for any excuse, whether the issue is major or minor; are you now entering the sacred territory with your men bearing arms, even though you agreed to enter only with weapons such as travellers carry, swords in sheaths?' The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, 'I will not bring in weapons against them.' Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ commented, 'This is what you are known for – piety and trustworthiness.' He then hurried back to Mecca with his Companions.

"When Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ brought the news of the Prophet (ṢAAS), Quraysh left Mecca for the mountain heights. As they left Mecca, they told one another that they would not look at him or his Companions.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ordered the animals for slaughter to be driven ahead and they were corralled at Dhū Ṭuwā. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went on with his men; he was riding his camel at-Qaṣwā' and they kept their eyes on him, calling out *Labbayka*! 'At Your service, O Lord!' and brandishing their swords. When they arrived at Dhū Ṭuwā, he stood up on his mount al-Qaṣwā', while Ibn Rawāḥa took its reins and spoke lines of impromptu poetry, saying,

'Unbelievers, clear out of his path.'"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Abbās in which he stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men arrived in the morning of the 4th – meaning of Dhū al-Qa'da, 7 AH – and the polytheists said, 'A delegation is approaching you who have been rendered weak by the fevers of Yathrib.' So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his men to jog for the three circuits and to walk between the two corners. All that prevented him having them jog throughout all the circuits was his wish to spare them (the effort)."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabāḥ related to us, quoting Ismā'īl b. Zakariyyā', from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn 'Abbās, (who said) that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted at Marr al-Ẓahrān on his *'umra*, his men learned that Quraysh were saying, 'They'll never recover from their emaciation.' His Companions told him, 'If we were to butcher our mounts and eat their meat and sip soup made from them, we'd gain

some strength for when we go out among people tomorrow.' He replied, 'No; don't do that; gather up all the provisions you have.' They did so, spread out the scraps of food and ate until satisfied; each of them stuffed the remainder in their bags.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went out and entered the mosque, while Quraysh squatted over towards the Black Stone. He gathered up the left sleeve of his gown, then said, 'Do not let the enemy see any insufficiency in you.' He saluted the *rukn*, the corner, ran until hidden behind the south corner, then walked to the *rukn al-aswad*, the corner with the Black Stone. Quraysh commented, 'They're not satisfied with walking; they race around like gazelles!' He did this for three circuits and it became *sunna*, orthodox practice."

Abū al-Ṭufayl went on, "Ibn ʿAbbās informed me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also did this on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, 'the farewell pilgrimage'."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth* through this line.

Abū Dāʾūd stated that Abū Salama Mūsa related to him, quoting Ḥammād – meaning Ibn Salam – quoting Abū ʿĀṣim al-Ghanawī, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said, "I commented to Ibn ʿAbbās, 'So your people say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ran at the *kaʿba*, and that that practice is *sunna*, "customary orthodox practice".' He replied, 'They both spoke the truth and lied.' 'What was true and what lies?' I asked. He replied, 'They did speak the truth when they said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ran. They also lied; it is not *sunna*. At the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya, Quraysh said, "Let Muḥammad and his Companions alone until they die of worms!" Then they made a truce on the understanding that he would return the following year and stay in Mecca for three days. When he came, the polytheists went over towards Mt. Quʿayqiʿān. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his Companions, "Run three times at the *kaʿba*. But that is not *sunna*."'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Saʿīd al-Jarīrī, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Ḥusayn and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Saʿīd b. Abjar, all three of them quoting Abū Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāthila, from Ibn ʿAbbās, in much the same words.

The act of running while circumambulating is considered *sunna* by most scholars. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did run during the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*, and also at the *ʿumrat al-Jiʿrāna*, as Abū Dāʾūd and Ibn Māja related, from a ḥadīth of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who so stated.

It is clearly established in the *ḥadīth* of Jābir given by Muslim and others, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ran at the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, the "farewell pilgrimage", as he made the circumambulations. This is why ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb stated, "Why run, when God has made Islam long-lasting?" However, we should not abandon any practice performed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This is fully substantiated in my book *kitāb al-Aḥkām*.

It is very well known that Ibn ʿAbbās did not consider this practice *sunna*, as is substantiated in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna,

from 'Amr b. Dīnār, from 'Aṭā', from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) only hurried at the *ka'ba*, al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa to demonstrate his strength to the polytheists."

This is the terminology given by al-Bukhārī.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished his duties at the *'umrat al-qaḍā'*, he went inside the *ka'ba*. He remained inside until Bilāl, from atop the *ka'ba*'s roof, made the call to the *al-ẓuhr*, noon, prayer; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had given him orders to do this. 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl commented, 'God honoured Abū al-Ḥakam[79] by not having him hear this slave say what he is saying!' Ṣafwān b. Umayya said, 'Praise be to God who took away my father before he saw this!' Khālid b. Usayd agreed, 'Praise be to God who took the life of my father so that he did not witness this day when Bilāl climbs on top of the *ka'ba* and brays!' Suhayl b. 'Umar and the men with him covered their faces when they heard this."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "God honoured most of them with Islam."

I note that the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated this through al-Wāqidī to the effect that this took place on the *'umrat al-Qaḍā'*, even though it is well-known that this happened in the year of the conquest of Mecca. But God knows best.

The Story of the Marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Maymūna.

Ibn Isḥaq stated, "Abān b. Ṣāliḥ and 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to me, from 'Aṭā' and Mujāhid, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith, on that journey of his when he was *ḥarām*, in a state of ritual purity. It was al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who married him to her."

Ibn Hishām stated, "She had appointed her sister, Umm al-Faḍl, to represent her and she in turn entrusted the task to her husband al-'Abbās. It was he who married her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and gave her from him a dowry of 400 dirhams."

Al-Suhaylī reported that when the proposal of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached her, she was mounted on a camel. She said, "Both the camel and what is on it belong to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

He also stated, "It was about her that the verse was revealed, '(We have made lawful to you) a believing woman! If she gives herself to the Prophet, if the Prophet wished to marry her. This provision is only for you, apart from all the believers.'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.50).

Al-Bukhārī related on a line of transmission through Ayyūb, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while *muḥrim*, in a state of ritual conservation. When he consummated marriage with her, he was *ḥalāl*, free of the *iḥrām*. She died at Saraf. Al-Suhaylī stated and

79. That is, the speaker's father, Abū Jahl, killed at Badr.

al-Dārquṭnī related through Abū al-Aswad, the orphan of ʿUrwa, and through Maṭar al-Warrāq, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while *ḥalāl*.

He said, "And they interpreted the first version of the account from Ibn ʿAbbās – that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was *muḥrim*, 'in a ritual state', to mean that it was in the holy month. As a poet said,

> 'They killed Ibn ʿAffān, the Khalīfa, when he was
> *muḥrim* and prayed; and I never saw the like of him
> abandoned.'[80]

"That is, this occurred in the holy month."

I note that this interpretation is open to dispute, because the accounts from Ibn ʿAbbās contrary to that predominate, especially since he said, "He married her while he was *muḥrim* and consummated marriage with her when he was *ḥalāl*." This also occurred in the month of Dhū al-Qaʿda, another holy month.

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, "Al-Thawrī said to me, 'No attention should be paid to the words of the people of Medina. ʿAmr informed me, from Abū al-Shaʿthā', from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married while *muḥrim*.'"

Abū ʿAbd Allāh stated that he told ʿAbd al-Razzāq, "Sufyān related both *aḥādīth* from ʿAmr, from Abū al-Shaʿthā', from Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn Khuthaym, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'Yes; regarding the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Khaytham, he related it here' – meaning in al-Yaman. 'Regarding the *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr, he related it there' – meaning in Mecca."

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections included this tradition, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, through al-Awzā'ī, it states, "ʿAṭā' related to us, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while *muḥrim*." Saʿīd b. al-Mussayyib stated, "Ibn ʿAbbās made a mistake, even though she was his aunt; he did not marry her until after he had become *ḥalāl*."

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Isḥāq, "Baqiyya quoted Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib as having said, 'This ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while he was *muḥrim*'. And he (Sa'īd) went on to relate what he had said. He (Sa'īd) continued, 'However, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on to Mecca, both the *ḥill*[81], and the marriage were at the same time. Ibn ʿAbbās was confused about this.'"

Muslim and the *ahl al-sunan* related from lines of transmission from Yazīd b. al-Aṣamm al-ʿĀmirī, from his aunt Muymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married me while we were both *ḥalāl*, at Saraf." However, al-Tirmidhī stated, "Several authorities related this *ḥadīth*

80. This refers to the assassination of ʿUthmān; his death is said to have come while he was in prayer.

81. The state of being *ḥalāl*.

regarding the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Maymūna, from Yazīd b. al-Aṣamm *mursal*, 'with an incomplete chain of transmission'."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh informed him, quoting Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Aṣfahānī al-Zāhid, quoting Ismā'īl b. Isḥāq al-Qāḍī, quoting Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, quoting Maṭar al-Warrāq, from Rabī'a b. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Abū Rāfi', who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while he was *ḥalāl* and he consummated the marriage when he was *ḥalāl*. I was the messenger between them."

Both al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī related this, from Qutayba, from Ḥammād b. Yazīd. Al-Tirmidhī went on to state, "It is *ḥasan*, 'good'; we know of no other authority who gave its line from Ḥammād, from Maṭar." Mālik related it from Rabī'a, from Sulaymān, but as *mursal*, incomplete in its chain".

And Sulaymān b. Bilāl related it from Rabī'a, as *mursal*.

I note that her death came at Saraf in 63 AH, or, according to others, in 60 AH. May God be pleased with her.

An Account of the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Mecca after the completion of his 'umra pilgrimage.

It has been narrated above by Mūsā b. 'Uqba how Quraysh sent Ḥuwayṭib b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) four days later so that he would leave, as had been stipulated in the agreement. He offered to hold a feast for them in honour of his marriage to Maymūna, his only purpose having been to reconcile with them thereby. They refused him, telling him to leave. And he did. Ibn Isḥāq related it similarly.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to him, from Isrā'īl, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barā', who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) made the *'umra* pilgrimage in Dhū al-Qa'da. The people of Mecca refused to invite him to enter Mecca until he compacted with them that he would stay there three days. When they drew up the document, they wrote, 'This is what Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, has agreed.' They (the Meccans) commented, 'We don't agree to this. If we knew you to be God's messenger, we would not have opposed you at all. You are, however, Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allāh.' He stated, 'I am the Messenger of God, and I am Muḥammad, the son of 'Abd Allāh.' He then told 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, 'Erase the words "Messenger of God".' He replied, 'No, by God, I'll not erase you, ever!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then took the document – he could not write well – and wrote, 'This is what Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allāh, has agreed to. No weapons will enter Mecca except swords in sheaths. And he will not take away any one of its people who wishes to follow him. Also, he will not prevent any of his men from staying if they wish to do so.'

"When he did enter and the period for the stay was over, they came to ʿAlī and said, 'Tell your master to leave us, since the time is over.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) therefore went to leave, but he was followed by Ḥamza's daughter calling out, 'Uncle! Uncle!' ʿAlī took her by the hand and told Fāṭima, 'Take care of your cousin.' She carried her away. ʿAlī, Zayd and Jaʿfar then began quarrelling over her. ʿAlī said, 'I should take her; she is my uncle's daughter.' Jaʿfar said, 'She's the daughter of my uncle too, and her aunt is my wife.' Zayd said, 'She's my brother's daughter.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) decided that she should go with her aunt, saying, 'An aunt has the same standing as a mother.' He then said to ʿAlī, 'You are from me, and I am from you.' To Jaʿfar, he said, 'You resemble me in appearance and character.' To Zayd, he said, 'You are our brother and our companion.' ʿAlī then asked, 'Will you not marry Ḥamza's daughter?' He replied, 'She is the daughter of my foster-brother.'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this *ḥadīth* with this line of transmission.

Al-Wāqidī narrated the story of Ḥamza's daughter. He stated, "Ibn Umm Ḥabība related to me, from Dāʾūd b. al-Ḥusayn, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that ʿUmāra, daughter of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and her mother Salmā, daughter of ʿUmays, were at Mecca.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib spoke with him, saying, 'How can we abandon the daughter of our uncle, an orphan, amidst the polytheists?' The Prophet (ṢAAS) did not forbid bringing her out, and he (ʿAlī) did so. Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the *waṣī*, the executor, of Ḥamza, now spoke up; the Prophet (ṢAAS) had made Zayd and Ḥamza brothers when he had established brotherly relationships between the emigrants (and the *anṣār*). Zayd said, 'I have the greater right to her; she is my brother's daughter.' When Jaʿfar heard that, he said, 'An aunt is (as) a mother. I have more right to her because her aunt, Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmays, is with me.' ʿAlī commented, 'Do I really see you fighting? She is my uncle's daughter and I brought her out from among the polytheists. You have no claim better than mine; I have more right to her than you do.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'I will judge between you. As for you, Zayd, you are the agent of God and of His messenger. You, Jaʿfar, are similar to me as my features and my disposition. You, Jaʿfar, have most right to her; your wife is her maternal aunt, and a woman cannot be wed along with her maternal or her paternal aunt.' And he judged that she should go to Jaʿfar."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "When he awarded her to Jaʿfar, Jaʿfar arose and skipped around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter asked, 'What's this then, Jaʿfar?' He replied, 'Messenger of God, whenever the Negus was pleased with someone, he would get up and skip around him.' Then he said to the Prophet (ṢAAS), 'You marry her.' He replied, 'She's the daughter of my foster-brother.' So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married her to Salama b. Abū Salama. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, 'Did I reward Abū Salama?'"

I note that al-Wāqidī and others report that it was because he had arranged the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to his mother, Umm Salama. This was because he was older than his brother ʿUmar b. Abū Salama.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to Medina in Dhū al-Ḥijja, and the polytheists were in charge of that pilgrimage (that year)."

Ibn Hishām stated, "It was regarding that *ʿumra*, so Abū ʿUbayda related to me, that the words of the Almighty were revealed, 'God will fulfil the true visions of His messenger: you will certainly enter, if God will it, the holy mosque in safety, with your heads shaven or shorn, not fearing. He knew what you did not know and vouchsafed for you a victory close at hand'"[82] (*sūrat al-Fatḥ*; XLVIII, v.27).

DIVISION.

Al-Bayhaqī related here the expedition of Ibn Abū al-ʿAwjāʾ al-Sulamī to Banū Sulaym.

He then traced the line of transmission from al-Wāqidī, "Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim related to me, from al-Zuhrī, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from the *ʿumrat al-qaḍiya* in Dhū al-Hijja, 7, AH. He then sent forth Ibn Abū al-ʿAwjaʾ al-Sulamī along with 50 horsemen. But the scout sent out by that tribe warned them and gave them information. They gathered a large force and so when Ibn Abū al-ʿAwjaʾ came to them, they were well prepared. When the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw their force, they invited them to accept Islam. The enemy pelted them with arrows, refusing to listen to them, saying, "We don't need what you're offering." They shot at them for a while then called up reinforcements that overlooked them (the Muslims) from all sides. The (Muslim) force fought fiercely until most of them had been killed. Ibn Abū al-ʿAwjaʾ suffered numerous wounds. He withstood his pain and returned to Medina with his remaining men, arriving there on the 1st of Ṣafar, 8 AH.'"

DIVISION.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "In the pilgrimage of that year – that is, 7 AH – the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned his daughter Zaynab to her husband Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ. We have made reference to this above. That same year Ḥāṭib b. Abū Baltaʿa arrived from having been with al-Muqawqis; with him were Māriyya, and Sīrīn. They both accepted Islam *en route*, as did a eunuch."

Al-Wāqidī went on, "That same year, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) adopted as his *minbar* a seat above two steps." He went on, "However, what we are certain is that he did this in 8 AH."

82. This is in reference to the conquest of Khaybar.

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE MOST MERCIFUL, THE MOST COMPASSIONATE. O LORD, GIVE RELIEF AND HELP THROUGH YOUR POWER AND STRENGTH! THE YEAR 8 AH. THE ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAM BY ʿAMR B. AL-ʿĀṢ, KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD AND ʿUTHMĀN B. ṬALḤA B. ABŪ ṬĀLIB, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH THEM ALL.

Their arrival occurred early in 8 AH, according to what follows.

Part of this has been referred to heretofore in the account given by Ibn Isḥāq following the execution of Abū Rāfiʿ, the Jew; this took place in 5 AH.

However, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave this information here, following his account of the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*. He narrated through al-Wāqidī, "ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar informed us, from his father (who said) that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ stated, 'I was stubbornly opposed to Islam. I was present at Badr with the polytheists and escaped. Then I was present at Uḥud and escaped. Finally I was present at al-khandaq and escaped.

"'I told myself, "What suffering! I swear by God, may Muḥammad prevail over Quraysh!" So I took my assets and moved to al-Raḥṭ. And I diminished my contacts with people. When the al-Ḥudaybiyya pact was agreed and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left in peace and Quraysh returned to Mecca, I began saying, "So Muḥammad is going to come to Mecca with his men; Mecca is no place to be in, nor is al-Ṭāʾif. The best thing to do is to leave." I was then still hostile to Islam. I think that if all Quraysh accepted Islam, I would not do so.

"'I went to Mecca and gathered together some men of my tribe who saw things as I did, repeated my views and sought my advice in matters concerning them. I asked them, "How am I in your view?" They replied, "As our adviser and our protector, a man of fine character and wise decision."'

"He went on, 'I then told them, "You well know, by God, that I consider this matter of Muḥammad as serious and reprehensible; I have reached a decision." "What is that?" they asked. "We should go and join the Negus", I told them, "and live with him. If Muḥammad prevails, we will be there with the Negus; and we would be far better off under his control than under that of Muḥammad. And if Quraysh prevail, they already know us well."

"'"This is the right decision (they responded)." I told them, "Then gather up presents for him." The gift he most appreciated from our land was leather. So we gathered much leather for him, then left and went to the Negus. While we were there, who should arrive but ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him with a document he had prepared marrying him to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān. He went in to see the Negus and then came out again. I told my companions, "That is ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī. If I had gone in to the Negus and asked him for him, and he had given him to me and I had cut off his head, then Quraysh would have been delighted and I would have been rewarded for killing Muḥammad's emissary."

"'I did go in to the Negus and bowed down before him as I was accustomed to do. He said, "Welcome to my friend! Have you brought something as a gift

for me from your country?" "Yes, O king," I told him. "I have much better leather to give to you." I then presented it to him and he was delighted. Some of it he distributed to his generals and the rest he had stored away and had a record of it written and kept.

"'When I saw he was in a good mood, I asked, "Your majesty, I just noticed a man leaving your presence. He is the messenger from an enemy of ours. He has caused us much trouble and has killed some of our leaders and best men. Please hand him over to me, so that I may kill him." He became angry at this, raised his fist and brought it down so hard on my nose that I thought he had broken it. My nostril soon flowed with blood that dripped on to my clothing. I felt so humiliated I wished the earth would open up and swallow me.

"'I eventually said, "Your majesty, if I had known you would be upset at what I said, I would not have asked you."'

"He went on, 'He then became embarrassed and said, "'Amr, how could you ask me to hand over to you for execution the messenger of the man to whom the *al-nāmūs al-akbar*, the Archangel Gabriel, comes, just as he did to Moses and to Jesus?"'

"'Amr went on, 'God then changed my attitude from the way it had been, and I asked myself, "When the Arabs and non-Arabs alike recognize this truth, how can you oppose it?" I then said to the Negus, "Your majesty, do you really testify to that?" "I so testify to God, 'Amr," he replied. "Obey me and follow him. I swear by God that he is right and that he will definitely prevail over those who oppose him, just as Moses prevailed over Pharoah and his armies."

"'I asked him, "Will you accept my allegiance to him in Islam?" "Yes," he replied. He then stretched forth his hands and accepted my allegiance. He called for someone to bring a wash basin and the blood was washed from me and he presented me with garments in which to dress. My own clothing was soaked in blood and I cast it aside. Then I went out to my companions and when they saw the garments from the Negus they were delighted. They asked, "Did you receive what you wanted from your friend?" I told them, "I was reluctant to talk about it with him on the first occasion; I told him I would come back." "We agree with that," they said.'

"'Amr went on, 'So I left them, as if I had something specific to do and made my way to where the boats were moored. I found one ship that was loaded and about to leave. I embarked with them and they sailed it away to al-Shu'ba, where I went ashore, carrying my money. I bought a camel and headed for Medina, passing by Marr al-Ẓahrān. I then went on until I reached al-Hadda, where I met two men who had preceded me there shortly before. They were looking for accommodation, one man entering a tent, while the other held their mounts. Then I saw that one of them was Khālid b. al-Walīd! I asked him, "Where are you headed?" "To Muḥammad," he replied. "The people are all joining Islam and there's no one left with any power. I swear by God, if I were to oppose, he'd have us by the neck, like a hyena's neck is caught in his cave."

"'"I swear by God," I told him, I too am headed for Muḥammad and am accepting Islam." Then ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa emerged and welcomed me. We all three lodged together.

"'We then reached an agreement and went to Medina. I'll never forget what a man said whom we met at the Abū ʿUtba well who shouted out, "*Yā rabāḥ! Yā rabāḥ! Yā rabāḥ!*"[83] We were much cheered by this and proceeded further. Then the man looked closely at us and I heard him say, "After (losing) these two, Mecca has given up the leadership!" I assumed he was referring to myself and to Khālid b. al-Walīd. He then turned and hurried off into the mosque; I assumed that he was going in to tell the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of our arrival and it was as I thought.

"'We dismounted at al-Ḥarra and dressed in our best clothes. Then the call was made for the *ʿaṣr* prayer and we went off to see him. His face was exultant, and the Muslims around him were delighted at our acceptance of Islam. Khālid b. al-Walīd went forward and gave his allegiance. Then ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa advanced and gave his. I then went forward but, I swear by God, no sooner had I sat down before him than I could not raise my gaze towards him, I felt so ashamed. I then expressed my allegiance to him, provided that I be forgiven my prior sins and that he would not bring up the past. He said, "Islam cuts off what preceded it and the *hijra* cuts off what preceded it."

"'And I swear by God, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to none of his Companions consideration equal to that he gave myself and Khālid b. al-Walīd after we had accepted Islam. We had the same status with Abū Bakr and I enjoyed the same with ʿUmar; ʿUmar was somewhat critical towards Khālid.'"

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar, al-Wāqidī's *sheikh*, teacher, stated, "I narrated this *ḥadīth* to Yazīd b. Ḥabīb, and he said, 'Rāshid, the freed-man of Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Thaqafī, quoted his master Ḥabīb as relating much the same from ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ.'"

I note that Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related it similarly, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Rāshid, from his freed-man Ḥabīb, who said, "ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in person related to me." And he then narrated the above as occurring in 5 AH, after the killing of Abū Rāfiʿ. The text of al-Wāqidī is more simple and better.

Al-Wāqidi quoted his sheikh ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd as saying, "I asked Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, 'Did he say when ʿAmr and Khālid accepted Islam?' 'No', he replied, 'except that he did say it was before the conquest of Mecca.' I then said, 'My father told me that ʿAmr, Khālid and Ṭalḥa came forward at the beginning of Ṣafar in 8 AH.'"

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim there is material testifying to the course of his acceptance of Islam, his fine companionship with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) during his life, and how he died repenting his conduct during the period of his leadership after that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with a description of his death. May God be pleased with him.

83. A cry of surprise and delight.

THE PATH BY WHICH KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD ACCEPTED ISLAM.

Al-Wāqidī stated that Yaḥyā b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām related to me, "I heard my father quote Khālid b. al-Walīd as saying, 'When God wished for good for me, he instilled Islam into my heart and gave me good sense. I then told myself, "I have witnessed how all these lands are against Muḥammad (ṢAAS); yet whatever I witness in these places makes me want to leave them, feeling that I am out of place in them and that Muḥammad will prevail."

"'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for al-Ḥudaybiyya, I went forth with some of the polytheist cavalry and encountered the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men at ʿUsfān. I positioned myself directly facing and opposing him. He and his men performed the *al-ẓuhr*, the noon prayer, before us and we thought we should attack him then, but could not make up our minds to do so; which was a very good thing! He saw what we were about to do and he and his men performed the *al-ʿaṣr*, late afternoon prayer, as a *ṣalāt al-khawf*, "prayer in fear of attack".[84] This made an impression on us and I said, "The fellow is denied us!" We moved back and he avoided our horsemen by taking the route to the right.

"'When Quraysh made peace with him at al-Ḥudaybiyya and put him off till the following year, I asked myself, "What is left? Where can I go? To the Negus? He follows Muḥammad, whose men are safe with him. Shall I go to Heraclius and abandon my faith for Christianity or Judaism? Should I go and live with foreigners, or stay at home with those who remain?"

"'While I was in this quandary, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca to perform the *ʿumrat al-qaḍiyya*. I pretended to be absent and did not witness his entry. My brother, al-Walīd b. al-Walīd, had come in with the Prophet (ṢAAS) on the *ʿumrat al-qaḍiyya* and he asked after me but could not locate me. He wrote me a letter in which he said, "In the name of God the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate. I know of nothing more strange than your antipathy for Islam, being as intelligent as you are. Could anyone disregard something like Islam? The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has asked me about you. He said, 'Where is Khālid?' I replied, 'God will bring him.' He then asked, 'Could someone like him disregard Islam? If he were to put his energy and bravery to work with the Muslims it would be better for him. We would certainly give him precedence before others.' Take note, brother, of what good things you are missing."

"'When his letter reached me, I got ready to come out and experienced a strong desire for Islam. The question the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had asked about me pleased me greatly. I dreamt of being in a constrained and barren land and emerging into one that was spacious and fertile. I told myself that this was a vision. And when I went to Medina, I decided to relate it to Abū Bakr. He said, "Your exiting to which God led you was to Islam. The constrained land where you had been was polytheism."

84. See above, pp.

"'And so when I made up my mind to come out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I wondered in whose company I would go to him. Then I met up with Ṣafwān b. Umayya and asked him, "Abū Wahb, don't you see what we are doing? We're (as useless) as molars! Muḥammad may defeat the Arabs and the non-Arabs alike. If we joined and followed Muḥammad, then honour gained by him would be honour for us all." But Safwān rejected this vigorously, saying, "If I were the very last, I'd never follow him!"

"'We parted and I told myself that this was someone whose brother and father had been killed at Badr. Then I met ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl to whom I said the same as I had to Ṣafwān b. Umayya. He responded just as Ṣafwān had done. I asked him to keep confidential what I had said, and he agreed.

"'I went off home, had my camel readied and left on it. On the way I met ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa; knowing him to be a friend, I thought I would tell him my plan. I then recalled the names of some of his elders who had been killed and I thus became reluctant to mention this to him. But I said to myself, "What does it matter to me now that I'm about to leave?" So I told him what had transpired and said, "We're like a fox in a hole that would be sure to come up if doused with buckets of water." I said to him what I had earlier told my other two friends and he responded positively at once. I told him, "I got up this morning ready to proceed forth; over there at the road, kneeling down, is my mount." We then agreed to meet at Yaʾjij. If he got there first, he would wait; if I arrived there before him, I would wait there.

"'We set off at night, before dawn, and we met at Yaʾjij. We proceeded on together to al-Hadda, where we found ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. He welcomed us warmly, as we did him. He asked us where we were headed and we asked him why he had left. He wanted to know our purpose in leaving, and we replied, "To enter Islam and follow Muḥammad (ṢAAS)." He said that that was his purpose too.

"'So we travelled on together into Medina and dismounted at the back of al-Ḥarra. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was informed of our arrival, and he was delighted with us. I dressed in my best clothes and headed for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). My brother met me and said, "Hurry along; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has been told about you, is delighted at your arrival and is awaiting you."

"'We stepped up our pace and when I looked at him I saw him smiling all the time until we stopped before him. I addressed him as "Prophet" and he returned a greeting, his face beaming. I said, "I bear witness that there is no god but God and that you are the Messenger of God." He then said, "Come here." And then he said, "Praise be to God who guided you. I considered you to have intelligence that I hoped would only lead you to good." I replied, "Messenger of God, I used to agree with those others I have seen to be stubbornly opposed to the truth; please pray to God that He will forgive me this." He replied, "Islam cuts off what preceded it." I asked, "Messenger of God, and so hence ..." He then said, "O God, forgive every action Khālid b. al-Walīd took to block God's cause."'

"Khālid went on, 'Uthmān and 'Amr then came up and expressed their allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Our arrival was in Ṣafar of 8 AH. And, I swear by God, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave precedence to none of his Companions over myself.'"

THE EXPEDITION OF SHUJĀ' B. WAHB AL-ASADĪ TO SOME MEN OF HAWĀZIN.

Al-Wāqidi stated that Ibn Abū Sabra related to him, from Isḥāq b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Farwa, from 'Umar b. al-Ḥakam, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Shujā' b. Wahb with 24 men out against a group of Hawāzin with orders to attack them. He left, travelling by night and remaining hidden by day. When he came to them, they were taken by surprise. He, Shujā', had told his men not to pursue them vigorously. They seized many camels and goats. They drove them off to Medina, where each man received 15 camels as booty."

Others maintain that they also took many captives and that the leader (Shujā') chose from them one modest girl and that their people then accepted Islam. The Prophet (ṢAAS) advised their leader to return the women to them, and he agreed. He gave a choice to the girl he had with him, and she chose to stay.

This expedition may be the one to which al-Shāfi'ī referred, quoting Mālik, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent an expedition towards Najd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar being among them. The latter said, "We captured many camels and our share of the booty was 12 camels apiece, which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) awarded us camel by camel."

This is included in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections in a *ḥadīth* from Mālik. Muslim also related it in a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, and from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allah. All of these quoted Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, in similar words.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Hanād related to him, quoting 'Abda, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent an expedition out to Najd and I took part in it. We captured many camels and our leader divided them up to each of us, camel by camel. Then we went on to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he divided up our booty between us, so that each of us acquired 12 camels, after the *khumus* (the one-fifth for the *bayt al-māl*, the treasury) had been set aside. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not include in our counts the camels our leader had given us, nor did he criticize him for what he had done. Each one of us received 13 camels, after he had made his distribution."

THE EXPEDITION OF KA'B B. 'UMAYR TO BANŪ QUḌĀ'A, IN SYRIA.

Al-Wāqidī stated that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh related to him, from al-Zuhrī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Ka'b b. 'Umayr al-Ghifārī with 15 men out as far as Dhāt Aṭlāḥ, in Syria. There they found a very large body of

men. The Muslims invited them to accept Islam, but they did not agree and showered them with arrows. When the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw this, they fought the enemy fiercely until they (the Muslims) were killed. One of their men was wounded badly and lay among the dead. In the cool of the night he managed to make his way back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was about to send out an expedition against them when news reached him that they had gone elsewhere."

THE EXPEDITION TO MUʾTA.

This is the expedition of Zayd b. Ḥāritha with approximately 3,000 men to al-Balqāʾ territory in Syria.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, following his account of the *ʿumrat al-qaḍiyya*, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina for the duration of Dhū al-Ḥijjā – the polytheists having controlled that pilgrimage – throughout al-Muḥarram, Ṣafar and both Rabīʿ al-Awwal and al-Thānī. In Jumāda al-Uwlā he sent out into Syria those who were afflicted at Muʾta.

"Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to me, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out his expedition to Muʾta in Jumāda al-Uwlā, 8 AH. He appointed as their leader Zayd b. Ḥāritha, saying, "If Zayd should be killed, then Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib will take command. If he should fall, then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa will lead."'

"The army, consisting of 3,000 men, then prepared to leave."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Rabīʿa b. ʿUthmān related to him, from ʿAmr b. al-Ḥakam, from his father, who said, "Al-Nuʿmān b. Fanḥaṣ, the Jew, came and stood with the men looking over at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he said, 'Zayd b. Ḥāritha will be commander and if Zayd should be killed, then it will be Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib. If Jaʿfar is killed, then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa will be commander. If he should be killed, then the Muslims should choose one from among themselves to appoint over them.'

"Al-Nuʿmān then said, 'Abū al-Qāsim, if you are a prophet and were to so name them, few or many in number, they would all be killed. When the prophets of Banū Isrāʾīl named a commander and then went on to name his successor if he should be killed, then they would all be killed, even if they named 100.' He told Zayd, 'Attend to your affairs. For you will never return, if Muḥammad is a prophet.'

"Zayd replied, 'I do testify that he is a prophet, a man of truth and piety; may God's peace and blessings be upon him.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When time came for their departure, the men said farewell to the commanders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa said goodbye with the rest, he wept. When people asked him why, he

replied, 'I swear by God, it's not because of my love for this life or my affection for you; I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reciting a verse from God's Book which mentions hell-fire and says, "All of you will go to it; this is determined and decreed by your Lord" (*sūrat Maryam*; XIX, v.71). And I don't know how I'll be able to escape from it after I've gone into it!'

"The Muslims then said to him, 'May God accompany you, protect you and return you all to us in safety.'

"'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa spoke the following lines,

'But I ask the All-Merciful for forgiveness, and a
large wound that bleeds profusely
Or a spear from a warrior armed with one that goes
through my intestines and my liver.
So that it will be said when people pass by my grave,
"God gave him guidance as a warrior, and he behaved
well."'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The men then were about to leave when 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa came over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), said farewell to him and recited the following verses,

'May God affirm the good He presented you, as he gave
affirmation to Moses, and a victory like they won.
I sensed the goodness in you to be a gift; and God
knows me to have fine sight.
You are the Messenger and whoever is deprived of your
gifts and sight of you has been diminished by fate.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The army then set forth and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out with them to bid them farewell. When he had said goodbye to them and turned away, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa spoke the following verse,

'May peace persist for a man to whom I have said
farewell amidst the palm trees, the best friend and
escort.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar, from al-Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakm, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbās (who said that) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched a mission out to Mu'ta, appointing Zayd as its leader. If Zayd were killed, then Ja'far was to take charge and if he were killed Ibn Rawāḥa would be in command. Ibn Rawāḥa stayed back and went into the mosque with the Prophet (ṢAAS), who saw him and asked, 'What keeps you back?' 'I wanted to attend the prayer with you,' Ibn Rawāḥa replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'To go forth (to battle) in the morning or the evening is better than the world and all in it.'"

Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʾāwiya related to him, quoting al-Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa on an expedition, and that day coincided with a Friday. His companions went on ahead, while ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa said, 'I'll stay back and perform the Friday prayer with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), then rejoin them.' When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the prayer, he saw ʿAbd Allāh and asked him, 'What prevented you leaving with your comrades?' He replied, 'I wanted to perform the Friday prayer with you, then catch them up.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Were you to spend all there is on earth you would not attain their departure.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it similarly, from Aḥmad b. Munīʿ, from Abū Muʾāwiya. He then added, "We know of this tradition only from this line."

Shuʿba observed, "Al-Ḥakam only heard five *aḥādīth* from Miqsam." He enumerated them and concluded, "And this *ḥadīth* is not one of them."

I observe that the al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt in his account is controversial. But God knows best.

The purpose of giving this *ḥadīth* is that it establishes that the leaders left for Muʾta on a Friday. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "They then proceeded and encamped at Maʿan in Syria. There news reached them that Heraclius had encamped at Maʾāb, in al-Balqāʾ territory, with a force of 100,000 *rūm*, 'Byzantines'. To them were joined another 100,000 men of Lakhm, Judhām, al-Qayn, Bahrāʾ and Balī, commanded by a man from Balī tribe and the Irāsha clan named Mālik b. Zāfila."

In an account of Yūnus, from Ibn Isḥāq, it is stated, "News reached them that Heraclius had encamped at Maʾāb with 100,000 Byzantines and 100,000 *mustʿriba*[85] Aʿabs."

It is also stated that the Byzantines numbered 200,000, along with 50,000 others. The smallest figure given is that the Byzantines numbered 100,000, while there were also 50,000 Arabs (allied to them). Al-Suhaylī related this.

(Ibn Isḥāq went on) "When this news reached the Muslims, they remained at Maʿān for two nights to discuss the matter. Some said, 'We should send a message to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and tell him of the size of our enemy force. He will then either reinforce us or give us some order we can carry out.' But ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa encouraged the troops, saying, 'Men, what you dislike is what you have come forth to seek – martyrdom! We are not fighting by means of our numbers or strength; we are combating them only with this religion with which God has honoured us. Go forth; it will only result in one of two good outcomes – either victory or martyrdom!'

"The others said, 'By God, Ibn Rawāḥa is right.' And so the army went forth.

85. The word implies persons of Arabic language but mixed ancestry. The tribes named in the passage were quasi-Christian.

"'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa spoke the following lines regarding this interruption of theirs,

'We brought our horses forward from Mt. Aja' and Mt. Far', their bellies distended with grass.
The shoes with which we shod them were of stones as smooth as leather.
They remained for two nights at Ma'ān and after their period of rest they were fully restored.
When we went ahead our horses had free rein, the veins in their nostrils pulsing hard.
I swear by my father, we will go on to Ma'āb, even though both Byzantines and Arabs are there.
We gripped their reins and they galloped ahead vigorously, their dust swirling up,
Their noise loud and the points of their helmets glinting like stars.
Many a contented woman our spears rendered divorced, women who can remarry or stay widowed.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated further, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him from Zayd b. Arqam, who said, 'I was an orphan living in the care of 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. He took me forth on that journey, riding behind him on his saddle bag. I swear that by night I heard him recite the following lines,

"Since you (my mount) have brought me near and borne my baggage for four nights' distance from the marshes,
Then you deserve pleasure and freedom from blame; and I will not return hereafter to my people.
The Muslims having come will leave me in Syria where I long to stay
And those with whom I am joined in relationship to the Most Merciful, though not my brothers, will take you back.
There I will not worry about plants sprouting, nor about palm trees whose roots need water."

"'When I heard these words from him I cried and he tapped me with his whip and said, "Why be sad, silly boy, if God grants me martyrdom and you ride home on a saddle?"'

"'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa also spoke the following line of verse on one of his journeys,

'Zayd, Zayd of the lean, fast camels, you have been led forward throughout a long night, so dismount now.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The army then advanced to the outskirts of al-Balqā'. There they were met by the Roman and Arab troops of Heraclius, at one of the villages of al-Balqā' called Mashārif. The enemy advanced and the Muslims withdrew to a village called Mu'ta. There the forces clashed. The Muslims arranged their forces to meet the enemy, putting a man of Banū ʿUdhra named Quṭba b. Qatāda in command of the right flank and an *anṣārī* named ʿUbāya b. Mālik in charge of the left flank."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Rabīʿa b. ʿUthmān related to me, from al-Maqburī, who quoted Abū Hurayra as saying, 'I was present at the Battle of Mu'ta. When the polytheists approached, we saw such equipment, weapons, horses, brocade, silk and gold as no one ever before witnessed! I was dazzled. Thābit b. Arqam said to me, "Abū Hurayra, don't you think that's a huge force?" "Yes," I replied. "But you weren't present at Badr with us. Superiority in numbers won't defeat us."'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The forces then engaged and battle commenced. Zayd b. Ḥāritha fought, bearing the banner of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until he perished amidst the enemy spears. Jaʿfar then picked it up and fought on until he was killed. Jaʿfar was the first Muslim to hamstring his mount in battle."

He continued, "Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr quoted his father ʿAbbād as saying, 'My foster-father, of Banū Murra b. ʿAwf, who was present at the Battle of Mu'ta, related to me, "I swear I can see Jaʿfar jumping off his sorrell mare, hamstringing her and fighting on until he was killed, reciting the lines,

'Hail to paradise approaching, its waters fine and cool
The punishment of the Byzantines is near, unbelievers
of doubtful descent.
It's up to me to strike them when we clash.'"'"

Abū Dā'ūd related this from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Isḥāq, but he did not quote the poetry.

Those who permit the slaughter of animals if there is concern that the enemy may make use of them make reference to this *ḥadīth*. Similarly, Abū Ḥanīfa states, concerning *al-aghnām*, sheep or goats, that if they cannot keep up with the pace and it is feared that the enemy will capture and use them, they may be slaughtered and burned to prevent this. But God knows best.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "No one criticizes Jaʿfar for this. This action is permissible unless (the animals) are safe from seizure by the enemy. This has nothing to do with the prohibition of killing animals for amusement."

Ibn Hishām stated, "A reliable source, a scholar, related to me that Jaʿfar took the banner in his right hand which was cut off. He then took it in his left hand, and it was cut off. He then hugged it to himself with his upper arms until he was killed. He was 33 years of age. God rewarded him for his valour by giving him two wings in heaven with which he could fly wherever he wished.

It is said that one of the Byzantines gave him a blow that day that cut him in two."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, quoting his father ʿAbbād, as follows, 'My foster-father, a man of Banū Murra b. ʿAwf, related to me, saying, "When Jaʿfar was killed, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took up the banner and advanced with it, on his horse. Then he began to waver and to hesitate somewhat and so he spoke the following verses,

'I swear, my soul, that you will indeed do battle or be
forced to do battle
Even though the men are shouting and screaming; why is
it I see you hating paradise?
For long you have been at ease; are you anything but a
drop of liquid inside a skin bag?'

"'"He also said,

'My soul, even if you're not killed you'll die any way;
this is the fate of death you are exposed to.
What you hoped for has been given to you; if you do
what they both did, you will have been well directed.'

"'"The reference here is to his two companions, Zayd and Jaʿfar. Then he dismounted. When he did so a cousin of his came up carrying a meat bone and said, 'Take strength from this; you have suffered much recently.' He took it from his hand and took a bite out of it. Then he heard a great commotion among the men. He said (to himself), 'And are you still alive!' He threw away the bone, took up his sword and advanced, fighting until he was killed. May God be pleased with him!

"'"Thābit b. Aqram, brother of Banū alʿAjlan, then took the banner. He said, 'Muslims, form around one of you!' 'Let it be around you,' they shouted. 'No, I will not do it,' he replied. So they formed around Khālid b. al-Walīd. When he (Khālid) took the banner he defended his men, keeping them safe, then withdrew and the enemy distanced from him so that he could leave with the men."'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the army suffered great loss, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) – so I have been told – said, 'Zayd b. Ḥāritha took the banner and fought with it until he was martyred. Jaʿfar then took it and fought, bearing it until he was martyred.' After that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became silent and the faces of the *anṣār* changed as they wondered whether there was something terrible about ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. Then he said, "Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa has taken it now and fought with it until martyred.'

"He then said, 'They have been raised up to heaven – I saw in a vision – upon couches of gold. I noticed that the couch of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥā was slanting away from those of his comrades and I asked, "Why is this?" I was told, "They

went straight ahead, whereas ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa hesitated somewhat before proceeding."'"

This is related thus by Ibn Isḥāq *munqaṭiʿ*, with an incomplete chain of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aḥmad b. Wāqid related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Ḥamīd b. Hilāl, from Anas b. Mālik, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced to the people the deaths of Zayd, Jaʿfar and Ibn Rawāḥa before they received the news. He said, "Zayd took the banner, then was struck down. Jaʿfar took it and was struck down. Ibn Rawāḥā took it and was struck down." His eyes then brimmed with tears. He went on, 'And then one of the Lord's swords" (Khālid b. al-Walīd, that is) "took it until God gave them victory."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this. He also related it elsewhere saying that he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) was on the *minbar* when he said, "And it would not please them to be with us."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr related to him, quoting Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī, not al-Ḥazāmī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd , from Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Zayd b. Ḥāritha in command of the expedition to al-Muʾta. He also said, 'If Zayd should be killed, then Jaʿfar (will take over); if Jaʿfar is killed, then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa.' 'Abd Allāh said, 'I was among those at Muʾta. We searched for (the body of) Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib and found him among those slain. On his body we found some 90 sword wounds or arrow holes.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone also in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Al-Bukhārī went on, "Aḥmad related to us, quoting Ibn Wahb, from ʿAmr, from Ibn Abū Hilāl, he being Saʿīd b. Abū Hilāl al-Laythī, who said, 'Nāfiʿ informed me that Ibn ʿUmar informed him that he stood over Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib on that day, he having been killed, (and that Ibn ʿUmar said), "I counted 50 wounds made by spears or swords, and none were in his back."'"

This too is a *ḥadīth* only given by al-Bukhārī.

This account may be reconciled with the previous one; Ibn ʿUmar saw that number of wounds, whereas others saw more than that. Or that those he saw on his front were inflicted before his death and that when he fell to the ground, they also gave him blows in his back. Ibn ʿUmar counted those in his front suffered while he faced the enemy, before he was killed. May God be pleased with him!

The testimony quoted by Ibn Hishām, regarding his right arm being severed while it held the banner and then the same happening to his left, is upheld by what al-Bukhārī related: "Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr related to us, quoting ʿUmar b. ʿAlī, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from ʿĀmir, who said, 'When Ibn ʿUmar greeted Ibn Jaʿfar, he would say, "Peace be upon you, O Son of him who has two wings!"'"

He related it also in *al-Manāqib* (*Virtues*). Al-Nasāʾī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Hārūn, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nuʿaym related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Ismāʿīl, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, who said, "I heard Khālid b. al-Walīd say, 'At the battle of Muʾta, nine swords were broken in my hand; I finally held only a Yemeni broad-sword.'"

He then narrated it from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Yaḥyā, from Ismāʿīl, who quoted Qays as having said, "I heard Khālid b. al-Walīd say, 'At the battle of Muʾta, nine swords were broken in my hand; a Yemeni broad-sword was left in my hand.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda related to him, quoting Abū ʿAmr Maṭar, quoting Abū Khalīfa al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥabāb al-Jumaḥī, quoting Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, quoting al-Aswad b. Shaybān, from Khālid b. Samīr, who said, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Rabāḥ al-Anṣārī came to us; the *anṣār* themselves would ask him for legal opinions. The people swamped him; I was among them as they did so. He said, 'Abū Qatāda, the horseman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), sent out the *jaysh al-ʾumarāʾ*, the "army of the commanders", saying, "Zayd b. Ḥāritha will command. If he should be struck down, then Jaʿfar will command. If Jaʿfar is struck down, then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa will command." Jaʿfar jumped up and said, "Messenger of God, I didn't want you to appoint Zayd over me!" He replied, "Go forth; you do not know which would be better."

"'They did leave, staying only for as long as God wished. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (later) mounted the *minbar*, gave an order and the summons was announced, "A full prayer assembly!" People gathered around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he then said, "I will give you news of this army of yours. They have gone forth and encountered the enemy. Zayd has been martyred." He then prayed for forgiveness for Zayd. He went on, "Then Jaʿfar took the banner and he charged the enemy and was eventually martyred." He then bore witness that Jaʿfar had attained martyrdom and sought forgiveness for him. He went on, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa then took the banner and planted his feet firmly until he was martyred." He prayed for forgiveness for ʿAbd Allah. He went on, "Then Khālid b. al-Walīd took the banner; he was not one of the (appointed) commanders, but took command himself." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "O God, he is truly one of Your swords; may You help him." And from that day on Khālid was known as "God's sword".'"

Al-Nasāʾī related it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from al-Aswad b. Shaybān. His account is similar, but has a nice addition: "*Bābu khayrin! Bābu khayrin!* A good beginning!" He then went on to relate the *ḥadīth* as above.

Al-Wāqidī stated that ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAmāra b. Ghaziyya related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, who said, "When the army joined in battle at Muʾta, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat on the *minbar* and God revealed to him what lay between him and Syria so that he could observe their conflict. He said, 'Zayd b. Ḥāritha took the banner and Satan came to him

and made life seem good to him and death hateful, making life on earth attractive to him. He (Zayd) said, "Now that the faith is firmly planted in the hearts of the believers, would you make life on earth seem good to me?" He then advanced until he was martyred.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then performed the prayer for him and said, 'Ask forgiveness for him; he has entered paradise as a martyr.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated that Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, from ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr b. Qatāda, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "When Zayd was killed, Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib took the banner. Satan then came to him and made life seem good to him, death hateful, and he made life attractive to him. But Jaʿfar said, 'Now, when faith has become firm in the hearts of the believers, would you have me wish for life?' He then advanced until he was martyred. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spoke the prayer for him. He said, 'Seek forgiveness for your brother; he is a martyr and has entered paradise. He is flying in heaven with wings of sapphire, going wherever he wishes there.'"

He went on, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa then took the banner and was martyred. He then entered heaven *muʿtariḍ*, 'indirectly'. This upset the *anṣār* and someone asked, 'Messenger of God, why "indirectly"?' He replied, 'When he suffered wounds, he drew back. But he criticized himself, regained his courage, was martyred and entered paradise.'

"His people were much relieved by this."

Al-Wāqidī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Fuḍayl quoted his father as saying, "When Khālid b. al-Walīd took up the banner, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Now the fighting is fierce.'"

Al-Wāqidī also stated, "Al-ʿIṭāf b. Khālid related to me as follows, 'Ibn Rawāḥa having been killed in the evening, Khālid b. al-Walīd spent that night (without engaging the enemy). Next morning, he attacked, having placed his vanguard at the rear and exchanged the forces of the left and right flanks. The enemy were no longer familiar with their banners and disposition and, believing them to have been reinforced, were frightened and retreated in disarray. And so they suffered a defeat as no enemy had inflicted upon them before.'"

This accords with the account given by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, may God be pleased with him, in his work on the military campaigns. He stated, after recounting the *ʿumrat al-Ḥudaybiyya*, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to Medina and remained there for six months. He then despatched an army to Muʾta, appointing Zayd b. Ḥāritha as their commander. He ordered, 'If he is struck down, then command is to go to Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib. If Jaʿfar is struck down, then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa is to be their commander.' They travelled on until they encountered Ibn Abū Sabra al-Ghassānī at Muʾta, where there was a large force of Christian Arabs and Byzantines, including men of Tanūkh and Bahrāʾ. Ibn Abū Sabra closed the gate of the fortress against the Muslims for three days. The armies then clashed on a red field, where the fighting was intense. Zayd b. Ḥāritha took

the banner and was killed; Jaʿfar then took it and he was killed. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took it next and was killed. Then the Muslims chose Khālid b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī to succeed those three commanders chosen by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God then defeated the enemy and gave victory to the Muslims.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent them forth in Jumādā al-Uwlā, of 8 AH that is."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "And they claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Jaʿfar passed me by amidst the angels, flying as they did, and he had two wings.'"

He went on, "They also claim – but God knows best – that Yaʿlā b. Umayya came with news of the men at Muʾta to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked, 'If you wish, you can tell me or, if you prefer, I will tell you.' 'You tell me, Messenger of God,' he asked. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them all the news of them and described it all to them. He (Yaʿlā) then commented, 'By Him who sent you with the truth, you have not left out a word – what happened to them is exactly as you stated!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'God raised the earth up before me so that I could see their battlefield.'"

This text has many nice details that are absent from the account of Ibn Isḥāq. It contradicts somewhat the latter's account, which suggests that Khālid only disengaged the enemy to escape from the Byzantines and the Christian Arabs.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba and al-Wāqidī stated clearly that they defeated the Byzantines and the Arabs with them, which is evident from the *ḥadīth* given above from Anas directly quoting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as saying, "And then one of God's swords took it until God gave them victory."

Al-Bukhārī related this. This account is preferable and is the one to which the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī referred after recounting both the statements to such effect as we have stated.

I note that it is possible to reconcile between the account given by Ibn Ishāq and that given by the others. This would be as follows: when Khālid took the banner he drew away the Muslims until he had removed them from the reach of the Roman and quasi-Arab unbelievers. Next morning he switched the rearguard and vanguard and both flanks, as al-Wāqidī related, and so the Byzantines thought these to be reinforcements that had arrived for the Muslims. And when Khālid attacked them, he defeated them, with God's permission. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to me, from ʿUrwa, who said, 'When those who had fought at Muʾta approached, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims met them. The boys rushed out to meet them while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out on his mount with the other people. He said, 'Take the boys away and give me Jaʿfar's son.' ʿAbd Allāh was brought to him and he picked him up and carried him. The people then began tossing dirt at the army, saying, 'You runaways! You fled from God's path!' The Messenger

of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'They are not runaways but men who will fight again, if God, Almighty and Glorious is He, wills it.'"

This *ḥadīth* is incomplete with this line of transmission, and is somewhat strange.

It is my opinion that Ibn Isḥāq is using his imagination in this text by thinking of these men as being the army, whereas they were men who had fled when the armies clashed. The remainder did not flee, but were awarded victory, as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told them while on the *minbar* when he said, "Then one of God's swords took it until God gave them victory." The Muslims would never have called them runaways after that, but would have met them with honour and respect. Rebuking and throwing dirt would only have been done to those who had fled and abandoned them there. Among them was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, may God be pleased with them both.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, who said, "I took part in one of the expeditions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and some of the men fled, myself among them. We wondered what we should do, having fled and caused anger. We thought we might be killed if we returned to Medina. Then we decided we should present ourselves before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in which case we would either be forgiven or we would leave. We went to him before the pre-dawn prayer. He came out and asked, 'Who are you?' 'We are the runaways,' we replied. 'No', he replied, 'you're the ones who will fight again. I'm one of you, and I'm one of the believers.' We then went forward and kissed his hand."

He then went on to relate it from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "We were on a military expedition, but fled. We wondered whether we should go overseas. Then we went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'Messenger of God, we are the runaways.' He replied, 'No; you're the ones who will fight again.'"

Abū Dāʾūd related it, as did al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is *ḥasan*, 'good'; we know it only from his *ḥadīth*."

Aḥmad stated, "Isḥāq b. ʿIsā and Aswad b. ʿĀmir related to us as follows, 'Shurayk related to us, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out on a military expedition. When we encountered the enemy we fled in the first clash and went back to Medina by night, as a group, and went into hiding. Then we wondered if we should go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and apologize to him.

"'"We did go to him, and when he met us we told him, 'We are the runaways, Messenger of God.' He replied, 'No; you are those who will fight again, and I'm of your party.'"'"

Al-Aswad said (that the words used were) "I am of the party of every Muslim."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm related to me, from 'Āmir b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, that Umm Salama, the wife of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asked the wife of Salama b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra, 'Why don't I see Salama attend the prayer with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims?'

"She replied, 'He can't go outside. Whenever he does, people cry out, "Runaway! You ran away from God's path!" So he sits at home and never goes out; he was present at the battle of Mu'ta.'"

I comment that it is possible that some of them fled when they saw the great size of the Byzantine force, who were many times larger in number; the Muslims numbered 3,000, while the enemy, so they say, was 200,000 strong. Such circumstances do permit flight, as is well established. When this group fled, the rest remained firm and God gave them victory, and released them from the clutches of the enemy, many of whom they killed, as al-Wāqidī and Mūsā b. 'Uqba before him recorded.

This is further affirmed and substantiated by what Imām Aḥmad related: "Al-Walīd b. Muslim related to us, quoting Safwān b. 'Amr, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr b. Nufayr, from his father, from 'Awf b. Mālik al-Ashja'ī, who said, 'I was among those who accompanied Zayd b. Ḥāritha and the other Muslims to the battle of Mu'ta. I went with a *madadī*, an "auxiliary", from Yemen whose only equipment was his sword. One of the Muslims slaughtered a camel and the auxiliary asked him for a piece of its leather. He gave it to him and the *madadī* used it as a shield.

"'We advanced and encountered a force of the Byzantines, among whom was a man riding a sorrel equipped with a gilded saddle and a gilded sword. The Roman began attacking the Muslims, and the auxiliary crouched down behind a rock. When the Roman went by, the *madadī* hamstrung his horse and when its rider fell, he jumped on him and killed him. And so he seized his horse and weapon. When God gave victory to the Muslims, Khālid b. al-Walīd sent to him and took the booty.'

"'Awf went on, 'So I went to Khālid and said, "Khālid, haven't you heard that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has decreed that the spoils (from a dead enemy) belong to the person who killed him?" "Yes", he replied, "but I thought this excessive." I told him, "If you don't give it back to him, then I will report you to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." But he refused to return it.'

"'Awf continued, 'When we had a meeting with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I related to him the story of the *madadī* and what Khālid had done. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Khālid, return to him what you took." I then said, "So there, Khālid! Didn't I tell you I would!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "What's all this?" So I related it to him and he got angry. He said, "Khālid, don't give it back to him! Would you disobey one of my commanders? You expect only what in their commands is trouble-free, while assigning them the troublesome!"'" Al-Walīd stated, "I asked Thawr about this

ḥadīth. And he related it to me from Khālid b. Maʿdān, from Jubayr b. Nufayr, from ʿAwf, in similar form."

Muslim and Ibn ʿAwf related it from a *ḥadīth* of Jubayr b. Nufayr, from ʿAwf b. Mālik in similar words. This story substantiates that they took booty from them, and despoiled and killed some of their officers.

It is related above from al-Bukhārī that Khālid, may God be pleased with him, said, "At the battle of Muʾta nine swords were broken in my hand and only a Yemeni broad-sword remained."

This requires that they engaged them in heavy combat; if this had not been the case, they would not have been able to disengage from them. This by itself is an independent proof. But God knows best. This *ḥadīth* was chosen by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, al-Wāqidī and al-Bayhaqī, and Ibn Hishām related it from al-Zuhrī.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The authorities on the military expeditions differ over their having fled or withdrawn. Some maintain that this was so, while others claim that the Muslims prevailed over the polytheists, and that the latter were defeated."

He went on, "The *ḥadīth* of Anas b. Mālik that quotes the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as having stated, 'Then Khālid took it (the banner) and God gave him victory,' indicates their victory over the enemy. But God knows best."

I note that Ibn Isḥāq related that Quṭba b. Qatāda al-ʿUdhrī, who commanded the Muslim right flank, attacked Mālik b. Zāfila (whom Ibn Hishām names "Rāfila"), the commander of the Christian Arabs there, and killed him. Boasting of that, he spoke the following verses,

> "I stabbed Ibn Zāfila b. al-Arāsh with a spear that
> passed through him then broke.
> I gave him a blow on his neck that made it bend like a
> mimosa branch.
> We led away his tribe's women at Raquqayn like sheep."

This substantiates our view. Because it usually happens that when an army commander is killed his men flee. Moreover, Quṭba states clearly in his verses that they took their women prisoner. And this is plain in what we have related. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq adopts the view that what happened was disengagement and withdrawal from the Byzantines, and he calls this a success and a victory, in view of the superiority in numbers of the enemy and their having the Muslims surrounded. This would normally have meant that they would have been totally decimated; and so when they disengaged and withdrew, this constituted the most that could be hoped for in such circumstances.

This is quite likely; however, it does contradict the clear statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that "God gave them victory over them."

Ibn Isḥāq did give evidence for his view. He stated, "Regarding the discussion about Khālid b. al-Walīd and his protecting and withdrawing his men, the verses

of Qays b. al-Muḥsir[86] al-Ya'murī are relevant. He said, apologizing for his actions and those of the others that day,

'I swear by God, my soul criticizes me persistently for
stopping when the horses were excited, staring ahead.
I stopped then, neither moving aside nor advancing, and
not defending those for whom death was near.
However, I modelled myself on Khālid; is it not true
that there is none like Khālid among our men?
I grieved much for Ja'far at Mu'ta, when arrows were of
no use to archers.
He joined up to us both our flanks, men who were
muhājirīn, not polytheists, men not defenceless.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Qays clarified in his poetry what had been the subject of disagreement among people; this is, that the army avoided conflict and were unwilling to die and, moreover, that Khālid did disengage with his men."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Al-Zuhrī stated, as we have been informed, 'The Muslims appointed Khālid b. al-Walīd as their commander, and God gave them victory. He remained their leader until he returned to Medina.'"

DIVISION.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, from Umm 'Isā al-Khuzā'iyya, from Umm Ja'far, daughter of Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib, from their grandmother Asmā', daughter of 'Umays, who said, 'When Ja'far and his men had suffered casualties, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to see me just after I had tanned 40 *mannā* weight of skins, kneaded my dough and washed, oiled and cleaned off my children. He said to me, "Bring Ja'far's sons to me." I brought them to him, he smelt them and his eyes welled with tears. I asked, "Messenger of God, by my father and my mother, do tell me what makes you cry! Do you have news of Ja'far and his men?" "Yes", he replied, "they have been struck down today." I arose screaming, and the women gathered around me. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went outside to his people and said, "Don't neglect Ja'far's family; make food for them. They are preoccupied by the fate of their master."'"

Imām Aḥmad told it thus from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Isḥāq who related it through 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from Umm 'Isā, from Umm 'Awn, daughter of Muḥammad b. Ja'far, from Asmā'. He made reference to preparing the food. What is correct is that it referred to Umm Ja'far and Umm 'Awn.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, quoting Ja'far b. Khālid from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, who said, "When the news came of the death of Ja'far, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Prepare food for Ja'far's

86. Guillaume gives this name as Musahhar al-Ya'murī. *op. cit.* p.536.

family. A matter has come to them that preoccupies them.'" Or the words were, "something that occupies them has come".

This is similarly related by Abū Dāʾūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Jaʿfar b. Khālid b. Sārat al-Makhzūmī al-Makkī, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar. Al-Tirmidhī categorized this *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan*, "good".

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq went on, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim related to me, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, 'When news of the death of Jaʿfar arrived, we could see the sadness in the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

"She commented, 'A man went in to him and said, "Messenger of God, the women are distressing and annoying us." He told him, "Go back in to them and quieten them down."'

"She said, 'He left, then he came back and said the same to him. And (as the saying goes) "Persistence often harms", that is, those who engage in it. He then told the man, "Go off and quieten them; and if they keep it up, then toss dirt in their mouths!" I said to myself, "May God remove you, fellow! You neither relieved yourself, nor will you be able to obey the Messenger of God!" I well knew he could not toss dirt in their mouths.'"

Ibn Isḥāq is alone in giving it from this chain; it is not in any of the compendia.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (who said), "I heard Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd say, 'ʿAmra told me the following: "I heard ʿĀʾisha say, 'When Zayd b. Ḥāritha, Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa were killed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was sitting with sorrow evident on his face. I was peeping at him through a chink in the door. Then a man came in and said, "Messenger of God, I'm afraid Jaʿfar's women ..." And he went on to tell of their weeping. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him to forbid them from doing so. So the man left but returned and said, "I swear, they were too much for me." I then heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "Go and toss dirt in their mouths!"'

"'"'ʿĀ'isha, may God be pleased with her, went on, 'May God smack you in the nose! By God, you'll not do that nor will you relieve the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of his cares!'"'"

Muslim, Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī related this from various lines, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from ʿAmra, who quoted her.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wahb b. Jarīr related to him, quoting his father, who said, "I heard Muḥammad b. Abū Yaʿqūb relate from al-Ḥasan b. Saʿd, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out an army under the command of Zayd b. Ḥāritha, saying, "If Zayd should be killed or martyred, then your leader will be Jaʿfar; if he should be killed or martyred, then your leader will be ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa." When they clashed with the enemy, Zayd took the banner and fought until he was killed. Then Jaʿfar took the banner and fought until he was killed. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥā then took the banner and

fought until he was killed. Khālid b. al-Walīd then took the banner and God gave him victory. When their news reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he went out to the people and gave thanks and praise to God. He then said, "Your brothers have met the enemy. Zayd took the banner and fought until he was killed or martyred. After him, Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib took the banner and fought until he was killed or martyred. Then 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took the banner and fought until he was killed or martyred. Then one of God's swords, Khālid b. al-Walīd, took the banner, and God gave him victory." He then gave Ja'far's family a respite of three days before going to them. Then he went to them and said, "Do not grieve for my brother after today. Summon to me all my brother's family." We were then brought there as if we were a flock of birds. He said, "Summon the barber to me." The barber was brought and he shaved our heads. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Muḥammad is just like our uncle Abū Ṭālib. As for 'Abd Allāh, he is just like myself in character and appearance." He then took my hand and raised it, saying, "O God, let Ja'far live on in his family; and bless 'Abd Allāh in his affairs." He said this three times. Then our mother came and spoke of those of us who were orphaned and began arousing his sympathy. Then he said, "How can you worry about your family when I am their protector in this world and the next?"'"

Abū Dā'ūd related this in part; al-Nasā'ī gave it in its entirety in his biography, from a *ḥadīth* of Wahb b. Jarīr.

This *ḥadīth* determines that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave them permission to mourn for three days and that thereafter he forbad them from mourning. This perhaps indicates the meaning of the *ḥadīth* related by Imām Aḥmad from that of al-Ḥakam b. 'Abd Allāh b. Shaddād, from Asmā' who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told her, when Ja'far was killed, "Wear mourning for three days, then do as you wish."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

It is probable that he gave her permission to mourn – by which is meant extreme behaviour in weeping and tearing at clothes – because of the severity of the pain at the loss of Ja'far, the father of her children. It may also be that this constituted an instruction to her to engage in *al-tasallub*, "mourning", this word implying extreme mourning, for three days, and thereafter to mourn as she wished in the ways usual for widows. But God knows best. The phrase is also read with the spelling *tasallabā* (instead of *tasallabī*) for three days, this word meaning "act with restraint". This interpretation contradicts the other reading. God knows best.

Then there is the *ḥadīth* given by Imām Aḥmad to the effect that Yazīd related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Talḥa, quoting al-Ḥakam b. 'Uyayna, from 'Abd Allāh b. Shaddād, from Asmā', daughter of 'Umays, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to us on the third day following the death of Ja'far and said, 'Do not mourn further after today.'" This *ḥadīth* is another of those unique to Aḥmad; its chain of authorities is fairly acceptable. However, it is problematic

if interpreted for its obvious meaning. Because it is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "It is not appropriate for a woman who believes in God and the Judgement Day to mourn for her dead longer than three days, except in the loss of her husband, whom she may mourn for four months and ten days."

If what Imām Aḥmad related was accurate, then it should be considered applicable specifically to that (case) and otherwise the statement given above relating to extreme mourning for three days would apply. But God knows best.

I note that Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmays, eulogized her husband in an ode in which she stated,

> "I swear, my soul will never cease to be sad over you,
> and my skin will always wear dust.
> No one ever saw the like of him, a hero who persisted
> so valiantly in the fray."

Eventually her *ʿidda*, waiting period, ended and Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, became engaged to her. He then married her and gave a feast to which people came. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib was one of those attending and when the others had gone he asked permission of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, to speak with Asmāʾ through the curtain. He gave him leave to do so. When ʿAlī approached the curtain, the scent of her perfume reached him and he asked her – in general terms – who was the person speaking in the above verse,

> "I swear, my soul will never cease to be sad over you,
> and my skin will always wear dust."

She replied, "Away with you, Abū al-Ḥasan, you're always joking!"

She bore Muḥammad to Abū Bakr, giving birth at a tree between Mecca and Medina, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on his way to the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, the "farewell pilgrimage". He told her to wash herself and recite prayers; this will be discussed in its appropriate place. When later Abū Bakr died, ʿAlī b. Abū Bakr married her and she bore him children. May God be pleased with him, her and them.

Division.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr quoted to me ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr as saying, 'When they drew near Medina, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the people came out to meet them. The boys were racing around, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came forward on a mule. He said, "Take away the children; carry them off and bring me Jaʿfar's son." ʿAbd Allāh, Jaʿfar's son was brought and he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) carried him in his hands. The crowd began tossing dirt at the army, shouting, "You runaways! You ran away from God's path!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was calling out, "They're not runaways! They'll fight again, if God wills it!"'"

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, incomplete in its chain.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʾāwiya related to him, quoting ʿĀṣim, from Muʾriq al-ʿIjlī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came back home from a journey, he would meet the boys from his family household. On his return from one trip, I was led out to him and he mounted me before him. He then said, 'Bring me one of Fāṭima's sons' – it was either Ḥasan or Ḥusayn. He mounted him behind him and we went on into Medina, three on a mule."

This was given by Muslim, Abū Dāʾūd, al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja from a *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal, from Muʾriq.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting Khālid b. Sāra, that his father related to him that ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar said, "You should have seen myself and Qutham and ʿUbayd Allāh, the two sons of al-ʿAbbās, all three of us boys playing, when the Prophet (ṢAAS) passed by us on his mule. He said, 'Lift up this one to me.' He lifted me up in front of him. He then said, referring to Qatham, 'Lift up this one to me.' He then placed him behind himself. ʿUbayd Allāh was more favoured by ʿAbbās than Qatham, and he was not pleased at his uncle carrying Qatham rather than himself. He then touched Jaʿfar's head three times and said, each time he did so, 'O God, let Jaʿfar live on in his son.'"

He (Sāra) went on, "I asked ʿAbd Allāh, 'What eventually happened to Qatham?' 'Was he martyred?' he replied. I said, 'God and His messenger know best what is good.' 'Yes,' he said."

Al-Nasāʾī related it in his work *Al-yawm wa al-layla*, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj.

This was after the conquest (of Mecca). Al-ʿAbbās only arrived in Medina after the conquest. The *ḥadīth* related by Imām Aḥmad is as follows, "Ismāʿīl related to us, quoting Ḥabīb b. al-Shahīd, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Malīka, who said, 'ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar asked Ibn al-Zubayr, "Do you remember when we met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), me, you and the son of ʿAbbās?" "Yes," he replied. "He carried us and left you."'"

It is this text that al-Bukhārī and Muslim give, from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥabīb b. al-Shahīd. It is considered one of the *al-ajwibat al-muskita*, "a silencing response".

It relates also that it was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās who answered Ibn al-Zubayr in this way. This anecdote is another one that came after the conquest, as explained above. But God knows best.

Section: On the virtues of those three commanders, Zayd, Jaʿfar and ʿAbd Allāh, may God be pleased with them.

The genealogy of Zayd b. Ḥāritha is as follows: son of Shurāhīl b. Kaʿb b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Imr al-Qays b. ʿĀmir b. al-Nuʿmān b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Wadd b. ʿAwf b. Kināna b. Bakr b. ʿAwf b. ʿUdhra b. Zayd al-Lāt b. Rufayda b. Thawr b. Kalb b. Barra b. Thaʿlab b. Hilwān b. ʿImrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Qudāʿa al-Kalbī al-Qudāʿī. He

was the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This came about because Zayd's mother went to visit her family and they were attacked by horsemen who took him away. Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām purchased him for his aunt Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid; it is also said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) purchased him for her. She in turn presented him to the Prophet (ṢAAS), before he received the Prophethood. His father discovered his whereabouts, but he chose to stay with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who manumitted him and brought him up. He was known as Zayd b. Muḥammad; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) loved him greatly.

He was the first of the freed-men to accept Islam. Verses of the Qur'ān were revealed about him. These include: "And He has not made to be your sons those you merely claim to be your sons" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.4). "Affirm their relationship to their fathers; that is more just in God's view" (*Ibidem*; XXXIII, v.5). "Muḥammad is not the father of any of your men" (*Ibidem*; XXXIII, v.40). "And when you said to him whom both God and you had favoured, 'Retain your wife and fear God,' you concealed in yourself what God was about to reveal. And you feared men, but God has greater right to be feared. (But) when Zayd had finished his union with her, We married her to you" (*Ibidem*; XXXIII, v.37).

There is a consensus that these verses were revealed about him. The words *anʿama Allāhu ʿalayhi* "him God had favoured" refer to his accepting Islam. And the words, *anʿamta ʿalayhi*, "you had favoured" refers to his having manumitted him. We have discussed these verses in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*).

The point is that God Almighty named in the Qur'ān no other Companion (of the Prophet (ṢAAS)) except him. He led him to Islam, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) freed him and married him to his freed-woman Umm Ayman, whose name was Baraka, and she bore him Usāma, son of Zayd. He used to be known as *al-ḥibb ibn al-ḥibbi*, "the dearest of all". He then married him to his maternal aunt's daughter, Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh. He established him as a brother to his uncle Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and gave him precedence as commander over his nephew Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib at the battle of Mu'ta, as we related above.

Imām Aḥmad and the Imām and *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr b. Abū Shaybā – whose words these are – stated, "Muḥammmad b. ʿUbayd related to us, from Wā'il b. Dā'ūd, 'I heard al-Bahī relate that ʿĀ'isha used to say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Zayd as commander of every expedition, without exception, to which he dispatched him; and if he were still alive, he would have left him in command."'"

Al-Nasā'ī related this from Aḥmad b. Salmān, from Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṭanāfusī.

This chain of authorities is excellent and firm and consistent with the criteria of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. This *ḥadīth* was regarded as *gharīb*, "anomalous". God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sulaymān related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl, quoting Ibn Dīnār, from Ibn ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him, that the latter sent

out an expedition in command of which he placed Usāma b. Zayd, but some people complained about his appointment. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and said, "You complain about his being made commander; you used to complain earlier about his father being made commander, even though, by God, he was certainly qualified to be commander, and moreover was extremely dear to me. Well, this man too is extremely dear to me."

This *ḥadīth* is included in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Qutayba, from Ismāʿīl – he being the son of Jaʿfar b. Abū Kathīr al-Madanī – from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār, from Ibn ʿUmar. Al-Bukhārī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim, from his father. Al-Bazzār related it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-ʿAmrī, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, and pronounced the chain of transmission as being *gharīb*, "anomalous".

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that ʿUmar b. Ismāʿīl related to him, from Mujālid, from al-Shaʿbī, from Masrūq, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, "When Zayd b. Ḥāritha was killed and Usāma, Zayd's son, was brought to him and placed before him, the eyes of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) welled with tears and he put off the meeting. Next day, when Usāma was brought back before him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'You make me feel today just as you did yesterday.'"

There are strange aspects to this *ḥadīth*. But God knows best.

It has been related above how it is recorded in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that when, upon the *minbar*, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke of their deaths, he said, "Zayd took the banner and was struck down; then Jaʿfar took it and was struck down. Then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took it and was struck down. Then one of God's swords took it and God gave him victory."

And it stated, "His eyes welled with tears." Then he said, "They would not be pleased with us." In another *ḥadīth* it is said that he bore witness that they had been martyred and were assured of paradise.

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses eulogizing Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Ibn Rawāḥa,

"O eyes, weep generously, to your last tear, and recall,
in your ease, those in the grave.
Remember Muʾta and what happened there, that day they
went off to defeat in battle.
When they left, abandoning Zayd there, in a resting
place fit for the destitute or powerless.
That dear friend of the very best of mankind, that lord
of men, beloved by all.
That Aḥmad who knows no equal, that man who has both my
pleasure and my pain.
The status Zayd had among us was not that of a man
who tells lies and is conceited.
And weep tears generously, eyes, for the Khazrajī (ʿAbd
Alla b. Rawāḥa); a lord who was not niggardly there.

We have suffered much by their deaths; we pass our
night in sorrow, not pleasure."

The genealogy of Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib is as follows. He was the son of the paternal uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), being older than his brother ʿAlī by ten years. (Another brother) ʿĀqil was also ten years older than Jaʿfar; another, Ṭālib, was ten years older than ʿĀqil.

Jaʿfar was early in accepting Islam. He emigrated to Abyssinia and performed many famous and praiseworthy actions and functions there, and gave fine reponses to questions. We have dealt with all these previously, in the section on the emigration to Abyssinia; and to God be all praise.

At the battle of Khaybar he arrived back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said to him then, "I don't know what pleases me more – Jaʿfar's arrival or the conquest of Khaybar!" He went up to Jaʿfar, embraced him and kissed him on the forehead. And the day they went forth to the *ʿumrat al-qaḍiyya*, he said to him, "You, Jaʿfar, resemble me in both appearance and character." It is said that he was embarrassed and delighted to hear this, as was related in the correct sequence above. And to God be all praise and credit.

When he dispatched him to Muʾta, he appointed him as deputy commander to Zayd b. Ḥāritha. When the latter was killed, they discovered 90 wounds upon him, some from swords, others from spears and arrows. All of these were on his front, not his back. His right arm was severed, then his left and he held the banner. When he lost both, he held it to himself, until he was killed, still hugging it. It is said that a Roman split him into two with his sword. May God be pleased with Jaʿfar and curse his killer!

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told of him that he was a martyr and one of those destined for heaven. There are *aḥādīth* in which he referred to him as having two wings.

Al-Bukhārī related, from Ibn ʿUmar, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) greeted Jaʿfar's son ʿAbd Allāh, he would say, "Peace be upon you, son of him with the two wings!"

Some authorities quote this from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb himself, but the authentic tradition comes from Ibn ʿUmar.

They say that it is as compensation for his two arms that God awarded him wings in paradise. Some material relating to this was given above.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿIsā al-Tirmidhī stated that ʿAlī b. Ḥijr related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, from al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from his father, who quoted Abū Hurayra as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I saw Jaʿfar flying in paradise with the angels.'"

It is related above in a *ḥadīth* that he was killed at the age of 33. Ibn al-Athīr stated in *al-Ghāba* (*The Forest*), "His age when he was killed was 41. Though some state otherwise."

I note that regarding his being said to have been 10 years senior to ʿAlī would require his age to have been 39 at his death. This is because ʿAlī accepted Islam

when he was 8 years old, as is well known, and remained in Mecca for 13 years thereafter. When he emigrated he was 21. The battle of *Mu'a* took place in 8 AH. But God knows best.

Ja'far was referred to after his death as *al-ṭayyār*, "the flyer", for the reason given above. He was a man who was noble, generous and much praised. For his charity he was known as *abū al-masākīn*, "father of the poor", because of his generosity to them.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Affān b. Waḥīb related to him, quoting Khālid, from 'Ikrima, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "No one wore shoes or sandals, rode his mount or wore his clothes, apart from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), more impressively than did Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib."

This *ḥadīth* has a fine chain of transmission back to Abū Hurayra. It seems that he finds him superior only in his noble qualities. Regarding superiority in his religious qualities, it is well known that Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān were better than him. As for his brother 'Alī and himself, may God be pleased with both, it is clear that they were equal or that 'Alī was superior to him. Abū Hurayra only wished to establish his superiority in noble qualities. This is proven by what al-Bukhārī related, as follows, "Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Dīnār Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Juhanī, from Ibn Abū Dhi'b, from Sa'id al-Maqburī, from Abū Hurayra (who said) that, 'The people used to say, "Abū Hurayra does too much."[87] I used to keep close to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), content to fill my stomach with (unleavened) bread. I never ate leavened bread, never wore silk and never had men or women serve me. I would press my belly against the pebbles in my hunger. I would teach people about a verse of the Qur'ān I already knew to get him to take me home to feed me. The person who was best to the poor was Ja'far, son of Abū Ṭālib. He would take us home and feed us whatever he had there. He would even bring out to us an empty leather butter vessel we would split open and lick out its contents.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses eulogizing Ja'far,

"I wept, for the death of Ja'far, the dear friend of
the Prophet, was hard on all mankind.
I was very upset, and when your death was told me, I
called out, 'Who is for fighting in the shade of the
eagle (banner)?'
With swords which, when drawn from their sheaths
striking and spears continually piercing,
After Fāṭima's blessed son, Ja'far, the best of men,
the worst
To lose; the most noble of all in lineage, the most
active when wronged and most submissive

87. In his zeal to collect traditions, that is.

To the right when it occurs, unaffected by falsehood,
most generous and least
Immoderate, most open-handed when appropriate, most
evident in
Generosity, except for Muḥammad, the like of whom does
not exist in all mankind."

Ibn Rawāḥa's genealogy is as follows. His full name was ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa b. Thaʿlaba b. Imru al-Qays b. ʿAmr b. Imru al-Qays al-Akbar b. Mālik b. al-Agharr b. Thaʿlaba b. Kaʿb b. al-Khazraj b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, Abū Muḥammad, known as Abū Rawāḥa and as Abū ʿAmr, al-Anṣārī, al-Khazrajī. He was the maternal uncle of al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, and his sister was ʿAmra, daughter of Rawāḥā.

He was early in accepting Islam and was present at al-ʿAqaba. That evening he was one of the leaders of Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. He participated in the battles of Badr, Uḥud, al-khandaq, al-Ḥudaybiyya and Khaybar. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) would send him out to negotiate these, as is told above. He was present on the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ* pilgrimage and on that occasion went in holding the reins of the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Some say it was its leather stirrup he held. As he did so, he called out,

"Clear the unbelievers from his path."

The rest of his verses are reported above.

He was one of the commanders martyred at the battle of Muʾta, as told above. He urged on the Muslims to battle the Byzantines when they discussed that issue. He also encouraged himself and dismounted (to take the banner) after his two comrades were killed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) testified to his martyrdom and he was one of those promised entry to paradise.

He is also related to have addressed the Prophet (ṢAAS) in verse when he said farewell to him, as follows,

"May God affirm the good He presents you, as he gave
affirmation to Moses, and a victory they won."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "May God keep you firm." Hishām b. ʿUrwa commented, "And God did keep him firm so that he was martyred and entered paradise."

Ḥammād b. Zayd related, from Thābit, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, that ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was making an address and heard him tell everyone to sit down. So he did sit down, right where he was, outside the mosque, until people had finished listening to his address. Word of ʿAbd Allāh's action reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he said, "May God increase your zeal in obedience to God and to His messenger!"

Al-Bukhārī stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, "Mu'ādh (b. Jabal) said, 'Let's sit down and pray for a while.'"

There is a *ḥadīth* similar to that having a complete chain of transmission going back to 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Ṣamad related to him, from 'Amāra, from Zīyād al-Naḥwī, from Anas, who said, "'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa used to say when he met one of his comrades, 'Come, let's sit and express faith to our Lord *sā'atan*,[88] "for a while".' One day he said this to a man who got angry and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'Messenger of God, don't you know about Ibn Rawāḥā? He's encouraging people to abandon your faith for that of *sā'atan*!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'May God have mercy on Ibn Rawāḥa; he loves those sessions when the angels try to outdo one another.'"

This *ḥadīth* is very strange.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim related to him, quoting Abū Bakr, quoting Muḥammad b. Ayyūb, quoting Aḥmad b. Yūnus, quoting a sheikh of Medina, from Ṣafwān b. Salīm, from 'Aṭā' b. Yasār, (who said) that 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa said to a comrade of his, "Come; let's express faith for *sā'atan*." He replied, "But aren't we believers?" "Why yes", he replied, "but by mentioning God we increase our faith."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Lukkī related, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Yamān, from Ṣafwān b. Salīm, from Shurayḥ b. 'Ubayd, that 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa used to take one of his comrades by the hand and say, "Let's go and express faith for a while; we'll sit in a *dhikr*[89] session."

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, lacking a complete chain, from both authorities. We have examined this extensively in our commentary on the work of al-Bukhārī. And to God be all praise and credit.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, Abū al-Dardā' is quoted as saying, "We were out on a journey with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on a very hot day. The only ones of us fasting were the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, may God be pleased with him."

He was one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who was well known for his poetry. His verses on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), quoted by al-Bukhārī, include the lines,

> "With us there is the Messenger of God; we recite his document, when it emerges clear and shining from the dawn.

88. Presumably the misunderstandings related in this and following *aḥādith* stem from the similarity in the sound of the word *shayṭan*, "Satan" or "a devil", to the word *sā'atan*, "for a while".

89. This word, meaning "to make mention of", connotes repetition of the name of God. It is used specifically by Muslim Ṣūfī groups who achieve a mystical unity with God by repetition, *dhikr*, of God's name, "Allah". It is interesting to see the word used in this apparent context in this presumably early *ḥadīth*.

He spends the night keeping his body outside his bed,
when the polytheists lie heavily upon theirs.
He brought us guidance after blindness, and our hearts
are certain that what he spoke is true."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿImrān b. Maysara related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, from Ḥusayn, from ʿĀmir b. al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, who said, "'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa once fainted, and his sister ʿAmra began crying and wailing and lamenting him. When he came to, he said, 'Whenever you said something (about me) I was asked, 'Are you really like that?"'

"Qutayba related to us, quoting Khaythama, from Ḥusayn, from al-Shaʿbī, from al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, who said, "'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa fainted once' as above. But when he died she did not weep for him."

We have given above the lament spoken by Ḥassān b. Thābit about him and others.

A Muslim poet who returned with others from Muʾtā – may God be pleased with them all – spoke the following verses,

"Sad enough it is that I returned, while Jaʿfar, Zayd
and ʿAbd Allāh are buried in graves.
Their end came as they passed away on their path,
leaving me to misery and with all that changes."

Hereafter, if God so wills it, will be given more of the verses composed about these three commanders by Ḥassān b. Thābit and by Kaʿb b. Mālik, may God be pleased with them both.

THOSE MUSLIMS MARTYRED AT MUʾTA.

From among the *muhājirīn* there were Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib, their freed-man Zayd b. Ḥāritha al-Kalbī, Masʿūd b. al-Aswad b. Ḥāritha b. Naḍla al-ʿAdawī and Wahb b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ; these total four.

From among the *anṣār* there were ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa and ʿAbbād b. Qays, both of Khazraj, al-Ḥārith b. al-Nuʿmān b. Isāf b. Naḍla al-Najjārī, and Surāqa b. ʿAmr b. ʿAṭīya b. Khansāʾ al-Māzinī; these numbered four.

The total of Muslims killed that day was these eight men, according to the account of Ibn Isḥāq. However, Ibn Hishām stated, "According to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, those killed at Muʾta included Abū Kulayb and Jābir, both sons of ʿAmr b. Zayd b. ʿAwf b. Mabdhūl, both of Māzin, both full brothers, along with ʿAmr and ʿĀmir, sons of Saʿd b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbbād b. Saʿd b. ʿĀmir b. Thaʿlaba b. Mālik b. Afṣā." These four were also *anṣār* and so according to these two authorities the total killed should be twelve men.

That two armies of opposing faiths, one consisting of those fighting for God's cause and numbering three thousand men, and the other of disbelievers totalling two hundred thousand, one hundred thousand Byzantines and one hundred

thousand Christian Arabs, could battle together with the resulting deaths of only twelve Muslims is truly wonderful! And a large number of unbelievers were killed.

Khālid alone stated, "Nine swords were broken in my hand; I finally held only a Yemeni broad-sword." How many must he have killed with all those swords, not to mention all the other brave bearers of the Qur'ān like him, who sentenced to death those crucifix worshippers, upon whom be the curses of the Most Merciful at that time and for ever!

This relates to the words of the Almighty, "There was a sign for you in the two sides that clashed. One side fought for God's cause, while the others were unbelievers whom they saw to be twice as numerous as themselves. Yet God assists with victory whomever He pleases. There is surely a lesson in this for those who have sight" (*sūrat Āl 'Imrān*; XIII, v.12).

A ḤADĪTH THAT ACCORDS GREAT MERIT TO THE COMMANDERS OF THIS EXPEDITION.

These were Zayd b. Ḥāritha, Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, may God be pleased with them all!

The *imām*, scholar and *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Zur'a 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Rāzī, may God make his visage glow, stated in his fine book *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa* as follows, "Both Ṣafwān b. Ṣāliḥ al-Dimashqī, quoting al-Walīd, quoting Ibn Jarīr, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Dimashqī, quoting al-Walīd and 'Amr, that is, Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid, related to him that Ibn Jarīr stated that he heard Salīm b. 'Āmir al-Khabā'irī say, 'Abū Umāma al-Bāhilī informed me, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'While I was sleeping two men came to me, gripped me by the arm and took me to a desolate mountain. They told me, "Climb!" "I can't," I replied. "We'll make it easy for you," they said. I then climbed on up until I was at its centre and there I heard loud noises. "What are those noises?" I asked. "That is the groaning of those in hell," they replied. Then they took me on to where there were people suspended by their tendons, their mouths split open and streaming blood. "Who are these?" I asked. "These", they replied, "are those who eat before their fast has ended." Then he said, "The Jews and Christians will fail."'"'

Salīm (b. 'Āmir) asked, "Did he hear it from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), or was this his opinion?"[90]

"'The two men then took me on to where there were people exceedingly distended and exuding a foul odour like that of a toilet. "Who are these?" I asked. They replied, "These are unbelievers who have been killed." They then took me further where there were others even more distended and even more foul in smell, their odour also toilet-like. "Who are these?" I asked. "These are men and women who engage in prostitution," they replied. They then took me further

90. This comment or question intrudes into the text without explanation.

and I saw women whose nipples were being bitten by snakes. "What did these people do?" I asked. They replied, "They are women who denied milk to their children." They then took me further off to where there were children playing between two lakes. "Who are these?" I asked. "These are the children of believers," they told me.

"'Then they took me up to a high place where there were three men drinking wine. "Who are these?" I asked. "These are Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib, Zayd b. Ḥāritha and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa," they replied. Then they took me to yet another high point where I found myself with three other men. The two men said, "These are Abraham, Moses and Jesus, upon all of whom be peace. They await you."'"

Section: On the Poetry Verses spoken about the Expedition to Muʾta.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The following verses of Ḥassān (b. Thābit) are among those spoken in mourning for those killed at Muʾta,

'A difficult night I had in Yathrib, worry that kept me
sleepless while others slept deep.
Remembering a friend, my tears flowed copiously, and
memory often causes weeping.
Indeed, the loss of a friend is a tragedy, and what a
lot of noble men suffer yet persist!
I saw the finest Muslims go off in groups, while others
behind them delayed.
May God not keep distant those dead men who followed on
at Muʾta, including Jaʿfar who has wings
And Zayd and ʿAbd Allāh, all of whom followed on, when
the ropes of death swung.
That morning they went forth with the believers,
led on to death by that happy man of splendid
character,
Fine as the light of the moon, of Hāshim's line, proud
before injustice, valiant.
He thrust on until he lay down without a cushion on a
battlefield, a broken spear in him.
His reward is with that of the martyrs – a paradise of
gardens, under a canopy of green.
In Jaʿfar we saw someone faithful to Muḥammad, a man of
decision when he gives orders.
May there never cease to be in Islam men of Hāshim's
line, perpetual pillars of glory and the source of
pride.
They are Islam's mountain, and those around them are
large rocks rising up to splendid, towering heights.
Fine leaders, who include Jaʿfar and his brother ʿAlī,
as well as Aḥmad, the one chosen.

Ḥamza and al-'Abbās are of them too, as is 'Aqīl, the
sap of the tree from which he was pressed.
Through them all hardships are alleviated at every
dismal and difficult time when people suffer.
They are God's friends to whom He revealed his wisdom,
including that of absolute purity.'

"Ka'b b. Mālik, may God be pleased with him, spoke the following verses,

'While others slept, your eyes shed like water dripping
from the seam of a waterskin.
That night when cares overwhelmed me so that sometimes
I moaned, at others tossed and turned,
Sorrow kept returning, and I spent the night as though
guardian of Ursa and Pisces.
It felt as though a flame burned inside me, between my
ribs and intestines
In pain for those who followed one another at Mu'ta and
lay piled high, unremoved.
May God bless them, heroes all, and may fine rain water
their bones.
They endured at Mu'ta for God's sake, ignoring death
and fearful of cowardice.
They went on ahead of the Muslims, as though they were
young stallions accoutred with full armour,
Being led ahead by Ja'far and his banner; he was first
and how fine a leader!
Until the lines were breached and Ja'far lay stretched
out where the ranks had clashed.
The light-giving moon was changed then, and the sun was
obscured and almost set.
A leader of mighty stature, of Hāshim's line, most
honourable in his power, unmovable.
Men by whom God protected his servants, to whom the
revealed Book came down.
They were superior to other tribes in their honour and
dignity, their fine qualities overwhelming the
ignorant.
They would not expend their efforts on trivial matters,
and their spokesman would be seen to decide with
justice.
Noble of visage, their hands would be open and flow
with generosity, even when bad times excused them.
For their leadership, God was pleased at His creation,
and because of their bravery the God-sent Prophet was
made victorious.'"

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST MERCIFUL AND BENEFICENT.

THE BOOK ON THE DISPATCH BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) OF MISSIONS TO RULERS ABROAD AND HIS DOCUMENTS TO THEM INVITING THEM TO GOD, ALMIGHTY AND GLORIOUS IS HE, AND TO ENTER THE FAITH OF ISLAM.

Al-Wāqidī related that this happened at the end of year 6 AH, in Dhū al-Ḥijja, after the *ʿumra* to al-Ḥudaybiyya. Al-Bayhaqī gave this section in this position, following his account of the expedition to Muʾta. But God knows best.

There is no dispute among scholars that this activity began before the conquest of Mecca, and following al-Ḥudaybiyya. This accords with Abū Sufyān's response to Heraclius. When asked by him, "Would he betray?" Abū Sufyān replied, "No; we are into a period of time with him during which we do not know what he will do."

In al-Bukhārī's phrase, "That was the period in which Abū Sufyān had agreed to a truce with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "(This activity) took place in the period between al-Ḥudaybiyya and the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

We note here that comment, even though the statement of al-Wāqidī is preferable. But God knows best.

Muslim related, from Yūsuf b. Ḥammād al-Maʿnī, from ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, from Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote, before the battle of Muʾta, to Chosroe, to Caesar and to the Negus and to every tyrant, inviting them to God, Almighty and Glorious is He; this does not apply to the Negus, for whom he had prayed.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as having said, "Al-Zuhrī related to me, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, who said, 'Abū Sufyān related to me personally as follows, "We were a mercantile people. The warfare had so blocked us in that our merchandise was spoiled. When the truce came – that of al-Ḥudaybiyyā – between us and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), we were still not sure that we were safe. I went away to Syria on a trading expedition with a group of Quraysh. I swear, I didn't

know anyone in Mecca, man or woman, who did not consign goods to me. Our objective upon leaving Syria was to proceed to Gaza in Palestine.

"'"We left and reached there. That was at the time when Caesar, commander of the Byzantines, defeated the Persians in his country and expelled them, retrieving his great cross that they had stolen from him. News of this reached him when he was in his palace at Ḥims, in Syria. He left there on a march of thanks to Jerusalem, to pray there. Carpets were laid out to welcome him, and these were spread with aromatic plants. Eventually he reached Aelia (Jerusalem) and prayed there.

"'"One morning he got up depressed and turned his sight up to the sky. His patriarchs asked him, 'O King, are you worried this morning?' He replied, 'Yes, I am.' 'Why is that?' they enquired. He asked them, 'Did you notice that last night the *mulk al-khitan*,[91] the "king of the circumcised" was ascendant?' They swore in response that the only nation they knew who practiced circumcision was that of the Jews. They pointed out that they were under his power and sovereignty and that if this vision had come to him about them, then he should send throughout his kingdom and kill all the Jews and so relieve himself of this concern.

"'"While they were discussing this a messenger arrived from the governor of Buṣrā bringing in an Arab whom they had captured. The messenger told Caesar, 'Your majesty, this is an Arab, one of those people of sheep and camels. He will tell you about an event in his land if you would care to question him.' When the man was before him, Caesar told his interpreter, 'Ask him for news of what is going on in his country.' He did ask him and the man told him that there was news of an Arab of Quraysh who had come forth claiming to be a prophet and that some groups were supporting, others opposing him. He said that battle had occurred in several places and that all this had been in progress when he had left home.

"'"When he had related this, Caesar said, 'Strip him!' And he was found to be circumcised! Caesar commented, 'I swear by God, it was this I saw, not what you said. Give him back his clothes.' The Arab then left, free.

"'"Caesar then summoned his chief of police and told him, 'Turn Syria upside down until you bring me someone from that man's tribe I can question about him.'"'"

Abū Sufyān went on, "I and my companions were there in Gaza when he burst in on us demanding which tribe we were from. We told him and he took us all in to him.

91. The account in Ibn Isḥāq's text as translated by Guillaume omits the reference to the *mulk al-khitān* but includes information that Caesar had a vision in which it was revealed to him that "the kingdom of a circumcised man" would overwhelm his own empire. The *ḥadīth* in al-Bukhari's compendium quoted hereafter pp.358 et seq makes it clear that there has been an omission from Ibn Isḥāq's text as quoted here.

"Eventually there we were before him. And I swear I never saw a man more astute than him," – he was referring to Heraclius.

He went on, "Caesar asked us, 'Which of you is most closely related to that man?' I told him that I was and he asked me to approach closer. He then seated me before him and told my companions also to sit behind me. He told them, 'If he lies, then refute him.' I knew that they would not refute me even if I did lie, but I was a man of dignity and honour and would have been ashamed to lie. I also knew that if I did it was likely that they would report what I had said to others and that people would talk about me in Mecca. So I did not lie to him.

"Caesar asked, 'Tell me about this man who has come forth among you.' I responded by telling him a little about him, minimizing his importance. He was not impressed by this and told me to answer his questions about him. I said I would.

"He then asked, 'How do you view his lineage amongst you?'

"'To be pure and of our finest lineage,' I replied.

"'Tell me', he asked, 'has any other member of his family made claims similar to his and is he imitating that person?'

"'No,' I replied.

"'Tell me', he went on, 'is there any property involved that you have taken from him which might make him say these things so that you will return them to him?'

"'No,' I replied.

"'Tell me about his followers,' he asked. 'Who are they?'

"'They are the young, the powerless and the poor; his followers include no chiefs of high birth.'

"'Tell me about his companions; do they love and honour him, or (do they come to) despise and abandon him?'

"'No man who has accompanied him has ever abandoned him,' I replied.

"'Tell me about the warfare between yourselves and him,' he asked.

"'Well', I replied, 'it varies; sometimes it goes in our favour, sometimes in theirs.'

"'Tell me, would he betray?' This was the only thing he had asked that I could deceive him about, so I said, 'No; we now have a truce with him, yet we don't feel secure against some treachery by him.' But, I swear, Caesar took no account of this remark of mine.

"'He went on to talk further. He commented, 'You say he is of your purest lineage. God selects prophets that way; He only takes men from the purest lines in their people. I asked you whether any others of his family members were saying similar things that he is imitating; you said no. I asked whether he had some property you might have seized and suggested he might be saying what he is to get you to return it to him. But you said no. I asked you about his followers

and you maintain that they are young, powerless and poor. That's how the followers of prophets are in every age. I asked you whether those who follow him like and respect him or despise and abandon him. You claim that only rarely does someone follow him then abandon him. In such circumstances the sweetness of faith does not enter a person's heart then leave again.

"'I asked you about the warfare between you. You replied that sometimes it favours you, sometimes him. That is how warfare is for prophets, yet they win in the end. I asked you if he betrayed, and you said he did not.

"'If what you have said is the truth, then he will conquer the land beneath these feet of mine. I wish I were with him so I could wash his feet!'

"He then told me to go on about my business. So I arose, clapping my hands together and commented, 'This affair of Ibn Abū Kabsha has got to the point where the kings of those of pale skin fear him within their own domain!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated that al-Zuhrī related to him that a Christian bishop who lived at that time told him, "Diḥya b. Khalīfa took a message to Heraclius from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that said, 'In the name of the Most Merciful and Beneficent: From Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to the Great Heraclius of Byzantium. Peace be upon those who follow the guidance. Accept Islam and be safe; God will then give you reward twice over. If you refuse, then the sin of *al-akkārīn*, "the cultivators"[92] will be upon you.'

"When the letter reached him he read it and placed it between his thigh and his waist. He then wrote to one of the Byzantines who read Hebrew asking what he had read that was relevant to what had come from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He wrote back, 'He is the prophet who is awaited; there is no doubt about this, so follow him.'

"Caesar then summoned the Byzantine leaders and they were assembled for him in his capital chamber and he ordered that they be locked inside. He then looked down from an upper room at them, since he was afraid of them and said, 'Fellow Romans, I have received a message from Aḥmad! He is, I swear by God, the prophet we were awaiting and about whom there is information in our book. We recognize him by his qualities and time. Accept him and follow him and you will be safe both on earth and in the hereafter.' They snorted in disbelief, as one man, and rushed to the doors of the chamber, which they found locked against them.

"Caesar feared them and ordered, 'Bring them back!' He then said, 'Romans, I spoke to you these words only to test your commitment to your faith. I have been delighted by what I saw.' They all then fell in obeisance to him, he had the doors unlocked and they left."

Al-Bukhārī related the story of Abū Sufyān's contact with Heraclius with certain additions. I would like to give his account verbatim from his *ṣaḥīḥ*

92. Perhaps a reference to the parable of the evil grape-growers given in Matthew, XXI, v.33–46.

collection so that the disparity between that he gives and that of Ibn Isḥāq may be ascertained, along with the former's useful additions.

Al-Bukhārī stated, prior to the section of his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that deals with faith, as follows, "Abū al-Yamān al-Ḥakam b. Nāfiʿ related to us, quoting Shuʿayb, from al-Zuhrī, (who said), 'Ubayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b.ʿUtba b. Masʿūd informed me, that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās informed him that Abū Sufyān informed him that Heraclius sent for him while he was with a group of companions of Quraysh. They were merchants and in Syria and it was during the period in which he, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had made a truce with Abū Sufyān and the Quraysh unbelievers. They (Caesar's men) went to them in Aelia (Jerusalem) and he (Caesar) invited them to a meeting with him. Around him were the Byzantine dignitaries. He invited them (the Quraysh merchants) to come forward and summoned his translator. Caesar then asked, "Which of you is closest in relationship to this man claiming to be a prophet?"

"'Abū Sufyān went on, 'I am closest in relationship to him.'

"'Caesar said, "Bring him close to me and move his companions forward to sit at his back."

"'He then told his interpreter, "Tell them I want to ask him about this man. If he lies to me, then they should contradict him." And I swear by God, were it not for my embarrassment at having them attribute lies to me, I would have lied about him!

"'The first thing he asked was, "How do you regard his lineage among yourselves?" I replied, "He is of good lineage." He next asked, "Has any one of your people made such claims as he makes prior to him?" "No," I replied. He then enquired, "Was any of his forebears king?" "No," I replied.

"'"Is it your chiefs who are his followers, or your powerless?" "It is our powerless." "Are they increasing in number or decreasing?" he asked. "They are increasing," I told him. "Do any of his followers apostatize in anger at his faith after adopting it?" "No," I replied.

"'"Did you accuse him of telling lies prior to his making his claim?" "No," I replied. "Does he betray?" he enquired. "No," I told him. "We are in a truce and we don't know what he is doing now." This comment was the only one in which I could offer inference of anything (negative).

"'"Have you battled with him?' he asked. "Yes," I answered. "And how did the fighting between you turn out?" "The warfare between us has sometimes favoured him, sometimes us," I replied. "What is it that he commands you to do?" he asked. "He says", I responded, "as follows: 'Worship God alone. Do not associate anything with Him. And abandon what your forefathers used to say.' He orders us to pray, to be truthful, chaste, and to maintain our family ties."

"'He then told the translator, "Tell him, 'I asked you about his lineage, and you claimed that he is of high lineage. Messengers are sent among their people's nobility.'"

"'He went on, "I asked you whether any one else among you made such claims before him. You said not. If anyone had said the same before him, I would have said he was imitating him.

"'"I asked you whether any of his forebears was king. You said not; if one had ruled, I would have said, 'He is a man seeking his father's kingdom.'

"'"I asked you whether you accused him of lying before he made his claims. You said not. I then knew that he was not someone who would tell lies to people or lie about God.

"'"I asked you whether it is his people's leaders or the powerless who follow him. You said it was the powerless; they are the ones who do follow prophets.

"'"I asked you whether his supporters were increasing or decreasing. You said they were increasing. That is the way it is with a faith until it comes to fruition.

"'"I asked you whether any of his supporters later renege after becoming displeased with his religion. You said not. That is how it is with a faith, when joy with it pervades the people's hearts.

"'"I asked you whether he betrays. You said not. Similarly, prophets do not betray.

"'"I asked you what he orders you to do. You replied that it was to worship God, to associate no others with Him, not to worship idols, to pray, to be truthful and to be chaste.

"'"If what you say is true, then he will have dominion over the land beneath my feet. I knew he was going to come, but I did not think he would be one of you. If I knew I could reach him, I would rush to meet him. If I were with him, I would wash his feet."'"

He then called for the letter dispatched by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with Diḥya to the governor of Buṣrā which the latter had sent on to Heraclius. Its contents were as follows, "In the name of God the Most Compassionate, the most Merciful. From Muḥammad, the servant of God and His messenger to Heraclius, the leader of the Byzantines. Peace be upon him who follows the guidance. I invite you to Islam; accept it and you will be safe and God will give you double reward. If you turn away, then yours will be the sin of the *al-arīsiyyīn*,[93] the peasants. Moreover, O people of the scriptures, agree to a joint statement with us: that we will worship only God and will associate nothing with Him. That some of us will not take others as masters besides God. And if they turn away, say, 'Bear witness that we are Muslims'" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.64).

Abū Sufyān stated, "When he had said this and had finished reading the letter, there was an uproar in the court. Voices were raised and we were expelled.

93. See last footnote, above, p.357.

After we had left, I told my companions, 'This Ibn Abū Kabsha affair has got to the point where he even scares the king of those of pale skin!' Thereafter I was convinced that he would prevail; and eventually God drew me into Islam."

Al-Bukhārī continued, "Ibn Nāṭūr, governor of Aelia when Heraclius had been appointed leader of the Christians of Syria, would relate that after Heraclius had arrived in Aelia, he awoke one morning in a bad mood. Some of his patriarchs asked him why and expressed concern. Heraclius, Ibn Nāṭūr related, was a soothsayer who interpreted the stars. When they asked him about his mood, he replied, 'When I looked up at the stars, I saw that the "kingdom of the circumcised" was ascendant. Who is it of this nation who are circumcised?' They replied, 'Only the Jews practise circumcision; and you should definitely not fear them. Issue orders to your provincial town to kill all the Jews there.'

"While they were discussing this, in came to Heraclius a man sent by the king of Ghassān and he told them of the activities of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Heraclius questioned him further and gave orders for them to go and discover whether or not he (the messenger from Ghassān) was circumcised. They went and looked and reported that he was. Heraclius then asked whether or not the Arabs practised circumcision and was told that they did. Thereupon he said, 'The kingdom of this nation is ascendant!' He wrote to a colleague in Rome who was as knowledgeable as himself.

"Then Heraclius went to Ḥimṣ, where he had scarcely arrived before a letter came from his colleague agreeing with his own conclusion that the prophet who had emerged was indeed genuine. Heraclius had his dignitaries taken into a chamber in Ḥimṣ, the doors of which were locked. Looking down at them, he said, 'Byzantines! Is it your desire for success and right guidance and to have stability in your country? If so, then you will give allegiance to this prophet.'

"The dignitaries raced for the doors like wild onagers, but found them locked. When Heraclius saw their negative reaction, he despaired of them (accepting) the faith and ordered for them to be reassembled before him. He told them, 'I only spoke as I did before to test the strength of your allegiance to your faith. Now I have seen.'

"They bowed low before him and expressed their satisfaction with him. And this brought the (involvement) of Heraclius to an end."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, Yūnus and Ma'mar related this from al-Zuhrī."

Al-Bukhārī related this story in many places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, with idiomatic variants it would take long to examine. All the other scholars, except for Ibn Mājah, gave it in various lines of transmission back to al-Zuhrī.

We have discussed this *ḥadīth* at length and sufficiently early in our (*Tafsīr*) (*Exegesis*) of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, along with reference to its distinctive linguistic and contextual qualities.

Ibn Lahī'a stated, from al-Aswad, from 'Urwa, "Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb left on a mercantile expedition to Syria, accompanied by some colleagues. News of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Heraclius and he wished to ascertain what was known about him. So he sent word to the leader of the Arab community in Syria within his domain and ordered him to dispatch to him some Arabs so that he could question them about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He therefore sent to Heraclius 30 Arabs, including Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. They went in to him in the church in the centre of Aelia. Heraclius said, 'I sent for you to give me information about the activities of this man of Mecca.' They replied, 'He is a magician and a liar and no prophet.'

"Heraclius asked them, 'Then tell me, which of you knows him best and is closest to him in relationship?' They replied that that would be Abū Sufyān, his uncle, and that he had fought against him.

"When they told him that, he had them removed. Then he seated Abū Sufyān and questioned him. He asked, 'Now tell me, Abū Sufyān.' He replied, 'He is a magician and a liar.'

"Heraclius went on, 'I don't just want you to slander him; tell me about his lineage among you.' 'He is of the house of Quraysh,' he replied.

"'How is his intelligence, his reasoning?' 'We never found fault with his views.'

"'Was he deceitful, lying and wont to swear oaths in his business dealings?' 'No, I swear by God; he was not like that.'

"'Perhaps he is seeking some kingship or high honour that had previously been held by a forebear of his?' 'No,' Abū Sufyān replied.

"'Do any of those (who follow him) come back to you?' 'No,' he replied.

"'And did he renege after making an agreement?' Heraclius asked. 'No', he replied, 'except that he might renege on this truce,' Abū Sufyān replied.

"'And what are your fears about this truce?' 'My people and their allies have given a truce to him and his allies.' Heraclius commented, 'If you begin (the fighting) then it is you who will be the ones betraying.'

"Abū Sufyān became angry at this and said, 'He only ever beat us once, and I was absent that day! That was at Badr. Then I attacked him twice while they were in their homes, slitting open stomachs, cutting off their ears and private parts!'

"'And do you consider him a liar, or truthful?' Heraclius enquired. 'Oh, he's a liar,' he replied.

"'Well, if there is a prophet among you, you should not kill him. The Jews are the ones best at doing that!' Heraclius commented.

"Abū Sufyān then returned home."

There are strange aspects to this text, as well as some good points absent from the accounts of Ibn Isḥāq and al-Bukhārī.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related in his work on the military expeditions an account similar to that of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr. But God knows best.

Ibn Jarīr stated in his work on history as follows, "Ibn Ḥamīd related to us, quoting Salama, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from a certain scholar, who said, 'Heraclius said to Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī, when the latter brought him the letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "I swear by God, I know well that your leader is a prophet sent by God and that he is the one whom we have been awaiting and whom we find mentioned in our scripture. But I fear for myself from the Byzantines; if I did not, I would follow him. Go and see Bishop Ṣaghāṭir, and tell him about your leader. The Byzantines actually consider him more highly and more persuasive than myself. See what he tells you."

"'Diḥya went and told him what he had brought to Heraclius from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and informed him of what was the latter's message. Ṣaghāṭir responded, "I swear by God, your leader is a prophet; we know him from his qualities and we find him with his own name in our scriptures."

"'He then went and exchanged black clothing he had been wearing for white. He took his staff and went out to address the Byzantines in the church. He said, "Byzantines, a letter has reached us from Aḥmad inviting us to God. I bear witness that there is no god but God, and that Aḥmad is His servant and messenger." They attacked him immediately in unison, hitting him until they had killed him.

"'When Diḥya returned and informed Heraclius what had happened, the latter commented, "I told you! We fear for ourselves from them. And Ṣaghāṭir was more respected and effective in speaking with them than myself."'"

Al-Ṭabrānī related, through Yaḥyā b. Salama b. Kuhayl, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaddād, from Diḥya al-Kalbī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me with a letter to Caesar, leader of the Byzantines."

(The account continues) "Caesar was informed that there was a man at his gate claiming to be an envoy from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Caesar was disturbed at this and ordered that the man be brought in. This was done; he had his bishops present with him."

(Diḥya continued) "I gave him the letter which stated, 'In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to Caesar, leader of the Byzantines.' A nephew of Caesar's, tall, red-haired and blue-eyed, snorted in anger at this and said, 'Don't read out this letter today! He began it with himself and then wrote, "leader of the Byzantines" instead of "king of the Byzantines".'

"The letter was read to its end and Caesar ordered everyone out and sent for me. I went in and he asked me questions to which I answered. He then sent for his bishop, their most prominent figure, a man whose opinion and statements were influential, and when he read the letter, he said, 'By God, he is the prophet Moses and Caesar foresaw and whom we have awaited!' 'What do you advise me?' Caesar asked. The bishop replied, 'As for myself, I believe and follow him.' 'I too know', Caesar commented, 'that he is genuine, but I can do nothing. If I did, my kingdom would be lost and the Byzantines would kill me.'"

On this subject, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq quoted Khālid b. Yasār as relating that a Syrian elder said, "From what news he had heard of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and having decided to leave Syria for Constantinople, Heraclius assembled the Byzantines and addressed them as follows, 'Byzantines, I have certain issues I wish to present to you. Tell me what are your wishes regarding them.'

"They asked what they were and he went on, 'You will know, by God, that this man certainly is a prophet who has been sent. We find him to have those qualities by which he has been described to us (before); let us proceed and follow him and thus find peace in this world and the next.'

"They replied, 'But then we would be under the control of the Arabs; and we are more numerous, powerful and have a more extensive domain than they do!'

"He continued, 'Let us pay him the *jizya*, the poll-tax, every year. That will relieve pressure on me from him and by what I give him I will be spared possible warfare.'

"They responded, 'Why should we give to the despised and powerless Arabs tax money they would take from us, when we are the more numerous, have a more powerful nation and a larger domain? No, by God, we'll absolutely never do that!'

"'Well then,' Caesar suggested, 'let's make peace with him by my giving him Sūriyya, while he leaves me the land of al-Shām.' He explained that Sūriyya consisted of Palestine, Jordan, Damascus and Ḥimṣ, up to *al-darb*,[94] while the lands beyond *al-darb* constituted al-Shām.

"They objected, 'Why should we give him Syria when you know well that it is the very navel of al-Shām! We'll never do that!'

"When they refused, he asked them, 'Do you think, by God, that you'll have defeated him if you defend yourselves from him in your towns?'

"He then rode away on his mule, eventually looking down upon *al-darb* and approaching the land of al-Shām. He then said, 'Peace be upon you, land of Sūriyya; this is my farewell greeting.' He then hurriedly returned to Constantinople. But God knows best."

An Account of the dispatch by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of a message to the King of the Christian Arabs in Syria.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent Shujā' b. Wahb, brother of Banū Asad b. Khuzayma to al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith b. Abū Shimr al-Ghassānī, the governor of Damascus."

94. Lane, in his *Lexicon* states, "The Arabic name of the ancient *Derbe*, near the Cilician Gates, which were the chief mountain pass, from the direction of the countries occupied by the Arabs, into the territory of the Greek (*sic*) Empire." Derbe lay some 100 miles due east of Tarsus, some 120 miles north of Cyprus, well inside the boundaries of present-day Turkey. c.f. Guillaume (*op. cit.* p.657).

Al-Wāqidī stated, "He wrote a letter to take with him that said, 'Peace be upon him who follows the true path and believes in Him. I invite you to believe in God alone, and without associate who will preserve your kingdom for you.'

"When Shujāʿ b. Wahb arrived, he read it (to the king) who responded, 'Who is it who would take my kingdom away from me? I will go to him.'"

An Account of the delegation the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to Chosroe, King of the Persians.

Al-Bukhārī related, from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said), "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent his message with an envoy to Chosroe with orders that he deliver it to the governor of al-Baḥrayn. The governor forwarded it to Chosroe who tore it into shreds after he had read it.

"And I[95] believe that Ibn al-Musayyab said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cursed them, saying, 'May they be completely torn into shreds!'"

ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb quoted al-Zuhrī, from Yūnus, as saying, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qārī related to me, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) climbed the *minbar* one day to make an address and gave praise and thanks to God, spoke the *shahāda*, then said, 'I wish to send some of you forth to foreign kings; do not dispute among yourselves about me as Banū Isrāʾīl did about Jesus, son of Mary.'

"The *muhājirīn* said, 'O Messenger of God, we would never disagree about you over anything; order us to go forth.'

"He then dispatched Shujāʿ b. Wahb to Chosroe who had his palace decorated and assembled the dignitaries of Persia. He then brought in Shujāʿ b. Wahb. When he entered, Chosroe ordered that the letter be taken from him, but Shujāʿ b. Wahb told him, 'No; I will hand it only to you, as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me.' Chosroe had him brought forward and Shujāʿ then gave him the letter.

"Chosroe called for one of his scribes, a man from al-Ḥīra, who read it to him. It said, 'From Muḥammad, servant and Messenger of God, to Chosroe, leader of Persia.' It angered Chosroe that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had begun the letter with a reference to himself, and he shouted in anger and tore up the letter before he learned what it said. He then had Shujāʿ b. Wahb taken outside.

"Having seen what he had, Shujāʿ mounted his camel and left, saying, 'Well, I swear, I don't care which of the two routes I am on, since I did deliver the letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

"When the force of his anger had abated, Chosroe sent for Shujāʿ to go in to him. They searched but he could not be found. He was sought for as far as al-Ḥīra, but he had gone on ahead.

95. Presumably it is ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba who is quoted here.

"When Shujā' went in to tell how Chosroe had behaved and how he had torn up the letter, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'May Chosroe tear up his kingdom!'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq narrated, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from Abū Salama, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa with his message to Chosroe. When he read it, he tore it into shreds. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, "May he tear up his kingdom!"

Ibn Jarīr stated that Ibn Ḥamīd related to him, quoting Salama, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, who said, "He dispatched 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa b. Qays b. 'Adī b. Sa'īd b. Sahm to Chosroe, son of Hurmuz, the king of Persia with a message saying, 'In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to Chosroe, leader of Persia. Peace be upon those who follow the guidance, believe in God and His messenger and bear witness that there is no god but God who is unique and without associate, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger. I call upon you with God's invitation. I am God's messenger to all people, to warn all who live that the word (of God) bears witness against all unbelievers. If you accept Islam, you will be secure; if you refuse, then the sin of Magūs[96] will be upon you.'

"When he had read this, Chosroe ripped it up, saying, 'How dare he write this to me when he is my slave!'

"Chosroe then wrote to Bādhām, his governor over Yemen, saying, 'Dispatch two strong men of yours to this man in Ḥijāz to bring him to me.'

"Bādhām then sent off Qahramān, a scribe adept in Persian writing, along with a Persian named Kharkhara, carrying a message to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordering him to accompany them to Chosroe. And he told Abādhaway, 'Go into this man's country, talk to him and bring me news of him.'

"The two men left and when they reached Ṭā'if, they found there a man of Quraysh whom they questioned about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He told them, 'He is in Medina.' The people of Ṭā'if – and Quraysh too – welcomed the two men joyfully. They told one another, 'Rejoice! Chosroe, the King of Kings, is going after him! We'll be rid of him!'

"They left and when they reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) Abādhaway told him, 'The *Shāhinshāh* and King of Kings Chosroe wrote to King Bādhām ordering him to send to you those who would conduct you to him. He has sent me to you for you to leave with me. If you do so, a message will be sent on your behalf to the King of Kings that will be to your advantage and will protect you from him. If you refuse, then you know his reputation. He will destroy you and your people and lay waste to your country.'

"The two men then entered to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They had shaved off their beards but left their moustaches intact. He hated the sight of them

96. "Al-Magūs" applies to the followers of Zoroaster, a Persian self-styled prophet who lived in the last millennium before Christ.

and asked, 'Poor fellows! Who told you to do that?' They replied, 'It was our Lord' – meaning Chosroe. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Well, my Lord ordered me to spare my beard but cut off my moustache!' He then told them, 'Leave now and come back to me tomorrow.'

"Then news came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from heaven that God had empowered Chosroe's son Shīrawayh to kill his father. And on such-and-such a night of such-and-such a month Shīrawayh did attack and kill his father.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called in the two men and told them of this. They responded, 'Do you know what you are saying? We don't hate you so much as that! Shall we write to King Bādhām about you regarding this?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'Do tell him this from me. Say to him, "My faith and my power will attain that reached by Chosroe and will ultimately encompass all creatures." Tell him, "If you accept Islam, I will award you the land beneath your feet and make you and your sons kings over your people."'

"He then presented to Kharkhara a belt decorated with gold and silver that a king had given to him. The men left, returned to Bādhām and told him their news. He told them, 'I swear by God, those are not the words of a king; I see the man to be a prophet as he claims. Let it be as he said, for if it turns out as he predicted, he is indeed a prophet sent by God: Otherwise we will reconsider what to do.'

"Soon thereafter, a letter arrived from Shīrawayh which said, in part, 'I have killed Chosroe. I did so because of the anger in Persia at his killings of his nobility and having them stabbed in their mouths. When this letter reaches you, require those under your charge to give obedience to me. And ensure immediately that no attack is made against that man about whom Chosroe wrote to you, until you receive my order about him.'

"When this letter from Shīrawayh reached Bādhām, he said, 'This man certainly is a Messenger of God.' He then accepted Islam, as did all other Persians in Yemen.

"Bādhawayh said to Bādhām, 'I never spoke to anyone I found more awe-inspiring.' Bādhām asked him, 'Did he have armed guards with him?' 'No,' he replied."

Al-Wāqidī, may God have mercy on him, stated, "The assassination of Chosroe by his son Shīrawayh took place during the night of the 13th of Jumādā al-Ākhira, 7 AH at 6 o'clock."

I note that there is poetry saying that his death occurred in a *ḥarām*, a sacrosanct, month, as follows,

> "They killed Chosroe during the night of the sacrosanct
> month; he passed away and was accorded no shroud."

And an Arab poet[97] spoke the verses,

97. These verses are ascribed in Vol. 1 p.33 above to Khālid b. Ḥiqq al-Shaybānī.

"And there was Chosroe, sliced up by his sons with
swords as if he were meat.
On one day fate brought him to term; is not there a
term for every pregnant mother?"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Ḥamīd, from al-Ḥasan, from Abū Bakra, that a Persian came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and that the latter told him, "This night my Lord has killed your lord."

(The narrator continued) "And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was told that Chosroe's daughter had been appointed to succeed him, he commented, 'No people governed by a woman will prosper.'"

Al-Bayhaqī also said, "It is related in a *ḥadīth* from Diḥya b. Khalīfa that when he returned from visiting Caesar, he found emissaries from Chosroe meeting with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This was because Chosroe had sent a threatening message to the governor of Ṣanʿā' asking him, 'Can't you rid me of this man who has appeared in your land and has asked me to accept his religion? Take care of him, or I will of you!'

"And so the governor sent envoys to him who received the response from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Notify him that my Lord has killed his lord tonight.' They found it to be as he said.

"And Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind related much the same, from ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī."

Then al-Bayhaqī narrated through Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh, from Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "Saʿd went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, 'I see some news from Saʿd's face!' Saʿd then said, 'Messenger of God, Chosroe is dead!' He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) commented, 'God curse Chosroe! The first people destroyed will be the Persians, and then the Arabs!'"

I note that it is clear that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) first told this to the two envoys of Chosroe who had come to him on behalf of the governor of Yemen, Bādhān. Then the news came of the accuracy of the statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Saʿd being the first to hear it. And so he then came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him of this accuracy. Al-Bayhaqī, may God have mercy on him, thus gave this account.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through more than one line, from al-Zuhrī, as follows, "Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān informed me that it had reached him that while Chosroe was in his palace reception chamber a petitioner was brought – or sent – to him, seeking his rights and to his great surprise a man walked up bearing a staff, saying, 'Chosroe, will you accept Islam before I break this staff?' Chosroe answered, 'Yes; don't break it!' The man turned and left. When he had gone, Chosroe sent to his chamberlain and asked, 'Who permitted this man access to me?' The replied, 'But no one went in to see you.' 'You lie!' he insisted. He was angry and threatened them, then left them.

"When the new year came, the man returned, carrying the staff. He said, 'Chosroe, will you accept Islam before I break this staff?'

"'Yes; don't break it,' he agreed.

"When the man had left, he called for his chamberlain and questioned him as he had the first time.

"Next year back came that man carrying the staff. He asked Chosroe, 'Will you accept Islam before I break this staff?' 'Don't break it! Don't break it!' Chosroe asked. But the man did break it. And thereupon God destroyed Chosroe."

Imām al-Shāfiʿī stated that Ibn ʿUyayna informed him, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "When Chosroe perishes, there will be no Chosroe after him; and when Caesar perishes, there will be no Caesar after him. And, I swear by him who holds my soul in His hands, their treasures will be spent in God's cause."

Muslim gave this from a *ḥadīth* of Abū ʿUyayna, and both of these quoted it as a *ḥadīth* from al-Zuhrī.

Al-Shāfiʿī stated, "(It is said that) When the letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was brought to Chosroe, he tore it up and the former commented, 'May his kingdom be torn up!' But we maintain that Chosroe honoured the letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and placed it in musk[98] and that what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said was, 'May his kingdom be preserved!'"

Al-Shāfiʿī and other scholars say that when Arabs, some of whom having accepted Islam, went out on merchant ventures to Syria and Iraq, they would complain to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of their fear of the kings of those two countries. And he would respond, "When Chosroe perishes, there will be no Chosroe after him; and when Caesar perishes, there will be no Caesar after him."

He (al-Shāfiʿī) stated, "And the kingdom of the Chosroes did indeed die out completely, and that of Caesar and Syria also ended completely, even though in general their reign persisted. This was grace to the prayer spoken for them by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when they honoured his letter. But God knows best."

I note that in this there is a fine announcement that the rule of the Romans will never return to Syria.

The Arabs used to use the term *Qayṣar*, "Caesar", to denote the Roman who ruled Syria, along with the (Arabian) peninsula. The term *Kisrā*, "Chosroe", was applied to whomever ruled the Persians, *al-Najāshī*, "the Negus", to the ruler of Abyssinia, *al-Muqawqis* for the ruler of Alexandria, *Farʿūn*, "Pharoah" for whomever ruled Egypt as an unbeliever, and *Baṭlaymūs* (Ptolemy), for the ruler of India. They also accorded other generic titles; we have mentioned these elsewhere.[99] But God knows best.

98. Presumably to perfume and preserve it.

99. Vol. II, above, p.26.

Muslim related, from Qutayba and others, from Abū 'Awāna, from Simāk, from Jābir b. Samra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'A group of Muslims will discover the treasures of Chosroe in the white fortress.'"

Asbāṭ narrated, from Simāk, from Jābir b. Samara, a *ḥadīth* similar to that and added, "I and my father were among them, and we acquired 1,000 dirhams from that."

THE EMBASSY OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) TO AL-MUQAWQIS, RULER OF THE CITY OF ALEXANDRIA; HIS NAME WAS JURAYJ B. MĪNĀ THE COPT.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Isḥāq as stating, "Al-Zuhrī related to me, from 'Abd Al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Qārī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balta'a to the Muqawqis, ruler of Alexandria. When Ḥāṭib delivered to him a letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he kissed it, honoured Ḥāṭib and entertained him well. He then sent him back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), dispatching to him with Ḥāṭib a ceremonial gown, a mule and saddle and two slave girls, one of whom became Ibrāhīm's[100] mother. The other girl was presented by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Muḥammad b. Qays al-'Abdī."

Al-Bayhaqī related this also.

He then narrated through 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam, from his father (who said) "Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balta'a, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me to the Muqawqis, the ruler of Alexandria. I took him a letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he gave me accommodation in his home and there I stayed with him. He then sent for me, having assembled his patriarchs. He said, "I have questions for you and would like you to help me reach understanding." I replied, "Please ask." He said, "Tell me about your master; is he not a prophet?" "He is indeed," I replied. "He is the Messenger of God." "Then why", he asked, "if he is so, why did he not curse his people, since they evicted him from his country to another?" I replied, "Take Jesus, son of Mary; do you not bear witness that he was the Messenger of God?" "Yes, indeed I do," he replied. "Well", I asked, "what about when his people took him and wanted to crucify him; could he not have cursed them and had God destroy them when God raised him up to the earthly heaven?" He replied, "You are a wise man who has come from a wise man. These are presents I am dispatching with you to Muḥammad. And I am sending with you a guard who will conduct you to your safe haven."

"'He presented to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) three slave girls, including one who was the mother of Ibrāhīm, son of the latter. One girl the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented to Ḥassān b. Thābit, the *anṣārī*. He also sent some of his treasures to him.'"

100. The son of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq recounted that he presented four girls to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), one of whom was Mārīya, Ibrāhīm's mother. Another was Sīrīn, whom he gave to Ḥassān b. Thābit; to him she bore ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān.

I note that among these presents was a black eunuch named Maʾbūr, a pair of plain black slippers, and a white female mule named al-Daldal.

This Maʾbūr was a eunuch. At first no one knew this, so when he began going in to Mārīya, as had been his habit in Egypt, people gossiped. They did not know the truth of the matter, that he was a eunuch. Eventually someone noted that he was the one the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib to kill, but he let him go when he found him to be a eunuch. The *ḥadīth* relating this is contained in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, with a line of transmission through Ḥammād b. Salama.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Salīṭ b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd, brother of Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy, to Hawdha b. ʿAlī, leader of al-Yamāma. He sent al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī to Jayfar b. al-Jalandī and ʿAmmār b. al-Jalandī, both of Azd, rulers of ʿUmān."

THE EXPEDITION TO DHŪ AL-SALĀSIL

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it here, before the account of the conquest (of Mecca). His line of transmission leads through Mūsā b. ʿUqba and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, both of whom said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to Dhū al-Salāsil in the Syrian uplands, in territory of Balī and ʿAbd Allāh and those of Quḍāʿa allied to them."

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr stated, "Banū Balī were uncles of al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil. When he travelled there, he was afraid at the large numbers of the enemy. So he sent word to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asking for reinforcements. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assigned the first *muhājirīn*; Abū Bakr and ʿUmar volunteered, along with a group of *muhājirīn* leaders, may God be pleased with them all. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ as their leader."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "When they reached ʿAmr, he told them, 'I am your leader; it was I who sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to seek reinforcements.' The *muhājirīn* replied, 'No; you are leader of your men, while Abū ʿUbayda is in command of the *muhājirīn*.' ʿAmr insisted, 'No; you're just reinforcements provided to me.'

"When Abū ʿUbayda, who was a man of fine disposition and easy-going nature, said, 'You know, ʿAmr, that the last instruction he gave me was to say, 'When you reach your comrade, obey him.' If you disobey me, then I will obey you.' Abū ʿUbayda gave the leadership over to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Tamīmī related to me, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent

ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to bring the Arabs into Islam.[101] This was because the mother of al-ʿĀṣ b. Wā'il was from Banū Balī. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him to them, for he would therefore be at ease with them. When he arrived at a well in Judhām territory known as al-Salāsil – this expedition being known by that name – he became concerned. And so he sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for reinforcements. The latter sent him Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ along with the first *muhājirīn*, among whom were Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. When he dispatched Abū ʿUbayda, he told him, "Do not quarrel."

"'Abū ʿUbayda then set forth and when he arrived, ʿAmr said to him, "You have merely come to reinforce me." Abū ʿUbayda said, "No; but I will do my duty, as you will."

"'Abū ʿUbayda was a mild and easy-going man. ʿAmr told him, "I insist; you are my reinforcements." Abū ʿUbayda replied, "ʿAmr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, 'Do not quarrel.' So even if you disobey me, I will obey you." ʿAmr told him, "Well, I am your commander, and you are my reinforcement." "So be it," he replied.

"'And ʿAmr went and led the prayers with the men.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated that Rabīʿa b. ʿUthmān related to him, from Yazīd b. Rūmān, that when Abū ʿUbayda reached ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ they totalled 500 men and travelled on day and night into Balī territory, overrunning it as they went. Whenever they arrived at some settlement, they were told that those who had been there had dispersed on hearing of their approach. Eventually they reached the furthest part of the territory of Balī, ʿUdhra and Balqīn. There they finally encountered a small force with which they briefly fought, engaging in exchanges of arrows. ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa suffered a wound in his arm. The Muslims attacked and defeated the enemy, who dispersed and fled. ʿAmr plundered the area for a few days, hearing nothing of any enemy force being gathered, and receiving no information where they had gone. He sent out his cavalry to bring in sheep and camels which they slaughtered, but they captured nothing more; there were no spoils to be distributed.

Abū Dā'ūd said that Ibn al-Muthannā related to him, quoting Wahb b. Jarīr, quoting his father, (who said), "I heard Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb relate from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from ʿImrān b. Abū Anas, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr, from ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, who said, 'I involuntarily discharged semen on a very cold night during the expedition to Dhū al-Salāsil. I was afraid that if I were to wash, I would perish. So I performed the ablutions with sand, then performed the morning prayers with my men. They later reported that to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God asked, "ʿAmr, did you really pray with your men while in a state of *junub*, ritual impurity?" I then told him what had prevented me from washing myself

101. The Arabic printed text notes that Ibn Hishām's version of Ibn Isḥāq substitutes "into Syria" for "into Islam".

and said, "I heard God say, 'Do not kill yourselves; God is compassionate towards you'" (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*; IV, v.29). The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed and said no more.'"

Muḥammad b. Salama related to us, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Ibn Lahīʿa and ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from ʿImrān b. Anas, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr, from Abū Qays, the freed-man of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs. – who had been on an expedition, and related the *ḥadīth* similarly. He said, "He washed under his thighs, performed the ablutions for prayer and prayed with the rest." He then related approximately the same as above, but he did not refer to having cleaned himself with sand.

Abū Dāʾūd stated, "This anecdote is related from al-Awzāʿī, from Ḥassān b. ʿAṭiyya, who said in it that he cleaned himself with sand."

Al-Wāqidī stated, Aflaḥ b. Saʿīd related to me, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Raqīsh, from Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, who said, "While away on an expedition, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ involuntarily discharged semen during a night of exceeding cold. He asked his men, 'What do you think? I had a discharge, but if I wash, I'll die!' He had water brought and did perform the ablutions, washing his private parts and cleaning himself with sand. He then went on and performed the prayer with the rest. ʿAwf b. Mālik was sent on ahead to report. He said, 'I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the pre-dawn, while he was praying in his home. I greeted him and he said, "You're ʿAwf b. Mālik?" I said I was and he said, "The one who slaughters camels?" I said yes, and he added nothing more. He then asked, "Well, tell me the news." I made a report to him on our expedition and of the disagreement between Abū ʿUbayda and ʿAmr, and how Abū ʿUbayda had submitted to ʿAmr. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "May God be pleased with Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ!"

"'I then told him that ʿAmr had prayed with the men while he was in a state of *junub*, and that even though he had water, he had only washed his private parts in performing the ablutions. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent.

"'When ʿAmr returned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him about his performance of the prayer and he related it to him, commenting, "I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, that if I had washed completely, I would have died; I never experienced cold like that. And the Almighty had said, 'Do not kill yourselves; God is compassionate towards you.'"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed; and we have not heard that he made any comment.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb quoted ʿAwf b. Mālik al-Ashjaʿī as saying, 'I was present on the expedition to Dhū al-Salāsil sent out by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) under ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. I went in the company of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. We passed by some people who had slaughtered some camels but did not know how to cut them up properly. I was a proficient butcher, so I told them, "If you will give me a tenth share, I'll divide it up between you." They agreed

and so I took a sharp knife and cut it up, right then and there. I took a portion for myself and carried it off to my companions and we cooked and ate it. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar then asked, "Where did you get this meat, ʿAwf?" I told them and they said, "By God, you did not do well to feed us this!" Then they arose and brought back up the food from their stomachs.

"'When we set off for home from that trip, I was the first to reach the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he was praying in his house. I greeted him, *al-salāmu ʿalayka*, "'peace be upon you', Messenger of God!" He responded, "You're ʿAwf b. Mālik?" "Yes, indeed I am, I swear." "The one who did the butchering?" he asked, but made no further comment.'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related it thus, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from ʿAwf b. Mālik, and the *ḥadīth* is missing links in its chain of transmission and is, moreover, *muʿḍal*, "enigmatic".

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Ibn Lahīʿa and Saʿīd b. Abū Ayyūb related this from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Rabīʿa b. Laqīṭ, from Mālik b. Zuhdum from ʿAwf b. Mālik. I believe he (ʿAwf) related it as above except for his using the words, 'I offered it to ʿUmar; he asked me about it, and I told him. He then said, "You have accelerated your reward!" and he did not eat it.'"

He then narrated it similarly from Abū ʿUbayda and in that version made no mention of Abū Bakr. It ends approximately as above.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and Abū Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAmr informed him as follows, "Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Aṣamm related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. Abū Ṭālib, quoting ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim, quoting Khālid al-Ḥadhdhā', from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī (who said), 'I heard ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me forth in command of the army sent to Dhū al-Salāsil. Among us were Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. I told myself that he would only have given me command over Abū Bakr and ʿUmar because of some very high regard he had for me. So once I went to him, sat down before him and asked, 'Messenger of God, who is your favourite person?' 'Ā'isha,' he replied. 'I wasn't asking you about your family,' I told him. 'Then it would be her father,' he replied. 'Who after that,' I enquired. 'ʿUmar,' he replied. I went on asking until he had mentioned a number of men. Then I told myself that I had better stop asking!'"'

This *ḥadīth* is given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections through Khālid b. Mahrān al-Ḥadhdhā', from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī, his name being ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mul. (The latter said), "'ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him out in command of the army to Dhū al-Salāsil. (ʿAmr said), 'I went to him and asked, "Which person do you like best?" "Ā'isha," he replied. "And from the men?" I enquired. "Her father," he said. "Who then?" I asked. "Then ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ," he answered. He went on to enumerate various other men.'"

This is the text given by al-Bukhārī. In one account ʿAmr is quoted as saying, "I fell silent, fearing that he would place me last!"

THE EXPEDITION OF ABŪ ʿUBAYDA TO THE SEA COAST.

Imām Mālik quoted Wahb b. Kaysān as stating that Jābir said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out an expedition towards the coast; in command he appointed Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. The force consisted of 300 men. And I was one of them.

"Having travelled part of the way, our food supply became depleted. Abū ʿUbayda ordered all the remaining food to be gathered together. The food consisted of dates. He would distribute a very little of it to us each day until eventually all we received was one date per day. I asked him, 'What good is one date?' He replied, 'You'll find out when it has run out!'

"At last we arrived at the sea where we found a whale as big as a hillock. The army ate from it for 18 days; then Abū ʿUbayda ordered that two of its ribs be set up. He then had his mount saddled and he passed beneath them without touching them."

This anecdote is given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik in similar form.

It is also included in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections through Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out with a force of 300 mounted men, our commander being Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. We were to look for caravans belonging to Quraysh. We were overcome by intense hunger, so that we were forced to eat *al-khabaṭ*, 'tree leaves'. The army therefore became known as the *khabaṭ* army. Then a man slaughtered 3 camels then 3 more and yet 3 more. Ultimately Abū ʿUbayda forbade him from doing this. Then the sea cast up a creature called an *ʿanbar*, a sperm whale. We ate of it for half a month and we grew fat and our bodies became healthy."

He then went on to relate about the ribs. The reference here to looking for caravans belonging to Quraysh indicates that this expedition occurred before the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya. But God knows best. The man in the anecdote who butchered the camels was Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿIbāda, may God be pleased with him.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Bakr b. Isḥāq narrated to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Qutayba, quoting Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, quoting Abū Khaythamā – he being Zuhayr b. Muʾāwiya – from Abū al-Zubayr, who quoted Jābir as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out on an expedition under the command of Abū ʿUbayda to seek caravans belonging to Quraysh. He provisioned us with leather bags full of dates; that was all we had. Abū ʿUbayda would ration them out one by one.

"I (Abū al-Zubayr) asked Jābir, 'What did you do with them?' He replied, 'We would chew on them like the children do, then we would drink water with them, and that would last us all day until the night. We also would knock down leaves with our sticks, pour water over them and eat them.

"'We went to the sea coast and there on the beach something as big as a sand dune was cast up. When we approached it, we found it to be a creature called an *ʿanbar*, a sperm whale. Abū ʿUbayda first said that it was dead.[102] But he then said, "No; after all, we are messengers on behalf of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and pursuing God's cause. You are forced to do so; eat it." So we ate off it for a month, all 300 of us, and put on weight again. We would ladle the fat out of its eye sockets with leather bottles and cut meat off it the size of a bull. Abū ʿUbayda took 13 of us and sat them in its eye. He also took one of its ribs, stood it upright, saddled the biggest of his camels and passed under it. We provisioned ourselves with strips of its meat dried, and when we returned to Medina and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him this, he said, "It was bounty that God brought forth for you; do you have any of its meat you could give us to eat?" And we did send some to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he ate it.'"

Muslim related this from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, and Aḥmad b. Yūnus and Dā'ūd related it from al-Nufaylī, all three of them deriving it from Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiya al-Jaʿfī al-Kūfī, from Abū al-Zubayr, Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Tadrus al-Makkī, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh the *anṣārī*.

Most of these texts require this expedition to have preceded the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya. However, we have given it here following the example of the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī, may God have mercy on him. He positioned it following Mu'ta and before the conquest. But God knows best.

After examining the Mu'ta expedition, Al-Bukhārī related that of Usāma b. Zayd to al-Ḥaraqāt of (Banū) Juhayna. He stated that ʿAmr b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Hushaym, quoting Ḥuṣayn b. Jundub, quoting Abū Ẓubyān, who said, "I heard Usāma b. Zayd say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out against al-Ḥaraqa; we attacked them in the morning and defeated them. I and an *anṣārī* chased after one of their men and when we caught up with him, he said *Lā Ilāha illā Allāh*, "there is no god but God". At this the *anṣārī* stopped, but I stabbed at him with my spear until I had killed him. When we returned home, this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he asked me, "Usāma, did you really kill him after he had said, *Lā Ilāha illā Allāh*?" "He was only trying to save himself," I replied. But he kept on asking me the same question until I wished I had not accepted Islam before that incident.'"

We have quoted and discussed this *ḥadīth* heretofore.

Al-Bukhārī then went on to narrate the *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd, from Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, who said, "I participated in seven military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and fought also in nine others on which he sent us. On one we were commanded by Abū Bakr, and on another by Usāma b. Zayd, may God be pleased with both."

102. Muslims are prohibited from eating the flesh of an animal that has not been slaughtered in accord with Islamic practice and after the invocation of God's name over it.

At this point the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī recounted the death of the Negus, the ruler of Abyssinia, in a state of being Muslim, the announcement of his death to the Muslims being made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and the latter's prayer for him.

It was narrated through Mālik, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced the death of the Negus on the day he died, led the people to the mosque where he lined them up and that he then pronounced *Allāhu Akbar*! "God is Most Great", four times.

Both these authorities derive their accounts from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik and also from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from ʿUqayl, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd and Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra in similar terms.

They both also gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Today a fine man died; pray for Aṣḥama.'"

These accounts have also been quoted and discussed heretofore; and all praise be to God!

I note that it seems that the death of the Negus occurred a substantial time before the conquest (of Mecca). In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it is said that when he wrote to the foreign rulers, he also wrote to the Negus and that he was not a Muslim. Others, like al-Wāqidī, claim that he was. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Muslim b. Khālid al-Zanjī, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from his father, from Umm Kulthūm, (who said), "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) married Umm Salama, he told her, 'I have sent to the Negus some ounces of musk and a copper pot as presents, but I believe that he has died. I expect the presents to be returned to me. If that happens' – I believe he said this – 'then I will divide them between you.' Or he may have said, 'and they will be yours'.

"And it was as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said. The Negus did die and the presents were returned. He then gave an ounce (of the perfume) to one of his wives and all the rest to Umm Salama."

THE GREAT CONQUEST OF MECCA. IT OCCURRED IN RAMAḌĀN, 8 AH.

God, Almighty is He, made reference to it in several places in the Qurʾān. He stated, "Not equal among you are those who spent before the conquest, and did battle; these are higher in rank than those who spent and fought thereafter. But to all (of these) God has promised reward" (*sūrat al-Ḥadīd*; LVII, v.10).

He also stated, "When God's help comes and the conquest and you see people entering God's religion in droves, then celebrate with praise of your Lord and seek His forgiveness. He is indeed forgiving" (*sūrat al-Naṣr*; CX, v.1–3).

The cause of the conquest, following the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya, was as Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated. He said, "Al-Zuhrī related to me, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, who said that al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam both

told him as follows, 'It was stipulated in the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya that whoever wished to enter into an alliance with Muḥammad could do so, and that those wishing to ally with Quraysh could also do that. Thereafter Khuzāʿa stated that they wished to be allied with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while Banū Bakr joined with Quraysh.

"'The truce remained in effect for some 17 or 18 months. But then Banū Bakr attacked Khuzāʿa at night at a well called al-Watīr, close to Mecca. Quraysh, thinking that because it was night and that they would not be observed, assisted Banū Bakr by providing horses and weapons, and they fought along with them in order to express their hatred for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"'When the conflict between Khuzāʿa and Banū Bakr became intense, ʿAmr b. Sālim rode off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to tell him the news. He had composed some verses on the subject and spoke these to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he arrived,

"O Lord, I address Muḥammad and invoke his father's
pact with our ancient forebears.
You were as children and we as parents and then we
accepted Islam and never held back.
So Help the Messenger of God with a final victory, and
call for God's servants to come up as reinforcements
Including the Messenger of God, accoutred for war;
when angry, his face becomes stern.
With an army broad as the sea and foaming; Quraysh
have broken their pacts.
They have destroyed their clear treaty with you and
sent guards for me up on Mt. Kadā.
They claim that I will not inspire (to help) yet they
are more lowly and fewer in number.
They attacked us at night while we slept at al-Watīr,
and killed us as we bowed in prayer."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "You have been helped, ʿAmr b. Sālim!"

"'Soon a cloud passed overhead in the sky and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "This cloud is bringing aid to Banū Kaʿb."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told his men to prepare for battle, but he hid from them his destination. He asked God to blind Quraysh to news of him so that he could surprise them in their own territory.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The reason for the trouble was that a man named Mālik b. ʿAbbād, of Banū al-Ḥaḍramī, allied to al-Aswad b. Rizn, went out on a trading trip. When he was deep in Khuzāʿa territory, they attacked him, killed him and robbed him. Banū Bakr then attacked a man of Banū Khuzāʿa and killed him. Khuzāʿa, just before accepting Islam, had attacked the sons of al-Aswad b. Rizn

al-Dīlī, Salmā, Kulthūm and Dhuʾayb, leaders who were the pride of Banū Kināna, and killed them at ʿArafa at the boundary rocks marking the sacred area.

"A man of al-Dīl related to me that Banū al-Aswad b. Rizn, due to their high prestige, were paid double blood-wit in the pre-Islamic period, while Banū al-Dīl received single blood-wit.

"While Banū Bakr and Khuzāʿa were engaged in this conflict, Islam came between them. When the agreement at al-Ḥudaybiyya was made, Banū Bakr made a pact with Quraysh, as did Khuzāʿa with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Then the truce went into effect. But Banū al-Dīl, (a clan) of Banū Bakr, used it to gain revenge from Khuzāʿa for the men killed. Nawfal b. Muʾāwiya al-Dīlī went out at the command of their men; not all of Banū Bakr followed him, however. He attacked Khuzāʿa, killing one of their men, at al-Watīr, a well of theirs. The sides then disengaged, then battled on. Quraysh supplied Banū Bakr with weapons and some of them participated in the fighting, using the dark of night to conceal their identity, until eventually they forced Khuzāʿa inside the sacred territory. Once inside it, Banū Bakr pointed out to Nawfal, 'We have entered the sacred territory! (Think of) your God! Your God!' He (Nawfal) then said an awful thing, 'There is no God today! Banū Bakr, gain your revenge! I swear by my life that you steal within the sacred area, so can you not also gain your revenge?'

"Khuzāʿa took refuge in the house of Budayl b. Warqāʾ in Mecca and in that of a freed-man of theirs named Rāfiʿ. Al-Akhzar b. Luʿṭ al-Dīlī spoke the following verses on this subject,

'Have the people of furthest Abyssinia learned that we
defeated Banū Kaʿb with our arrow heads?
We imprisoned them in the home of the slave Rāfiʿ, and
also with Budayl we kept them, inactive.
In the home of a base and passive man, once we had
satisfied our anger by the use of our swords,
we confined them to their great distress, having
descended upon them like a rain torrent from a mountain
gully
Slaughtering them like goats, as if we were lions,
slashing our swords into them.
They had wronged us and acted aggressively and were the
first to murder at the sacred boundary,
So scared when attacked that they were like ostrich
chicks, their flight blocked by Mt. Thawr.'

"Budayl b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Salama b. ʿAmr b. al-Ajabb, known as Budayl b. Umm Aṣram, answered him back with the following verses:

'A boastful people made a pact, but we have left them
only Nāfil as their chief to assemble them.
Was it fear of the prime people, whom you disdain, that
you went beyond al-Watīr, panicking, not to return?

Every day we favour those we protect by paying the blood-wit, but no one needs to favour us.

We attacked your homes at al-Talāʿa with our swords that forestalled any complainer's blame.

We defended against the tribe's attack from all the way from between Bayḍ and ʿAtūd to the slopes of Mt. Raḍwā.

At the battle at al-Ghamīm ʿUbays retreated in haste; we terrified him by our brave chief.

Perhaps it was because the mother of one of you had diarrhoea that you fled and we did not fight?

By God's house, you lie! You did not do battle; but we left your affairs in confusion.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Salama related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "You can expect to see Abū Sufyān come to you to re-establish the pact and extend its duration."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Then Budayl b. Warqā' went with a group of Khuzāʿa to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told how they had been attacked and how Quraysh had joined with Banū Bakr against them. They then left and on their way back, at ʿUsfān, encountered Abū Sufyān. Quraysh had dispatched him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to reaffirm and extend the pact, since they were now worried by what they had done.

"When Abū Sufyān met Budayl he asked him whence he had come, thinking that he had come from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Budayl replied that he had been travelling in that valley and along the coast with Banū Khuzāʿa. Abū Sufyān thereafter went to where Budayl's camel had knelt and examined its droppings; he found it to contain date stones. He said, 'I swear, Budayl has been to Muḥammad!'

"Abū Sufyān then made his way to Medina to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), where he went in to see his own daughter, Umm Ḥabība. When he was about to sit on the rug of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), she rolled it up. He then commented to her, 'I wonder whether you consider this rug undesirable for me or me for it!' She replied, 'It is the rug of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and you are a dirty polytheist! I won't have you sit on his rug!' He responded, 'Well, daughter, you've certainly turned out badly since you left me!'

"He then went to see Abū Bakr whom he asked to speak on his behalf with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but he refused. He next visited ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and spoke with him, but ʿUmar replied, 'Me intercede for you with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)! I swear, if ants were all I had to fight you with, I'd do it!'

"Abū Sufyān then made his way to (the home of) ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, where he also found Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She was sitting playing with her son Ḥasan. Abū Sufyān said, 'ʿAlī, you are the man closest in relationship to me. I have come with a request and I don't want to leave disappointed. Please intercede with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on my behalf.'

He replied, 'I sympathize, Abū Sufyān, but once the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has determined something, we just can't talk to him about it.' Abū Sufyān then turned to Fāṭima and said, 'Muḥammad's daughter, won't you have this son of yours bring protection between our men so that he may then become the lord of all the Arabs till the end of time?' She replied, 'My son is not old enough to bring such protection, and no one could provide protection against the Prophet (ṢAAS).'

"Abū Sufyān then addressed ʿAlī, 'I'm really in desperate circumstances; what advice can you give me?' ʿAlī replied, 'I swear, I don't know what would help you. But you are chief of Banū Kināna. Why don't you arise in public, guarantee protection against them, then return home?' 'You think that might well do me some good?' he asked. ʿAlī replied, 'Well, I really don't, but that's all I think you can do.'

"So Abū Sufyān stood up in the mosque and said, 'I guarantee protection between our men.' He then mounted his camel and rode off. When he reached Quraysh, they asked what he had accomplished. He reported how he had gone and visited Muḥammad and spoken with him but had received no response, gone on to Ibn Abū Quḥāfa[103] without avail, and then to ʿUmar whom he had found very antagonistic. He commented that he had found ʿAlī the most sympathetic and reported that he had given him advice which he had followed, though without any expectation that it would prove useful. They asked what he had advised. Abū Sufyān reported how ʿAlī had advised offering protection, which he had done. They enquired whether the Prophet (ṢAAS) had approved that, and Abū Sufyān said no. They commented that ʿAlī had been toying with him and that Abū Sufyān had gained nothing. He replied that he had not known what else to do."

Al-Suhaylī makes a useful addition to this account. He commented on Fāṭima's words in this *ḥadīth*, "No one gives protection against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)". This contradicts what is in the *ḥadīth*, "Their least powerful will give protection for all Muslims". He stated that he reconciled both versions by saying that the *ḥadīth* refers to one who will grant protection to an individual or a few people only. As for Fāṭima's words, they refer to the giving of protection to a large number of people upon whom the *Imām* has declared war; in such a case no one can offer protection. He (al-Suhaylī) went on, "Saḥnūn and Ibn al-Mājishawn both say, 'The protection that a woman grants is dependent upon the permission given by the *Imām*, because of his (the Prophet's) words to Umm Hāniʾ, "We give protection to those you protect, Umm Hāniʾ." This is also related from ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and Khālid b. al-Walīd. Abū Ḥanīfa said, 'The protection granted by a slave is not valid.' Yet his statement, 'their least powerful will give protection' requires inclusion of women and slaves. But God knows best."

Al-Bayhaqī related through Ḥammād b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "Banū Kaʿb spoke the following,

103. A name by which Abū Bakr was known.

'O God, I appeal to Muḥammad by the pact between his
father and our forebears.
Give much help, may God give you guidance, and call for
God's servants to come in reinforcement.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba said with regard to the conquest of Mecca, "Then Banū Nufātha, of Banū al-Dīl, attacked Banū Kaʿb during the truce between the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Quraysh. Banū Kaʿb were at peace with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and Banū Nufātha were at peace with Quraysh. Banū Bakr gave aid to Banū Nufātha whom Quraysh were aiding with weapons and men. Banū Mudlij kept withdrawn from them and honoured the pact they had made with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). In Banū al-Dīl there were two men who were their chiefs, Salmā b. al-Aswad and Kulthūm b. al-Aswad. It is said that those who helped them were Ṣafwān b. Umayya, Shayba b. ʿUthmān and Suhayl b. ʿAmr.

"Banū al-Dīl made a raid against Banū ʿAmr and their dependants, including their women, children and the weak. They fought them and forced them to seek refuge, ultimately making them withdraw to the home of Budayl b. Warqā' in Mecca.

"Riders from Banū Kaʿb then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him what they had suffered and the part that Quraysh had played in it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them to go back home and then to disperse into the land.

"Abū Sufyān then left Mecca for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), worried at what had happened. He said, 'Muḥammad, strengthen the pact and extend it for us.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'That is why you have come? Has something bad happened?' 'God forbid! We are keeping to our pact and to the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya; we are not changing anything.'

"He then left the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and went to Abū Bakr, to whom he said, 'Review the pact and extend it for us.' Abū Bakr replied, 'My protection is with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I swear by God, if all I had was ants to fight you with, I'd take their help against you!'

"He then went to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and spoke to him. ʿUmar replied, 'Nothing new ever happened without God having created it and nothing was ever firmly set that God could not destroy, and nothing was ever cut asunder that God could not join together.' Abū Sufyān commented, 'May you be punished badly by a close relative!'

"He then went to see ʿUthmān and when he had spoken to him, ʿUthmān told him, 'My protection rests with that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' Abū Sufyān then pursued Quraysh nobles and spoke with them, but all said that their pact was made with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"When he despaired of their help, he went in to see Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and spoke with her. She replied, 'I'm just a woman. That is up to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He told her, 'Then give orders to one of your sons.' She replied, 'But they are just children; they couldn't

grant protection.' 'Then speak to ʿAlī,' he asked her. She replied, 'You talk to him.'

"He did speak to ʿAlī, who said to him, 'Abū Sufyān, none of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would ever act contrary to his wishes by granting protection. You are the leader of Quraysh, their most important and powerful figure. Give protection on behalf of your tribe.' 'Yes,' Abū Sufyān replied. 'You speak the truth; I am as you say.' He then left and called out, 'I grant protection. And, by God, I do not believe that anyone will betray me.'

"He then went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'Muḥammad, I have declared protection between the people and I don't think anyone will betray me by revoking my protection.' 'As ever you say, Abū Ḥanẓala,' he told him, and at that Abū Sufyān left.

"They claim, but God knows best, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said when Abū Sufyān had left, 'O God, close over their hearing and their seeing so that they only see us suddenly and only hear us too late!'

"Abū Sufyān returned to Mecca and there Quraysh asked him, 'What happened? Did you bring some letter or pact from Muḥammad?' 'No, by God,' he replied. 'He refused me that. I watched his men closely and I never saw any people more obedient to a king who ruled them than they were to him. However, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib told me to grant them protection without claiming it for myself or my people. He told me I could do this without having it revoked by anyone because of my high status and leadership. I got up and made the announcement, then went in to tell Muḥammad that I had done so; I told him that I did not think it would be revoked. He merely said it was I who was saying so.' Quraysh responded, 'You have no reason to be pleased. You return with nothing of any use to you or us. ʿAlī was merely toying with you! Your offer of protection was invalid and useless.'

"He then went in to see his wife and she told him the same. She exclaimed, 'What a terrible envoy you are! You gained nothing at all.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw a cloud and commented, 'These clouds are gently raining down victory for Banū Kaʿb!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed there for that period that God wished after the departure of Abū Sufyān. He began equipping for battle. He told ʿĀʾisha that she should prepare his food, and to hide that fact.

"He then went out to the mosque, or for some other purpose, and Abū Bakr came in to see ʿĀʾisha. He found her busy pounding and sifting wheat. Abū Bakr asked her why she was preparing the food but she made no reply. 'Is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) preparing for battle?' he asked. She was still silent. He then asked, 'Is he going to attack the "yellow skins",' meaning the Byzantines. She said nothing. He then said, 'Perhaps he is heading for Najd?' She was silent. 'Maybe he is heading for Quraysh then?' She said nothing.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned, Abū Bakr asked him, 'Messenger of God, are you leaving on a campaign?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'Are you

perhaps heading for the "yellow skins"?' 'No,' he replied. 'Then to Najd?' 'No,' he answered. 'So maybe you are going after Quraysh?' he suggested. 'Yes,' he replied. Abū Bakr then said, 'But, Messenger of God, don't you have a valid truce with them?' 'Haven't you heard what they did to Banū Kaʿb?' he asked.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced to everyone that there was to be a campaign. At that Ḥāṭib b. Abū Baltaʿa wrote a message to Quraysh, but God made His messenger (ṢAAS) aware of the letter."

He proceeded to relate the account that follows.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀ'isha, who said that Abū Bakr came in to see her while she was sifting wheat. Abū Bakr asked her, "What's this? Has the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked you to prepare supplies for a campaign?" "Yes", she replied, "to prepare for a campaign." "Where to?" he asked. "He did not tell us anything, except to make preparations."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then made an announcement to the people that he was going to Mecca. He ordered them to act seriously and to make preparations. He said, "O God, take away sight and information from Quraysh so that we may take them by surprise in their land." And so the people made their preparations.

(Ibn Isḥāq went on) "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses to arouse the people and to refer to the men killed by Khuzāʿa,

'It hurt me greatly, even though I did not witness, as
men of Banū Kaʿb were having their heads cut off in the
Mecca valley
By men who did not unsheathe their swords; and there
were many men killed who were unburied.
How I wish that my (poetry's) help, with its heat and
hurt could harm Suhayl b. ʿAmr!
And Ṣafwān, an old fellow who grunts from his arse;
this is the time when war had been saddled for battle.
Do not feel secure, Ibn Umm Mujālid[104] when war is fully
prepared for and about to break out.
But don't worry about it, for our swords will have
their impact and death's door will open wide!'"

THE INCIDENT INVOLVING ḤĀṬIB B. ABŪ BALTAʿA.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and others, from various of our scholars, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had decided to attack Mecca, Ḥāṭib b. Abū Baltaʿa wrote to Quraysh informing them of how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to move against them. He gave the letter to a woman; Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar

104. A reference to ʿIkrima, Abū Jahl's son.

claimed her to have been of Muzayna, while others maintained that she was Sāra, a freed-woman of someone from Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He paid her to take it to Quraysh and she placed it on her head, tied it up in her hair and left with it."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "News came from heaven to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of what Ḥāṭib had done and he sent ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām in pursuit, telling them, 'Seize a woman with whom Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balta'a has sent a letter to Quraysh warning them of what we have decided to do about them.'

"The two men caught up with her at al-Ḥalīfa of Banū Abū Aḥmad. They made her dismount and searched her baggage but found nothing. ʿAlī then told her, 'I swear by God, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has not been misinformed, nor has he lied to us. Either you produce this letter for us, or we will search you for it!' When she saw how serious he was, she told him to turn away and untied her hair, took out the letter and gave it to him. He took it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned Ḥāṭib and asked him, 'Ḥāṭib, what made you do this?' He replied, 'I really am, I swear, a true believer in God and in His messenger. I have not changed at all. But I'm not a man with any claims to nobility or tribal influence and there, living among Quraysh, I have my son and family and I wanted to protect them.'

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, 'Messenger of God, let me cut off his head! The man has turned hypocrite!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, 'What makes you so sure, ʿUmar? Perhaps God looked down upon those who fought at Badr and said, "Do as you wish; I forgive you!"'

"It was about Ḥāṭib that God revealed, 'O you who believe: do not consider My enemies and yours to be allies to whom you give friendship'" (*sūrat al-Mumtaḥana*; LX, v.1).

Ibn Isḥāq related this story as being *mursal*, with an incomplete line of authorities. Al-Suhaylī narrated that in Ḥāṭib's letter it said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) may well send forth an army against you that will descend upon you like nightfall. And I swear by God, that even if he were to attack you alone, then God would give him victory over you. He fulfils what He promised him."

Al-Suhaylī went on, "And in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) of Ibn Sallām it is stated that Ḥāṭib wrote, 'Muḥammad has assembled an army for war; he is either heading for you or for others. You should beware!'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Quraysh related to him, quoting Sufyān, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, who said that al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad told him that he heard ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abū Rāfiʿ say that he heard ʿAlī relate, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched me, al-Zubayr and al-Miqdād saying, 'Go to the well at Khākh. There you will find a woman in a *howdah* who has a letter. Take it from her.' So we left, our horses racing us along, and we arrived at the well, where we found the woman in the *howdah*. We told her to produce the letter, but she denied

having it. We then told her that if she did not produce it, we would strip her clothes off her.

"She then brought it forth from her hair wrappings and we took it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The letter said, 'From Ḥāṭib b. Balta'a to the polytheists of Mecca, informing them of some of the actions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) asked Ḥāṭib about this and he replied, 'Messenger of God, don't act harshly with me! I was just associated with Quraysh, allied with them but not of them. Some of your *muhājirīn* have relatives among Quraysh who can look after their families and possessions. What I wanted was to find someone among them who would protect my relatives. I did not do this to apostatize from my faith, nor to express my acceptance of disbelief after Islam.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Well, he has spoken the truth to you.' ʿUmar asked, 'Messenger of God, let me strike off the head of this hypocrite!' (He replied) 'But he fought at Badr. And what makes you so sure; perhaps God looked down upon those who fought at Badr and said, "Do as you wish; I forgive you."'

"God then sent down, 'O you who believe, do not consider My enemies' up to the words, 'has strayed from the right path.'" (*sūrat al-Mumtaḥana*; LX, v.1).

The other compilers of the tradition also gave it, except for Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. Al-Tirmidhī stated that it was *ḥasan, ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Imām Aḥmad said that it was related to him by Ḥujayn and Yūnus, both of whom said that Layth b. Saʿd related to him, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, that Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balta'a wrote to the people of Mecca telling them that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) intended to attack them. However, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was provided information about the woman who had the letter and so he sent after her and retrieved the letter from her head. He then asked Ḥāṭib whether he really did this and he confessed. He explained, "I did not do it to betray the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), nor am I a hypocrite. I knew that God would make His messenger prevail and allow him to complete his mission. However, I've always been a stranger amidst them (Quraysh) and my mother is there with them. And I wanted to have some favour with them." ʿUmar asked, "Should I cut off this fellow's head?" But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "Would you really kill someone who fought at Badr? What makes you sure; perhaps God looked down at those who fought at Badr and said, 'Do as you wish.'"

Only Imām Aḥmad gives this tradition from this line of transmission; its chain of authorities meets the criteria of Muslim. And all praise be to God!

DIVISION.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī related to him, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then proceeded on his journey, having appointed

Abū Ruhm Kulthūm b. Ḥuṣayn b. ʿUtba b. Khalaf al-Ghifārī in command of Medina. He departed on the 10th of Ramaḍān and fasted, as did those with him. Having arrived at al-Kadīd, between ʿUsfān and Amaj, he broke his fast and thereafter travelled on to Marr al-Ẓahrān, where he and 10,000 Muslims made camp."

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr stated, "He had 12,000 men with him." Al-Zuhrī and Mūsā b. ʿUqba said the same. Sulaym totalled over 700 men; some say they were over 1,000 strong. Muzayna were over 1,000 strong, and each tribe was represented in both force and faith in Islam. The *muhājirūn* and the *anṣār* accompanied the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) *en masse*, none of them remaining behind.

Al-Bukhārī narrated a similar account from Maḥmūd, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim b. ʿAlī, from al-Layth b. Saʿd, from ʿUqayl, from al-Zuhrī (who said), "ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh informed me, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth on the expedition that led to the conquest in Ramaḍān."

Al-Zuhrī went on, "I heard Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab make a similar statement, that he did not know whether he started out with some days left of Shaʿbān and that then Ramaḍān arrived, or whether he left in Ramaḍān, after it had begun. However, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh informed me that Ibn ʿAbbās said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fasted until he reached al-Kadīd, the well between Qudayd and ʿUsfān, where he broke the fast. And he continued to eat regularly (without fasting) throughout the month.'"

Al-Bukhārī related this from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, from al-Layth. He, however, did not mention the confusion between Shaʿbān and Ramaḍān.

Al-Bukhārī stated, that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to us, quoting Jarīr, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, from Ṭāwus, that Ibn ʿAbbās said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out in Ramaḍān, fasting until he reached ʿUsfān. Then he called for a vessel and drank from it, allowing the people to see this. He continued to eat normally until he reached Mecca."

He went on, "Ibn ʿAbbās used to say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) both fasted and ate normally while travelling. Those who wished, fasted; those who wished, ate normally.'"

Yūnus quoted Ibn Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh as stating that Ibn ʿAbbās said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth on the conquest of Mecca, he placed Abū Ruhm Kulthūm b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ghifārī in command of Medina. He left on the 10th of Ramaḍān, fasting, as did those accompanying him. When he arrived at al-Kadīd, between ʿUsfān and Amaj, he broke his fast. When he entered Mecca, he was eating normally and people saw that this was his latter practice, having abrogated his former, his fasting."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "His statement, 'he left on the 10th of Ramaḍān' is interpolated in the *ḥadīth*, as is his reference to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Idrīs, quoting Ibn Isḥāq."

He then related through Ya'qūb b. Sufyān, from Jābir, from Yaḥyā, from Ṣadaqa, that Ibn Isḥāq said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on the 10th of Ramaḍān, 8 AH."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from the *ḥadīth* of Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī, from Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥafṣa, from al-Zuhrī, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The conquest occurred 13 days into Ramaḍān." Al-Bayhaqī then commented, "This dating is fanciful; it relies only on al-Zuhrī's statement."

He went on to narrate through Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out from Medina in Ramaḍān on the campaign for the conquest – the conquest of Mecca. He was accompanied by 10,000 Muslims. This coincided with the beginning of 8 and one-half years following his arrival at Medina. Mecca was conquered with 13 days remaining of Ramaḍān."

Al-Bayhaqī also narrated through 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhrī, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh, from Ibn 'Abbās, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left in Ramaḍān, accompanied by 10,000 Muslims. He fasted until he reached al-Kadīd, then he broke his fast.

Al-Zuhrī stated, "Only the most recent being acceptable, then that would be what follows." He said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to Mecca on the morning of the 13th of Ramaḍān." He then recounted the conquest in accord with both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, through 'Abd Al-Razzāq. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tanūkhī, from 'Aṭiyya b. Qays, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us to set forth in the year of the conquest on the 2nd of Ramaḍān. We fasted *en route* until we reached al-Kadīd, where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) advised us to break the fast, being pleased with both those who continued fasting and those who did not. When we reached the first staging post where we encountered the enemy, he told us to break the fast, and we all did so."

Imām Aḥmad related it from Abū al-Mughīra, from Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (who said) that 'Aṭiyya b. Qays related to him, from someone who had told it to him, who quoted Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us to set forth in the year of the conquest on the 2nd of Ramaḍān. We fasted *en route* until we reached al-Kadīd, where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us to break the fast. Thereafter some continued fasting, while others did not. When we reached the first staging post where we encountered the enemy, he told us to break the fast, and we all did so."

I note from al-Zuhrī's account that the conquest was on the 13th of Ramaḍān, and from that of Abū Sa'īd that they left Medina on the 2nd of Ramaḍān; their trip between Mecca and Medina must therefore have taken 11 days.

However, al-Bayhaqī related, from Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faḍl, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, from Ya'qūb b. Sufyān, from al-Ḥasan b. al-Rabī', from Ibn Idrīs, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, and Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn,

and ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda and ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and others, all said that the conquest of Mecca took place with 10 days remaining of Ramaḍān in 8 AH.

Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālisī stated that Wahīb related to him, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth in the year of the conquest and was fasting until he reached Kurāʿ al-Ghamīm. Some of the men accompanying him were on foot, while others rode; this journey was during Ramaḍān. He was told, 'Messenger of God, the men are suffering from fasting, but are watching to see what you will do.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called for a vessel of water and drank, while the men watched. Some of the men then broke the fast, while others continued it. When he was told that some men were still fasting, he commented, 'They're disobedient.'"

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thaqafī and al-Darāwardī, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad.

Imām Aḥmad narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said that Bashīr b. Yasār related to him, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left in the year of the conquest in Ramaḍān. He fasted, as did the Muslims with him, until he reached al-Kadīd. There he called for water in a wooden cup, while he was mounted. He drank while the men looked on. This was to inform them that he had broken his fast. The Muslims then broke their fast."

Aḥmad was alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Section: On the Acceptance of Islam by the following relatives of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

These were al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, his uncle, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, his cousin, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīrat al-Makhzūmī, the brother of (his wife) Umm Salama, "mother of the believers". They went out to meet him while he was on his way to the conquest of Mecca.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while the latter was *en route*. Ibn Hishām stated that he met him at al-Juḥfa, having emigrated with his family. Previously he had been living in Mecca engaged in his function of providing water for the pilgrims. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was, according to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, satisfied (at that).

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Umayya met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Nīq al-ʿUqāb, a place between Mecca and Medina. There they sought to meet with him and Umm Salama spoke to him about them. She said, "Messenger of God, it is your two cousins, your maternal uncle's son and your maternal aunt's son, along with your brother-in-law." He replied, "I don't need to see the two of them; my maternal uncle's son offended my honour, while my maternal aunt's son slandered me in Mecca."

Ibn Isḥaq continued, "When news of this response reached them, Abū Sufyān, who had a young son with him, said, 'By God, if he does not see me, I'll take this young son of mine by the hand and we'll go off somewhere and die of thirst and hunger!' When the Prophet (ṢAAS) heard this, he took pity on them and allowed them both to come in and they did so and accepted Islam. Abū Sufyān then recited to him the verses that concerned his acceptance of Islam and apologized for his former behaviour:

'By your life, I swear that day I carried a banner so
that al-Lāt's cavalry would overcome those of Muḥammad,
I was like a traveller lost in a dark night, but now is
a time when I am led aright and lead others well.
A guide other than myself gave me guidance and there
gave me guidance to God someone whom I had vigorously
opposed.
I kept myself and others actively away from Muḥammad
and was called his relative, though I claimed no such
ties.
They (Muslims) are as they are; those who do not agree
with them – even men of wisdom – are blamed and rejected.
I wished to please them, but could not agree with them
so long as I was not guided.
Tell Thaqīf that I do not want to battle them, and
tell Thaqīf, "Threaten others!"
I was not in the army that struck ʿĀmir, nor had I any
part in it, by hand or voice.
Tribes came from far away lands, strangers out of Sahām
and Surdad.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "They claim that when Abū Sufyān recited to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the line, 'and there gave me guidance to God someone whom I had vigorously opposed,' the latter struck the former in the chest and commented, 'Yes, you did oppose me vigorously, all right!'"

Division.

Having dismounted at Marr al-Ẓahrān, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made camp and stayed there. As al-Bukhārī related it, from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, from al-Layth and Muslim, from Abū al-Ṭāhir, from Ibn Wahb, both of the latter quoting from Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī, from Abū Salama, from Jābir, who said, "We were at Marr al-Ẓahrān with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), gathering *kibāth*, the fruit of the *arāk* thorn tree. He told us, 'Look out for the black ones; they are the best.' The men asked him, 'Messenger of God, were you ever a shepherd?' 'Yes, I was; was there ever a prophet who was not?'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Sinān b. Ismāʿīl, from Abū al-Walīd

Saʿīd b. Mīnā, who said, "When the Meccans had finished and left, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the men to proceed to Mecca. Having reached Marr al-Ẓahrān, he made camp at al-ʿAqaba and sent out the pickers to gather *al-kibāth*. Sinān asked (Abū al-Walīd) Saʿīd what this word meant and he said it was the fruit of the thorny *arāk* tree."

Saʿīd went on, "Ibn Masʿūd was one of those who was picking. As they found a nice fruit, they would promptly eat it. They were laughing as they observed the thinness of Ibn Masʿūd's legs as he climbed up a tree and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Are you amused at his thin legs? By Him who holds my soul in His hands, they weigh heavier in the scales (of righteousness) than Mt. Uḥud!'

"The choicest fruits Ibn Masʿūd picked he would offer to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And on this subject he, Ibn Masʿūd, spoke the following line,

> 'This is the finest I have picked (for you), while the
> hand of every picker goes to his mouth.'"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections Anas is quoted as saying, "We disturbed a rabbit while we were at Marr al-Ẓahrān and the men took it to Abū Ṭalḥa who slaughtered it. He sent its thighs and legs to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he accepted them."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted at Marr al-Ẓahrān, having kept any news from reaching Quraysh; they had no information at all about what he was doing. During those nights, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām and Budayl b. Warqāʾ came out to gather any news from what they might see or hear."

Ibn Lahīʿa recounted from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent out horsemen as scouts to catch any spies. Khuzāʿa were not allowing anyone to pass by them, and so when Abū Sufyān and his companions came they were seized by the Muslim horsemen. ʿUmar went up to him, (Abū Sufyān) intending to stab him in the neck, but al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib gave him protection; he was a friend of Abū Sufyān.

Ibn Isḥāq quoted al-ʿAbbās as saying that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Marr al-Ẓahrān, he, al-ʿAbbās, said, "Woe upon Quraysh! If the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) enters Mecca by force before they come out and seek peace, it will mean their destruction forever!

"So I mounted the white mule belonging to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and rode out on it to al-Arāk, hoping to encounter some logger, milkman or someone else who could go to Mecca to tell them where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was, so that they could come out and seek peace with him before he conquered it and them by force.

"I was engaged in this when, to my surprise, I heard the voices of Abū Sufyān and Budayl b. Warqāʾ engaged in discussion. Abū Sufyān was saying, 'I swear, I've never seen so many fires or such a camp as tonight!' Budayl replied, 'I swear,

this must be Khuzāʿa fired up by war!' Abū Sufyān answered, 'But Khuzāʿa are too weak and few in number for these to be their fires and encampment.'

"Having recognized his voice, I called out, 'Is that you, Abū Ḥanẓala?' He knew my voice and replied, 'Is that Abū al-Faḍl?' 'Yes,' I replied. 'Well what are you up to, may my father and mother be your ransom!' he exclaimed.

"I told him, 'Woe on you, Abū Sufyān! That is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his forces!' 'Then woe on Quraysh, by God,' he burst out. 'What should we do?' I replied, 'If he conquers you, he'll cut off your head! Ride (with me) on the back of this mule, so that I can take you to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I'll ask him to guarantee your safety.'

"He rode behind me and his two companions returned home."

ʿUrwa said this was not so, and that the other two men had gone to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and accepted Islam and he had asked them for news about the people in Mecca.

Al-Zuhrī and Mūsā b. ʿUqba said that they went with al-ʿAbbās to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-ʿAbbās went on, "So I set off with him. And whenever we passed by one of the fires of the Muslims, they asked, 'Who is that?' When they noticed the mule of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) they said, 'Oh, it's the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), riding his mule.' Eventually I passed by the fire of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and he asked who I was and came over to me. When he saw Abū Sufyān on the rear of the mule, he exclaimed, 'It's Abū Sufyān, the enemy of God! Thanks be to God who has handed you over without any pact or agreement!'"

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr claims that ʿUmar stabbed Abū Sufyān in the neck, intending to kill him, but al-ʿAbbās prevented him.

Similarly, Mūsā b. ʿUqba narrated from al-Zuhrī that the scouts of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took hold of the bridles of their camels and asked who they were. They replied that they were a delegation for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Al-ʿAbbās met them and took them in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who talked with them in the course of the night and then invited them to witness that there is no god but God. They did so and he then asked them to bear witness that "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God". Ḥakīm and Budayl testified to this, but Abū Sufyān said, "I do not know this." After morning came, he did accept Islam. They then asked him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) to grant Quraysh safety. He replied, "Those who enter the house of Abū Sufyān shall be safe," his house being in the heights of Mecca. He went on, "Whoever enters the house of Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām shall be safe," his house being in the lower part of Mecca. And he added, "Whoever locks his own door shall be safe."

Al-ʿAbbās's account states, "Then ʿUmar hurried off towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while I rode the mule and arrived before him, but only by the amount that a slow-moving mule can outpace a slow-moving man. I jumped off the mule and went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). ʿUmar did the

same and said, 'Messenger of God, this is Abū Sufyān whom God has delivered without any pact or agreement! Let me cut off his head!' I said, 'Messenger of God, I have given him my protection.' I then sat down with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), holding his (Abū Sufyān's) head and said, 'I swear, no man apart from myself is willing to protect him tonight!'

"When ʿUmar kept on complaining about him, I told him, 'Take it easy, ʿUmar! I swear, if he were from Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb you'd not be saying this! But you well know that he is from Banū ʿAbd Manāf.' 'Take it easy yourself,' ʿAbbās,' he replied. 'Your accepting Islam the day you did was more welcome to me than if al-Khaṭṭāb' (his father) 'had been the one to do so! And this was only because I knew that your accepting Islam was more welcome to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than that of al-Khaṭṭāb would have been.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Take him away to your tent, ʿAbbās, and bring him to me when morning comes.'"

Al-ʿAbbās continued, "So I went off with him to my tent where he spent the night with me. Next morning I hurried him over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, when he saw him, 'Woe on you, Abū Sufyān! Is it not time for you to know that there is no god but God?' He replied, 'How wise, noble and kind you are! Had there been any other besides God he would have already given me some aid!'

"'Well, Abū Sufyān,' continued the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'is it not time for you to know that I am the Messenger of God?' 'How wise, noble and kind you are', Abū Sufyān replied, 'but I'm still having some trouble with that.'"

Al-ʿAbbās then told him, "Woe on you, accept Islam! Bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God, before your head is cut off!"

He then gave true testimony, accepting Islam.

Al-ʿAbbās went on, "So I said, 'Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a man to whom prestige is important; do something for him.'

"He then stated, 'Yes; whoever enters Abū Sufyān's house shall be safe.'"

ʿUrwa added that he went on to say, "Whoever enters the house of Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām shall be safe." And Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated similarly, from al-Zuhrī, that he said, "And whoever locks his own door shall be safe, as will be anyone who goes into the mosque."

As he was about to depart, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to al-ʿAbbās, "Keep him at where the valley narrows, and the mountain projects, until God's forces pass him by, so that he sees them."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba narrated, from al-Zuhrī, that Abū Sufyān, Budayl and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām stood along with al-ʿAbbās at the mountain projectory, and that when Saʿd b. Ubāda spoke the verse,

"Today is that of the great battle; today sanctuary is disallowed"

to Abū Sufyān, he complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter then took back the banner of the *anṣār* from Sa'd and gave it to al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām. He took it in to the upper part of Mecca and planted it in al-Ḥajūn. Khālid entered from the lower part of Mecca, where Banū Bakr and Hudhayl confronted him. He killed 20 men of Banū Bakr and 3 or 4 of Hudhayl. They were defeated and killed at al-Ḥazwara,[105] the fighting there reaching the door of the mosque.

Al-'Abbās went on, "I proceeded out with Abū Sufyān, keeping him in the narrow part of the valley to which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had asked me to restrict him.

"The tribes went past flying their banners. As one went by, Abū Sufyān asked, 'Who are those, 'Abbās?' I replied, 'Sulaym,' and he commented, 'Well, Sulaym don't concern me.' When another passed, he asked who they were and I told him they were Muzayna. He commented, 'Muzayna don't concern me.' This went on until all the tribes had gone by; he asked me about each one, and he always replied that they were of no concern to him. Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went past with his 'green squadron' that consisted of *muhajirīn* and *anṣār*; their armour allowed only their eyes to be seen. He then exclaimed, 'Glory be to God, 'Abbās! Who are those?' I replied, 'That is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with his *muhājirīn* and his *anṣār*.' He commented, 'No one could ever withstand those men! By God, Abū al-Faḍl, your brother's domain this morning is immense!'

"I replied, 'Abū Sufyān, it is that of the prophethood.'

"'I agree,' he said. I told him, 'You should hurry to your people.'"

(Al-'Abbās continued) "When he reached them he shouted at the top of his voice, 'Quraysh, this is Muḥammad who brings a force against you that you cannot withstand. Whoever goes into the house of Abū Sufyān will be secure.'

"Hind, daughter of 'Utba, stood up to him and gripped him by the mustache and said, 'Kill this overweight bag of fat! He is too disgraceful to lead our people!'

"Abū Sufyān replied, 'Woe upon you, do not allow this woman to deceive you. You cannot withstand the force against you. Whoever enters the house of Abū Sufyān will be secure.'

"People shouted, 'God kill you! What good will your house do us?'

"He replied, 'Those who lock their doors will be secure. Those who enter the mosque will be secure.'

"The people then dispersed to their homes or into the mosque."

'Urwa b. al-Zubayr related that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by, Abū Sufyān asked him, "I see many faces I do not recognize. Are all these faces against me?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "It is you and your people who have done this; these people believed me when you called me a liar. They assisted me when you exiled me."

105. The market-place of Mecca.

Abū Sufyān then complained to him how Saʿd b. ʿUbāda had spoken the following line as he passed him,

"Today is that of the great battle; today sanctuary is disallowed."

At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "Saʿd lied; this is a day when God is glorifying the *kaʿba*, a day by which the *kaʿba* will be adorned."

ʿUrwa related that in the early morning after that night he spent with al-ʿAbbās, Abū Sufyān saw the people gathering for prayer, spreading forth to perform their ablutions and he felt afraid. He asked al-ʿAbbās, "What are they doing?" He replied, "They have heard the call to prayer and are spreading out to perform the prayer." When the prayer began and he saw them prostrating and bowing along with him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), Abū Sufyān asked, "Would they do anything he asked of them?" "Yes, they would," he replied. "If he ordered them to give up food and drink, they would obey him."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related, from al-Zuhrī, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed his ablutions, the men scrambled for the leftover water with which he had washed and Abū Sufyān commented, "ʿAbbās, I've never seen anything like tonight, not even in the kingdoms of Chosroe or Caesar!"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related from al-Ḥākim and others, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Isḥāq, who said that al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās related to him, from Ibn ʿAbbās (a certain *ḥadīth*). The last-mentioned then proceeded to narrate this story in its entirety, just as Ziyād al-Bakkāʾī related it, from Ibn Isḥāq, *munqaṭiʿan*, with an incomplete line of transmission. But God knows best.

However, al-Bayhaqī narrated through Abū Bilāl al-Ashʿarī, from Ziyād al-Bakkāʾī, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as saying that al-ʿAbbās brought Abū Sufyān to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and so on. However, in this account he is quoted as saying that Abū Sufyān accepted Islam that night, before he came next morning to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This account also says that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "Whoever enters Abū Sufyān's house will be secure," Abū Sufyān asked, "But what if my house is not large enough?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, "And whoever enters the *kaʿba* will be secure." "And what if the *kaʿba* is not large enough?" Abū Sufyān enquired. He replied, "And whoever enters the mosque shall be secure." "What if the mosque is not large enough?" He replied, "Whoever locks his door will be secure." Abū Sufyān then said, "There will be sufficient space."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿUbayd b. Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth in the year of the conquest of Mecca and this news reached Quraysh, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām and Budayl b. Warqāʾ came out to look for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They travelled as far as Marr al-Ẓahrān

where they saw so many camp fires that they seemed like those on Mt. ʿArafāt (in the pilgrimage season). Abū Sufyān commented on this and asked whose fires they could be and Budayl b. Warqāʾ responded that they must be the fires of Banū ʿAmr. Abū Sufyān objected that they were fewer in number. The two men were seen by the guards of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who seized them and took them to him. Abū Sufyān then accepted Islam.

"As Abū Sufyān was returning home, he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said to al-ʿAbbās, 'Keep Abū Sufyān where the mountain projects so that he sees the Muslims.' Al-ʿAbbās did restrain him there while the tribes went past, squadron by squadron, with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). As one squadron went by, Abū Sufyān asked al-ʿAbbās who they were. He replied, 'These are Ghifār.' 'Well, what are Ghifār to me?' Abū Sufyān commented. Then Juhayna passed by and he said the same. Saʿd b. Hudhaym and Sulaym then passed and he made the same comment. Then another squadron passed that was unlike the others and he asked their identity. Al-ʿAbbās replied, 'They are the *anṣār* under the command of Saʿd b. ʿUbāda with the banner.' Saʿd called out, 'Hey, Abū Sufyān, today's the day of the great battle; today the *kaʿba* will be no sanctuary!' Abū Sufyān commented, 'ʿAbbās, would that this were a day of honour!'

"Then there passed a squadron smaller than the rest; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions were with them, his banner being borne by al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. As the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by Abū Sufyān, the latter called out, 'Do you know what Saʿd b. ʿUbāda said?' 'What did he say?' asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Sufyān repeated it and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Saʿd lied; this is a day when God will assert the glory of the *kaʿba*, a day when the *kaʿba* will be adorned.' He then ordered that his banner be planted at al-Ḥajūn."

ʿUrwa related that he was told by Nāfiʿ b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim that he heard al-ʿAbbās ask al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, "Was it here that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the banner to be placed?" "Yes," he replied.

He (Nāfiʿ) went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered Khālid b. al-Walīd to enter the upper part of Mecca, at Kadāʾ, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in from Kadā. That day two of the cavalry under Khālid b. al-Walīd, Ḥubaysh b. al-Ashʿar and Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihrī were killed."

Abū Dāʾūd said that ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ādam, quoting Idrīs, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said that his father al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib brought Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Marr al-Ẓahrān and he accepted Islam. Al-ʿAbbās told him, "Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a man who likes to enjoy prestige; perhaps you could do something for him." "Yes," he replied. "Whoever goes into Abū Sufyān's house will be secure. And whoever locks his door will be secure."

An Account of the entry of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) into Mecca.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca wearing a helmet. When he took it off a man came who said, "Ibn Khaṭal is clinging to the hangings of the *kaʿba*." "Kill him," he ordered.

Mālik stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was not, we believe, in a state of Iḥrām,[106] though God knows best."

Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca following its conquest he was wearing a black turban.

The *aṣḥāb al-sunan*[107] relate this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama. Al-Tirmidhī said that it was *ḥasan ṣāḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Muslim related it from Qutayba, as did Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā from Muʾāwiya b. ʿAmmār al-Duhnī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca wearing a black turban and that he was not in a state of *iḥrām*.

Muslim narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Usāma, from Musāwir al-Warrāq, from Jaʿfar b. ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth, from his father, who said, "It's as if Ì can still see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day Mecca was conquered; he was wearing an ash-black turban, its end hanging down between his shoulders."

Muslim narrated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, as did al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAmmār al-Duhnī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was wearing a black turban when he entered Mecca.

The *aṣḥāb al-sunan* narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Ādam, from Shurayk al-Qāḍī, from ʿAmmār al-Duhnī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "The banner of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he entered Mecca was white."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, "The banner of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the day Mecca was conquered was white; his black flag was known as *al-ʿuqāb*, 'the eagle'. It was made of a piece of variegated wool."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Walīd related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Qurra, who said, "I heard ʿAbd Allāh b. Mughaffal say, 'On the day Mecca was conquered, I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounted on his camel reciting the *sūrat al-Fatḥ* (XLVIII) in a vibrant, quivering tone. And if it had not been for the people crowding around me, I would have recited in the same tone as he did.'"

106. The physical and psychological state required of a pilgrim before he performs the *ʿumra* or the *ḥajj* pilgrimages. During this state certain actions are prohibited that are permissible at other times.

107. The scholars, apart from al-Bukhārī and Muslim, who assembled the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections of *aḥādīth*.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Dhū Ṭuwā, he halted on his mount; he was wearing a turban made of striped red cloth from Yemen. He bowed his head so low in submission to God, having seen how He had honoured him with the conquest, that his beard almost touched the middle of his saddle.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ told him that Daʿlij b. Aḥmad related to him, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Abbār, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr al-Maqdisī, quoting Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca the day of the conquest of Mecca with his chin resting in submission (to God) on his saddle."

(Al-Bayhaqī) went on to say that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū Bakr b. Bālawayh, quoting Aḥmad b. Ṣāʿid, quoting Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥārith, quoting Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays, from Ibn Masʿūd, who said that a man spoke to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day of the conquest and he began to tremble. Then he said, "Tread softly! I'm the son of a woman of Quraysh who ate cheap desiccated meat!"

(Al-Bayhaqī continued) "Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Fāris and Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Zuhayr related this similarly, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū al-Ḥārith as being *mawṣūlan*, with full lines of transmission."

He then related it from Abū Zakariyyā' al-Muzakkī, from Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, from Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn, from Ismāʿīl b. Qays, but with an incomplete line of transmission, which is how it is accepted.

This modesty in this place on the part of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as he entered with such a huge army contrasts completely with those fools of Banū Isrā'īl, the "ancient Israelites", who were ordered to enter the temple (at Jerusalem) bowing down – that is prostrating – while saying "Wipe out (our past sins)". However, instead they entered creeping forwards on their behinds saying, "Wheat in barley!"[108]

Al-Bukhārī stated that he was informed by al-Qāsim b. Khārija, quoting Ḥafṣ b. Maysara, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who said that ʿĀ'isha told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca in the year of the conquest from Kadā', which is in the upper part of the town. Abū Usāma and Wahb agreed that it was from Kadā'.

ʿUbayd b. Ismāʿīl related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father, that at the conquest, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered from the upper part of Mecca, from Kadā'.

This tradition should only be considered more authentic if one views an account with an incomplete chain of authorities more authentic than one fully complete, as given in the text above! Alternately, this *Kadā* may be spelled either

108. A reference to the Qur'ān, *sūrat al-Aʿrāf*, VII, v.161. The passage narrates how the Israelites were told to use the word *ḥiṭṭa*, "put down, remove", when beseeching God for the forgiveness of sins. However, they mistakenly used the word *ḥinṭa*, "wheat".

with a *madda*, an alif of elongation or an *alif maqṣūra*, a final yā and without ḥamza. Kudā, spelled with a u, is in the lower part of Mecca. This is widely accepted and preferable.

It is stated above that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Khālid b. al-Walīd in from the upper part of Mecca, while he himself entered from below, at Kudā; that is given in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdān informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Khuzāmī, quoting Maʿn, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'When, in the year of the conquest, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, he saw the women striking at the heads of the horses with their veils. He smiled at Abū Bakr and said, "And what was it, Abū Bakr, that Ḥassān said?" Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, then recited the lines,

"May I be deprived of my 'young daughters' (i.e. horses)
if you do not see them making the dust rise at both
sides of Kadā'
As they race ahead, pulling at their reins, fully
saddled, as the women strike at them with their veils."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "Add those verses to those spoken by Ḥassān!"'"[109]

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to him, from his father, from his grandmother Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted at Dhū Ṭawā, Abū Quḥāfa said to a daughter, one of his youngest children, 'Daughter, lead me up on Mt. Abū Qubays.' Asmā' commented that his sight was very weak."

She went on (quoting the daughter in question), "She said, 'I took him up there and he asked me, "Well, what do you see?" "I can see a black mass." "That must be horses," he said. I then said, "Now I see a man hurrying to and fro in front of that mass, going back and forth." "That", he said, "must be the *wāzi*ʿ" – meaning the man who goes out to and gives orders to the cavalry.

"'I then said, "The black is now spreading out!" Abū Quḥāfa exclaimed, "The cavalry has been dispatched, then! Hurry me back home!" I led him down, but the cavalry met him before he reached home.'"

Asmā' went on, "The girl was wearing a silver necklace and a man confronted her and cut it off her neck. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca and went into the mosque, Abū Bakr came in, guiding his father. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him, he said, 'Why did you not leave the sheikh at home for me to attend him there?' Abū Bakr replied, 'Messenger of God, it is more fitting for him to come to you rather than you to him.'"

109. They differ from those lines said to have been spoken by Ḥassān on this occasion. See hereafter, p.420 lines 8–10.

The account went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then had Abū Quḥāfa sit down before him and rubbed his chest, saying, 'Accept Islam!' Abū Quḥāfa did so. Abū Bakr then guided him back home. Abū Quḥāfa's hair was as white as a *thaghāma* plant. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Change his hair (colour).'

"Abū Bakr then arose and, taking his sister's hand, he said, 'I invoke God and Islam; (who has) my sister's necklace?' No one replied. He then said, 'Forget your necklace; I swear by God, there's little trust in people today!'"

Abū Bakr meant that specific day, because the army was so numerous that almost no one concerned himself with anyone else, and there were people scattered everywhere. Perhaps the person who took it considered it spoils of war. God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, quoting Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Baḥr b. Naṣr, quoting Ibn Wahb (who said that) Ibn Jurayj informed him, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb took Abū Quḥāfa by the hand and led him to the Prophet (ṢAAS). When he brought him before him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Change him (his hair colouring). But don't make him almost black.'"

Ibn Wahb stated that 'Umar b. Muḥammad related to him, from Zayd b. Aslam, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) congratulated Abū Bakr on his father's acceptance of Islam.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to him that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth the various parts of his army from Dhū Ṭawā he ordered al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām to enter with some of the men from Kadā'; al-Zubayr was in command of the left flank. He ordered Sa'd b. 'Ubāda to take some of the others in from Kudā.

He went on, "Some scholars claim that when Sa'd proceeded inside, he said, 'Today is the day of the great battle; today the sanctuary will lose its sanctity.'

"A man heard this (according to Ibn Hishām that man was 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb) and he asked, 'Messenger of God, do you hear what Sa'd b. 'Ubāda says? We can't be sure he won't assault Quraysh. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told 'Alī, 'Go after him and take away the banner from him; you enter with it.'"

Sources other than Muḥammad b. Isḥāq recount that when Abū Sufyān complained to him about what Sa'd b. 'Ubāda had said when he passed him by. The words Sa'd had used were, "Abu Sufyān: today's the day of the great battle. The *ḥurma*, the sanctuary" – by which he meant the *ka'bā* – "will lose its sanctity."

The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, "No; this is a day on which the *ka'ba* will be glorified." He then ordered that the banner – that of the *anṣār* – be taken away from Sa'd b. 'Ubāda as a way to teach him a lesson. It is said that it was given over to his son, Qays. Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, from al-Zuhrī, that he gave it to al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* b. ʿAsākir stated in his biography of Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq b. Dīnār that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Sirrī al-Anṭakī, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād and that it was also related to him by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the banner to Saʿd b. ʿUbāda who began waving it and saying, 'Today the sanctuary will lose its sanctity!' This angered Quraysh and they greatly resented it. The wife of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then stood in his way and recited,

'O Prophet of the right guidance, the tribe of Quraysh
took refuge in you and it was too late.
When all the space of earth was too narrow for them
when the God of heaven became hostile towards them
The two ends of the strap met together and we were
brought to the famous disaster.
Saʿd wants to deliver a mortal blow to the people of
al-Ḥajūn and al-Baṭḥāʾ
A Khazrajī, he he would in his rage set vultures and
dogs upon us!
Stop him, for he is the black lion, and a lion
thirsts for blood.
If he were to involve the banner and were to call out,
"O defenders of the flag! People of the flag!"
Then Quraysh will be there in the valley bottom in the
hands of the female slaves.
He is living in the past, wanting (for Mecca) a
decision to strike it out, like a deaf serpent.'"

He went on, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard this poem feelings of mercy and compassion for them entered him and he asked for the banner, taking it from Saʿd b. ʿUbāda. It was then given to his son, Qays.

"It is related that the Prophet (ṢAAS) wished not to disappoint her in something in which she requested his help. Yet he did not want to anger Saʿd, and so he took the banner from him and gave it to his son."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Ibn Abū Najīḥ recounted to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered Khālid b. al-Walīd to enter with some men from al-Layṭ, in the lower part of Mecca. Khālid was in command of the right wing, which consisted of Aslam, Sulaym, Ghifār, Muzayna, Juhayna and other Arab tribes. Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ charged in with a column of Muslims upon the people of Mecca, straight ahead of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who himself entered from Adhākhir and halted at the upper part of the city where his tent was pitched.

Al-Bukhārī narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, from ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, from Usāma b. Zayd who said that at the time of the conquest he had asked, "Messenger of God, where will you make camp tomorrow?" He

replied, "Has 'Aqīl left any house for us?" He then added, "No believer shall inherit from an unbeliever, nor shall any unbeliever inherit from a believer."

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Shu'ayb, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān who quoted Abū Hurayra as stating that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Tomorrow, if God wills it, and if God gives us victory, our camp will be at al-Khayf where they swore an oath of loyalty to disbelief."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yūnus related to him, quoting Ibrahīm – meaning Ibn Sa'd – from al-Zuhrī, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Our camp tomorrow, if God wills it, will be at Khayf of Banū Kināna, where they swore an oath of loyalty to disbelief.'"

Al-Bukhārī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd in similar words.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ and 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to him, that Ṣafwān b. Umayya, 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl and Suhayl b. 'Amr had gathered some men at al-Khandama to do battle. Ḥimās b. Qays b. Khālid, brother of Banū Bakr, had been sharpening a sword prior to the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). His wife asked him why and he replied that it was for use against Muḥammad and his men. She commented, "I swear by God, I don't think it will be of any use against them, Muḥammad and his men!" He replied, "Well, I swear by God, I hope to give you one of them as a servant!" He then spoke the verses,

"If they advance today, I'll have no excuse. This set
of weapons is complete
With sharp blades and easy to manipulate."

He then took part in the fighting at al-Khandama, along with Ṣafwān, 'Ikrima and Suhayl. There they were engaged by the Muslims accompanying Khālid. Kirz b. Jābir, Banū Muḥārib b. Fihr and Ḥubaysh b. Khālid b. Rabī'a b. Asram, ally of Banū Munqidh, both of Khālid's troops, were killed. They had become separated from Khālid and taken a different route; they were killed together, Kirz prior to Ḥubaysh.

Both sources quoted by Ibn Isḥāq went on to say that Salama b. al-Maylā' al-Juhannī, also of Khālid's cavalry, was killed there, while some 12 or 13 of the polytheists were killed. When they had lost the battle, Ḥimās left in defeat and went home. He told his wife, "Lock the door on me." She asked, "And what about all that you said?" He replied with the following verses:

"If you had witnessed the battle at al-Khandama when
Ṣafwān and 'Ikrima fled,
With Abū Yazīd erect like a widowed mother receiving condolences,
And the Muslims greeted them with their swords,
Cutting and striking arms and skulls with nothing but
their battle cries being heard,
While we emitted sobs and groans, then you would not
speak the slightest word of blame."

Ibn Hishām stated that these verses are alternatively attributed to al-Raʿāsh al-Hudhalī.

Ibn Hishām also said that the battle cry of the *muhājirīn* at the conquest, at Ḥunayn and at al-Ṭāʾif was "O tribe of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān!" That of al-Khazraj was "O Banū ʿAbd Allāh" and that of al-Aws, "O Banū ʿUbayd Allāh".

Al-Ṭabrānī stated that it was related to him by ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Rāzī, quoting Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī, quoting Shuʿayb b. Ṣafwān, from ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib, from Ṭāwūs, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "God made this land sacrosanct the day He created the heavens and the earth. He forged it the day he forged the sun and the moon. That which stems from heaven is *ḥarām*, sacrosanct. It was not made *ḥalāl*, desanctified, for anyone before me (to do battle). It was only made *ḥalāl* for me for a brief period of the day, and it then reverted to its former state."

(The account continues) "Someone told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that Khālid b. al-Walīd was killing people. He then told a man to go to Khālid and order him to stop the killing.

"(But) When the man reached him, he told him, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) says, 'Kill those you are able to!' He killed 70 people. This fact was reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who sent Khālid a message that asked, 'Did I not forbid you killing?' Khālid replied, 'So-and-so came to me and ordered me to kill those I was able to.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) again sent him a message asking, 'Did I not give you an order?' Khālid responded, 'You wanted one thing, but God wanted another! God's order superseded yours; I could not do anything other than what I did.' At this the Prophet (ṢAAS) remained silent and gave him no response."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had instructed his commanders to refrain from doing battle against any except those who fought them. He did, however, order that a group whom he named should be put to death, even if they were found hiding beneath the hangings of the *kaʿba*. Among these persons was ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ, who had accepted Islam, written down the Revelations and then apostatized. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, having sentenced him to death, this ʿAbd Allāh fled to ʿUthmān who was his foster-brother. When the latter brought him to ask that he be spared, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made no reply for a long time, but then said, 'Yes.'

"When ʿAbd Allāh departed with ʿUthmān, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented to those around him, 'Is there no wise man among you who could have got up and killed him when you saw I was remaining silent?' They replied, 'But Messenger of God, could you not have given us some signal?' He replied, 'Prophets do not kill by making signals.'"

In a different account, the wording is, "It is not proper for a prophet to betray by eye signals."

Ibn Hishām stated that thereafter he was a good Muslim and that 'Umar appointed him as a governor, and that 'Uthmān did the same thereafter.

I note that he died while prostrated in performing the morning prayer, or after having finished it in his house.

Ibn Isḥāq stated (that the Prophet (ṢAAS)) also condemned to death 'Abd Allāh b. Khaṭal, a man of Banū Taym b. Ghālib.

I note that it is also said that this man was named 'Abd al-'Uzzā, "worshipper of al-'Uzzā", b. Khaṭal. It is likely that that had been his former name and that after he accepted Islam he was called 'Abd Allāh, "worshipper of God".

(Ibn Isḥāq continued) "After this man had accepted Islam, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him out to collect charity contributions, in the company of one of the *anṣār*. With him also he took a freed-man he had. Later he became angry with the freed-man, killed him and apostatized and became a polytheist again. He had two female singers, Fartanā and a friend, who would sing songs mocking the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims. This was why the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) condemned him and the two singers to death. He was killed while he clutched the hangings of the *ka'ba*. Abū Barza al-Aslamī and Sa'īd b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī participated in executing him. One of his women singers was killed, while the other was granted clemency."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Also (he condemned) al-Ḥuwayrith b. Nuqaydh b. Wahb b. 'Abd Quṣayy. He had been one of those who had insulted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca. When al-'Abbās had mounted up Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm to conduct them to Medina to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the start of the Hijra, this al-Ḥuwayrith had goaded a camel on which they were mounted, and they had fallen to the ground. When he had been condemned to death, 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib executed him.

"Also condemned was Miqyās b. Ṣubāba because he had murdered the man who had by accident killed his brother, and he did this after he had accepted the blood-wit. He later apostatized and became a polytheist. It was a man of his own tribe, named Numayla b. 'Abd Allāh, who executed him.

"Then there was Sāra (who was also executed), a freed-woman of Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and of 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl, because she used to insult the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was in Mecca."

I observe that it is narrated above that it was she who had carried the message from Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balta'a and seems to have been forgiven or to have escaped. Thereafter he condemned her to death. But God knows best.

She fled until she was granted immunity by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She lived on into the era of 'Umar, and died when trodden underfoot by a man on a horse. Al-Suhaylī related that Fartanā also accepted Islam.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl fled to Yemen. His wife, Umm Ḥakīm, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, accepted Islam and sought immunity for him from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who granted that. She set off and located

ʿIkrima, brought him back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he accepted Islam.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammis al-Faqīh informed him, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qaṭṭān, quoting Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Salmī, quoting Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal, quoting Asbāṭ b. Naṣr al-Ḥamdānī, who said, "Al-Suddī maintained, on the authority of Muṣʿab b. Saʿd, that the father of the latter said, 'On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave immunity to all except four men and two women, saying, "Execute them even if you find them clinging to the hangings of the *kaʿba*." These persons were ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl, ʿAbd Allāh b. Khaṭl, Miqyas b. Ṣubāba and ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ.

"'ʿAbd Allāh b. Khaṭl was taken while he was clinging to the hangings of the *kaʿba*. Saʿīd b. Ḥuwayrith and ʿAmmār b. Yāsir raced to reach him and Saʿīd, the younger of the two men, beat ʿAmmār to him and killed him. Men overtook Miqyas in the market and killed him. ʿIkrima went to sea. A storm blew up and other people on the boat told one another, "Worship God sincerely, for your gods will do you no good here!" And so ʿIkrima said, "Well, I swear by God, if the only thing that succeeds at sea is sincere faith, the fact is that nothing but that succeeds on land too! O God, I make a pact with you that if you save me from my present plight, I will go to Muḥammad, place my hand in his and receive generous forgiveness." So he did go to him and accepted Islam.

"'ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ went into hiding in the home of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called on people to come forth and pledge allegiance, ʿUthmān brought ʿAbd Allāh before him and said, "Messenger of God, accept the allegiance of ʿAbd Allāh!" He raised his gaze towards him three times, all this expressing his refusal. Then, after the third time he did accept his allegiance. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) later went to his Companions and asked, "Was there not one wise man among you who could have gone up to this fellow and killed him when you saw me refraining from accepting his allegiance?" They replied, "How could we know what you wanted? Could you not have given us some eye signal?" He replied, "It is not fitting for a prophet to use secret eye signals!"'"

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal in similar terms.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Abū Zurʿa al-Dimashqī, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Bishr al-Kūfī, quoting al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbd al-Malik, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) granted immunity to people on the day of the conquest of Mecca, except for four persons. These were ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Khaṭl, Miqyas b. Ṣubāba, ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ, and Umm Sāra.

"'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Khaṭl was killed while he clung to the hangings of the *ka'ba*. Someone warned 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abū Sarḥ that he would be killed on sight. He was the foster-brother of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, who brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to intercede on his behalf. When an *anṣārī* saw him, he girded his sword and went towards him, but found him in the circle around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He hesitated, reluctant to advance at him. Then the Prophet (ṢAAS) spread forth his hand and accepted 'Abd Allāh's allegiance. Later he asked the *anṣārī*, 'I was waiting for you to fulfil your pledge!' He replied, 'Messenger of God, I wanted to do it for you; could you not have given me some sign?' He replied, 'It is not fitting for a prophet to wink.'"

Al-Bayhaqī went on to relate the story of Miqyas b. Ṣubābā – how he had killed a Muslim after he himself had accepted Islam and then had later apostatized.

He went on, "Umm Sāra was a freed-woman of Quraysh who had gone to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and complained to him of her poverty. He had then given to her. But thereafter a man sent her off with a message for the Meccans."

He went on to tell the story of Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balta'a.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq narrated from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammd b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm, that Hishām, the brother of Miqyas b. Ṣubāba, was killed at the expedition against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq by a Muslim who thought him to be a polytheist. Miqyas then came and made a pretence of accepting Islam to seek the blood-money for his brother. When he received it he attacked and murdered the man who had killed his brother and returned to Mecca as a polytheist. After the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) condemned him to death, he was killed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

Ibn Isḥāq and al-Bayhaqī quoted as follows the verses he composed when he murdered the man who killed his brother:

> "It assuaged me that he was felled in the valley, his
> clothing stained by the blood of his jugular.
> My mind was troubled before I killed him; my worries
> kept me from enjoying my bed.
> Through him I avenged Fihr and charged his blood-wit to
> the chiefs of Banū al-Najjār, the lords of Fāri'
> castle.
> By killing him I eased my tension and got my revenge;
> and I was first to return to the idols."

It is said that the two female singers whom he condemned to death were employed by this Miqyas b. Ṣubāba; moreover, it was his cousin who executed him between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

Some say that it was al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, may God be pleased with him, who executed Ibn Khaṭal.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, Saʿīd b. Abū Hind related to me, from Abū Murra, the freed-man of ʿUqayl b. Abū Ṭālib, that Umm Hānīʾ, the daughter of Abū Ṭālib, said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a halt in the heights of Mecca, two of my brothers-in-law of Banū Makhzūm fled to me."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The two men were al-Ḥārith b. Hishām and Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to quote her as saying that while she was in the home of Ḥubayra b. Abū Wahb al-Makhzūmī, "My brother ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib came in and said, 'I swear by God, I'll kill them both!' So I locked the door of my house on both men and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was in the heights of Mecca. I found him engaged in washing himself from a basin that had in it some traces of dough; his daughter Fāṭima was shielding him with his clothing. When he had finished washing, he wrapped his garment around himself and performed eight *rakaʿāt* of the *al-ḍuḥā*[110] prayer. He then came over to me and said, 'Welcome indeed to you, Umm Hānīʾ! And what brings you now?' I told him about the two men and ʿAlī and he responded, 'We give protection to those you protect and immunity to those to whom you extend it. We will not execute them.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Walīd related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from the son of Abū Laylā, who said, "No one informed us of having seen the Prophet (ṢAAS) perform the *al-ḍuḥā* prayer except Umm Hānīʾ." She related that on the day of the conquest of Mecca, he washed himself in her house and then performed eight prayer prostrations. She said, "And I never saw him offer a lighter prayer than that, though he did perform the *rukūʿ*, the bowings, and the *sujūd*, the prostrations, completely."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim there is a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Saʿd b. Abū Hind, which states that Abū Murra, the freed-man of ʿAqīl, reported that Umm Hānīʾ, daughter of Abū Ṭālib, related to him that at the conquest of Mecca two men of Banū Makhzūm fled to her and that she gave them refuge. She said, "ʿAlī came in to me and told me, 'I'm going to kill them both!' Having heard this, I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was in the heights of Mecca. When he saw me he welcomed me and asked why I had come. I replied, 'Messenger of God, I've been giving refuge to two of my brothers-in-law, but ʿAlī wants to kill them.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'We give protection to whomever you have protected, Umm Hānīʾ.' He then set about washing himself, while Fāṭima screened him and when he had finished he wrapped himself in his garment and prayed eight superogatory *rakaʿāt* of the *ḍuḥā* prayer."

In one account she is reported to have come in while he was washing and Fāṭima was screening him with his clothing. The account goes on, "He asked, 'Who is the woman?' 'It is Umm Hānīʾ,' she replied. 'Welcome indeed to Umm Hānīʾ!' he said. She told him, 'Messenger of God, my brother ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib is going to kill two men to whom I have given protection.' He responded, 'We

110. A superogatory prayer performed shortly after sunrise.

grant protection to whomever you protect, Umm Hāni'.' He then performed eight prostrations."

That was in the *ḍuḥā*, the early morning, and so many scholars have thought that this was the (actual) *al-ḍuḥā* prayer. Others refer to this as the *ṣalāt al-fatḥ*, the "prayer at the conquest". And the assertion is made that he would affirm the *taslīm*,[111] after each two *rakaʿāt*.

This argues against the view of al-Suhaylī and others who maintain that the *ṣalāt al-fatḥ* should consist of eight (prostrations) and one *taslīm*. Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ performed eight prostrations, with one *taslīm* after each two, on the day of the conquest of al-Madā'in, in the palace of Chosroe. And all praise be to God.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to him, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Thawr, from Ṣafiyya, daughter of Shayba, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived at Mecca and had reassured the people, he went to the *kaʿba* and circumambulated it seven times on his mount, saluting the *rukn*, the corner with the Black Stone, with a staff he carried in his hand.

When he had finished his circumambulations, he called for ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa and took from him the key to the *kaʿba*. When it was opened for him, he went inside, where he found a dove made of wood. He broke it in his hand and threw it away. He then stood at the door to the *kaʿba*, the people having assembled for him in the mosque.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "He then performed two *rakaʿāt* and went to *zamzam* and looked down into it. He called for water, drank it and performed the ablutions, people hastening to collect the leftovers of the water he had used. The polytheists watched him with great interest, saying, 'We never saw or heard of any king being treated this way!' He pushed back the *al-maqām*[112] to where it is located today, whereas it was previously close to the *kaʿba*."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq went on, "A scholar related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood at the door of the *kaʿba* and said, 'There is no god but God alone! He has no associate. He has kept His promise, has helped His servant and has defeated the opposing parties alone. Every advantage of ancestry or money that might be claimed is herewith placed beneath these feet of mine, except for the guardianship of the *kaʿba* and the provision of water to the pilgrims. Compensation for those who are killed by mistake or incomplete intent by whip or cudgel shall be compensated following a binding oath of 100 camels, 40 of which shall be pregnant. O Quraysh, God has removed from you the false pride of the *jāhiliyya* period and the veneration of ancestry. All men stem from Adam, and Adam stemmed from dust.' He then recited the following verse

111. This is the final act in the ritual *ṣalāh*; thereafter the worshipper may resume his normal activities.

112. The *maqām Ibrāhīm*, "Abraham's station", a pillar upon which Abraham is said to have stood during the construction of the *kaʿba*. It remains to this day a special site of prayer.

(from the Qurʾān), 'O people, We created you from male and from female' (*sūrat al-Ḥujurāt*; XLIX, v.13). He then said, 'O Quraysh, what do you think I am going to do with you?' They replied, 'Good! (You are) a noble brother, and the son of a noble brother.' He then said, 'You may go; you are free.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sat down in the mosque and ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib went up to him, holding the key of the *kaʿba* in his hand. He said, 'O Messenger of God, join together for us the right of guardianship of the *kaʿba* with that of provision of the water for the pilgrims, may God bless you!' He responded, 'Where is ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa?' He was summoned for him and then he told ʿUthmān, 'Here is your key, ʿUthmān; this is a day of piety and good faith.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Sufyān related to us, from Ibn Jadʿān, from al-Qāsim b. Rabīʿa, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, while standing on the steps of the *kaʿba* on the day of the conquest of Mecca, "Praise be to God who fulfilled His promise and helped His servant and has defeated the opposing parties alone. (Compensation) for those killed by quasi-intent by whip or cudgel shall be compensated by 100 camels."

"'On another occasion he said, "by a binding oath promising payment of 40 pregnant camels. All privilege of ancestry and pride that existed in the *jāhiliyya* (are finished)." Another time, he said, "Both these factors are beneath these feet of mine; however, the right to provide water for the pilgrims and to have guardianship of the *kaʿba* will continue for those in charge of them, as before."'"

Abū Dāʾūd, al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja related this similarly from *aḥadīth* of ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Jadʿān, from al-Qāsim b. Rabīʿa b. Jawshan al-Ghaṭafānī, from Ibn ʿUmar.

Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar related to him that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered the *kaʿba* the day of the conquest, he saw inside it representations of angels and others. He saw Abraham pictured holding divining arrows in his hand. He said, "May God kill them! They have depicted our elder using divining arrows; what would Abraham have to do with divining arrows? Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian. But he was a *ḥanīf*, and a Muslim; he was no polytheist." He then gave orders and all those images were obliterated.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sulaymān related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "There were pictures inside the *kaʿba* and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to wipe them away. And so ʿUmar moistened a piece of cloth and used it to erase them. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went inside nothing of them remained."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ṣadaqa b. al-Faḍl related to him, quoting Ibn ʿUyayna, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from Mujāhid, from Abū Maʿmar, from ʿAbd Allāh – he being Ibn Masʿūd – who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of the conquest, around the *kaʿba* there were 360 idols. He set

about striking them with a stick he carried, saying, 'The truth has come and error has gone. The truth has come and error is powerless.'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿUyayna.

Al-Bayhaqī related, from Ibn Isḥāq, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, from his father, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of its conquest, in the *kaʿba* there were 300 idols. He took a staff and set about striking the idols with it until he had hit them all."

He then related, through Suwayd b. Saʿīd from al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār, from Ibn ʿUmar, (who said) that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca he discovered there 360 idols. He gestured towards each one with a stick and said, 'The truth has come and error has gone; error is bound to disappear' (*sūrat Banū Isrā'īl*; XVII, v.81). And every idol towards which he pointed fell over, without him touching them with his stick."

He (al-Bayhaqī) then commented, "Even though this is a *ḍaʿīf*, weak, tradition, it is substantiated by the one preceding it."

Ḥanbal b. Isḥāq stated tht he was informed by Abū al-Rabīʿ, from Yaʿqūb al-Qammī, quoting Jaʿfar b. Abū al-Mughīra, from Ibn Abzā, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Mecca, an old, grey-haired black woman appeared, clawing at her face and complaining loudly. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'That is Nā'ila;[113] she is despairing that she will ever again be worshipped in your country.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "A narrator of traditions in whom I have trust narrated, on a line of authorities from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of the conquest on his mount and circumambulated the *kaʿba* on it. Around the *kaʿba* there were idols made with lead reinforcing. He began pointing at the idols with a stick he held, saying, "The truth has come, and error is gone. Error is bound to disappear." Every idol at whose face he gestured fell over on its back, while every one at whose back he pointed fell over on its face. Eventually every single one had fallen over. Tamīm b. Asad al-Khuzāʿī therefore spoke the verse,

> "There is a lesson and learning in the idols for those
> expecting reward or punishment."'"

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, (there is a *ḥadith*) from Shaybān b. Farrūkh, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, from Thābit, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Rabāḥ, from Abū Hurayra, who said in his account of the conquest of Mecca, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forward and when he reached the (Black) Stone he saluted it and circumambulated the *kaʿba*. Arriving at an idol at the side of the *kaʿba* to which they had made worship, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) grasped a bow he was carrying by its bent frame and began poking it in the eye, saying

113. The pre-Islamic goddess whose icon is said to have been positioned on Mt. Ṣafā.

'The truth has come and error has gone. The truth has come and error is bound to disappear.' When he had finished his circumambulation, he went out and climbed Mt. Ṣafā and, looking down at the *kaʿba*, raised up his hands, gave praise to God and spoke various prayers."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Isḥāq b. Manṣūr related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, who quoted his father as quoting Ayyūb, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Mecca, he refused to enter the *kaʿba* while it contained idols. He therefore ordered them to be removed. One picture showed Abraham and Ismāʿīl holding divining arrows, and he said, 'May God kill them! They knew very well that they never used them to cast lots!'

"He then went inside the *kaʿba*, and said, *Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great! in various parts of it, then came out without saying prayers there."

Al-Bukhārī gave this *ḥadīth*, while Muslim did not.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, quoting Hammām, quoting ʿAṭāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the *kaʿba* in which there were six columns. He stood at each column and prayed, but he did not perform the *ṣalāh* prayers.

Muslim related this from Shaybān b. Farūkh, from Hammām b. Yaḥyā al-ʿŪdhī, from ʿAṭāʾ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Hārūn b. Maʿrūf who quoted Ibn Wahb as having been informed by ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith that Bukayr related to him, from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered the *kaʿba* he found a picture of Abraham and another one of Mary. He then said, "They are well aware that angels will not enter any building containing a picture; yet this is Abraham depicted! Why ever would he cast lots?"

Al-Bukhārī and al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Wahb.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, who said that ʿUthmān al-Khazrajī had related to him that he heard Miqsam relate that Ibn ʿAbbās had said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went into the *kaʿba* and spoke prayers at its side and then went out and performed two *rakʿa* of the *ṣalāh* prayers."

Aḥmad alone gives this.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ismāʿīl related to us, quoting Layth, from Mujāhid, from Ibn ʿUmar, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed two *rakʿas* of the *ṣalāh* prayers in the *kaʿba*.

Al-Bukhārī stated that al-Layth said, quoting Yūnus, quoting Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of its conquest from its heights and that riding with him on his mount was Usāma b. Zayd. From al-Ḥajaba he was accompanied by ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa. He dismounted at the mosque and ordered that the key to the *kaʿba* be brought to him. He then went in with Usāma b. Zayd, Bilāl and ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa and stayed there for a long time. Eventually he came out again and the people hurried there. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar was the first to go inside and he found

Bilāl standing behind the door. He asked him, 'Where was it that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed?' Bilāl pointed to the spot. ʿAbd Allāh commented, 'I forgot to ask him how many prayer prostrations he had made.'"

Imām Aḥmad related from Hushaym, quoting various persons, including Ibn ʿAwn, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in accompanied by al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās, Usāma b. Zayd, Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa and Bilāl. He gave orders to Bilāl who shut the door upon them. He stayed inside for a period of time, and then he came outside."

Ibn ʿUmar stated, "The first of them I met was Bilāl and I asked him, 'Where was it that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed?' 'It was over here', he replied, 'between the two columns.'"

I note that it is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī and elsewhere that the Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed inside the *kaʿba* with its door behind his back, positioning himself with two columns on his right, one on his left and three to his rear. At that time the *kaʿba* had six columns. There was a distance of some three arms-lengths between himself and the western wall.

Ibn Hishām stated, "And a certain scholar related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered the *kaʿba* at the conquest of Mecca accompanied by Bilāl, whom he ordered to make the call to prayer. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, ʿAttāb b. Usayd and al-Ḥārith b. Hishām were seated in the courtyard of the *kaʿba*. ʿAttāb said, 'God honoured (my father) Usayd by not having him hear this; had he done so, it would have enraged him.' Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām commented, 'I swear by God, if I had known he was right, I would have followed him!' Abū Sufyān added, 'I'll say nothing. If I were to speak, these stones would report on me!'

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came outside and said, 'I know what you said,' and he then related their comments to them. Al-Ḥārith and ʿAttāb declared, 'We testify that you are the Messenger of God! There was no one with us who overheard this for us to say he repeated it to you.'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Isḥāq as having related from his father, who said, "A member of the family of Jubayr b. Muṭʿim related to me that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, he gave orders to Bilāl, who climbed on to the roof of the *kaʿba* and there made the call to prayer. One of the sons of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ said, 'God honoured Saʿīd by taking him away before he heard this black man on the roof of the *kaʿba*.'"

ʿAbd al-Razzāq stated, from Maʿmar, from Ayyūb that Ibn Abū Mulayka said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders to Bilāl who made the call to prayer on the day of the conquest of Mecca on top of the *kaʿba* and that one of the Quraysh men said to al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, 'Do you see where that black man has climbed?' He (al-Ḥārith) replied, 'Leave him alone; if God dislikes him, He will change him.'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr and others quoted Hishām b. ʿUrwa as quoting his father as saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders to Bilāl on the day of the

conquest of Mecca, and that he made the call to prayer from atop the *kaʿba*, to anger the polytheists.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated, from al-Wāqidī, from Muḥammad b. Ḥarb, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Abū Isḥāq, as saying that after the conquest of Mecca, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb was sitting saying to himself, "What if I had gathered a force against Muḥammad!" While he was asking himself this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) slapped him between the shoulders and said, "Then God would have put you to shame!" Abū Sufyān then raised his head and, when he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) standing above him, said, "I was never sure before that you were indeed a prophet!"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related to us, *ijāzatan*, with permission (for me to quote him), quoting Abū Ḥamīd Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Muqrī, quoting Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Sulamī, quoting Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Firyābī, quoting Yūnus b. Abū Isḥāq from Abū al-Safar, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When Abū Sufyān saw that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) walked that the people would tread in his footsteps, he said to himself, 'What if I had fought this man again!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went up, struck him on the chest and said, 'Then God would have put you to shame!'

"He (Abū Sufyān) said, 'I turn to God and seek His forgiveness for what I have spoken!'"

Al-Bayhaqī then related, through Ibn Khuzayma and others, from Abū Ḥāmid b. al-Sharqī, from Abū Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī, quoting Mūsā b. Aʾyan al-Juzarī, who quoted his father, who quoted Isḥāq b. Rāshid as quoting Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab as saying, "That night of the conquest of Mecca the people who entered kept on calling out *Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great! rejoicing and circumambulating the *kaʿba* until the next morning. Abū Sufyān asked Hind, 'Do you think this is from God?' She replied, 'Yes; this is from God.'

"Next morning Abū Sufyān went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the latter told him, 'You said to Hind, "Do you think that this is from God?" "Yes", she replied, "this is from God."'

"At this Abū Sufyān exclaimed, 'I testify that you are the servant and Messenger of God! By Him who is invoked in oaths, no one but Hind alone heard my saying this.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Isḥāq related to us, quoting Abū ʿĀṣim, from Ibn Jurayj who said that Ḥasan b. Muslim informed him, from Mujāhid, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'God made Mecca a sanctuary the day He created the heavens and the earth. It is a sanctuary by God's having made it so and will remain such until Judgement Day. (Conflict in it) was not made permissible for anyone before myself, nor for anyone after me; and this only for a short time. In it game may not be hunted, its trees may not be cut down, nor may its vegetation be uprooted. And items found in it belong to the finder only after announcement of the find.' Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib suggested, 'Except for

the *idhkhar*[114] plant, Messenger of God, its use is essential in burials[115] and inside homes.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was silent a moment, then agreed, 'Except for the *al-idhkhar*; harvesting it is allowed.'"

A like or similar *ḥadīth* comes from Ibn Jurayj, quoting ʿAbd al-Karīm – he being the son of Mālik al-Jazarī – from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, which gives Abū Hurayra as the narrator of the words of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth* with the line of transmission quoted above. This account is *mursal*, incomplete in its chain, as is that of the second line.

This and similar accounts are cited by those who maintain that Mecca was conquered by force of arms, along with their reference to engagements that occurred at al-Khandama, reported above. At that battle some 20 Muslims and polytheists were killed; that the evidence from it is clear is the position of most scholars.

It is well known that al-Shāfiʿī held that Mecca was taken peacefully, since it was not distributed as booty and because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated the night of its conquest, "Whoever enters the home of Abū Sufyān will be secure; whoever enters the sanctuary will be secure; whoever locks his own door will be safe."

The proper place for discussion of this issue, if God Almighty so wishes it, is with reference to the work *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Saʿīd b. Shuraḥbīl, quoting al-Layth, from al-Maqburī, from Abū Shurayḥ al-Khuzāʿī, who said that he asked ʿAmr b. Saʿīd, who was about to dispatch groups of fighters into Mecca, "O *amīr*, 'Commander', please permit me to report a statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the day following the conquest of Mecca. My ears heard, my heart knew and my eyes saw him as he spoke it. He praised and thanked God, then said, 'It was God, not men who made Mecca a sanctuary. It is not lawful for anyone who believes in God and the last day to shed blood nor to cut down trees within it. And should anyone seek permission to fight therein because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fought there, then tell him, "God gave permission to His messenger but gave none to you." And He only allowed this to me for a short period. Its sanctity has reverted today to what it was before. Let those here present inform of this those absent.'"

Abū Shurayḥ was then asked, "What did ʿAmr reply to you?" Abū Shurayḥ responded, "He said, 'I know this better than you do. The sanctuary does not provide refuge to anyone who has sinned, nor to a murderer in flight, nor to anyone seeking to escape payment of the *jizya*[116], the poll-tax.'"

114. The schoenantum plant, an odoriferous rush.

115. Other texts of al-Bukhārī give the word *al-qaym*, "blacksmith"; rather than *al-dafn*, "burial", as here. The plant's use as an essential fuel seems implied.

116. An alternative reading of al-Bukhārī's text substitutes *al-kharba*, "having caused damages".

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, from Qutayba, from al-Layth b. Saʿd in similar words.

Ibn Isḥāq related that during the *jāhiliyya* period a man called Ibn al-Athwaʿ killed a man of Khuzāʿa known as "Iḥmarra Baʾsan", "he who turned red in rage". On the day of the conquest of Mecca Banū Khuzāʿa killed Ibn al-Athwaʿ while he was in Mecca; the man who killed him was Khirāsh b. Umayya. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "People of Khuzāʿa, kill no more; there has been too much killing, even if to some purpose. I will pay compensation for the man killed."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarmala al-Aslamī related to me, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) learned what Khirāsh b. Umayya had done, he said, 'Khirāsh kills to excess!'"

Ibn Isḥāq also stated that Saʿīd b. Abū Saʿīd al-Maqburī related to him, from Abū Shurayḥ al-Khuzāʿī, who said, "When ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr advanced on Mecca to battle his brother ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, I went to him and said, 'We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when Mecca was conquered. The day following the conquest Khuzāʿa attacked and killed a man of Hudhayl who was a polytheist. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then rose to address us and said, "God made Mecca a sanctuary when He created the heavens and the earth. It will remain one of God's sanctuaries until the day of Resurrection. It will not be lawful for anyone who believes in God and the last day to shed blood therein, nor to cut down a tree there. This was not made lawful for anyone who came before me, nor will it be lawful for anyone who comes after me. It was only made lawful for me for this short period because of (God's) anger against its inhabitants. Now its sanctity has reverted to as it was previously. Let those of you present so inform those absent. Respond to anyone who tells you that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fought in it by saying, 'God made this lawful for His messenger, but He has not done so for you.' O Khuzāʿa, cease killing; there has been too much, even if to some purpose. You have killed someone and for him I will pay compensation. If someone should be killed after my stay here, then his family has two options: to demand the blood of his killer, or to seek blood-money for him." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then paid compensation for the man Khuzāʿa had killed.'

"'Amr then said to Abū Shurayḥ, 'Go away, sheikh! We know better than you about its sanctity. It does not protect anyone who sheds blood, retracts his allegiance or resists paying the *jizya* tax.'

"Abū Shurayḥ then said, 'Well, I was present there and you were absent. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered those of us present to so inform those absent; and I have so informed you. Now do as you will.'"

Ibn Hishām said that he was told that the first person for whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) paid compensation at the conquest of Mecca was Junaydib b. al-Akwaʿ. Banū Kaʿb had killed him. The compensation he paid for him was 100 camels.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yaḥyā, from Ḥusayn, from ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "When Mecca was conquered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, 'Cease using weapons; except for Khuzāʿa against Banū Bakr.' He gave them permission (to fight on) until the *al-ʿaṣr*, late afternoon, prayer. He then announced, 'Cease using your weapons!' A man of Khuzāʿa encountered and killed another from Banū Kalb next day at al-Muzdalifa. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he arose and said, (the narrator added that he saw him and that he was resting his back on the *kaʿba*), 'The people God dislikes most are those who kill others in the sanctuary, those who kill those not fighting them, and those who kill for the blood-money of the *jāhilīyya* period.'"

He went on to relate the *ḥadith* to its end.

This *ḥadīth* is completely unique.

The *al-sunan* scholars relate this *ḥadīth* in part.

His giving permission here to Khuzāʿa to take revenge on Banū Bakr up to the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer of the day of the conquest is something I have seen only in this *ḥadīth*. If true, it seems that this is in special consideration for what they suffered at their hands on the night of their attack, known as *al-watīr*. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad related, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd and Sufyān b. ʿUyayna and Yazīd b. ʿUbayd, all of whom quoted Zakariyyā' b. Abū Zā'ida, from ʿAmr al-Shaʿbī, from al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. al-Barsā' al-Khuzāʿī (who said), "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say on the day of the conquest of Mecca, 'This (city) will never be conquered after today until the day of Resurrection.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it from Bandār, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān. He said, "It is *ḥasan, ṣaḥīḥ*, 'good and authentic'."

I comment that if this statement is a proscription, then it is devoid of ambiguity. If it be a negation, then, as al-Bayhaqī said, "Its meaning is 'by those whose people are unbelievers'."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it is stated, from a *ḥadīth* of Zakariyyā' b. Abū Zā'ida, from ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭīʿ, from his father Muṭīʿ b. al-Aswad al-ʿAdawī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated on the day of the conquest of Mecca, 'After this day and on up to Resurrection Day, no man of Quraysh will ever be killed in captivity.'"

The objection to the first statement, above, could equally well be made against this too.[117]

Ibn Hishām stated that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca following its conquest and went up to al-Ṣafā to pray, the *anṣār* watched him and asked one another, "Do you think that since God has conquered for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) his own land and city that he will remain there?

117. The author is attempting to explain the purport of the *ḥadīth* in light of the fact that several inter-communal conflicts between Muslim forces did indeed occur in apparent contradiction of the prophecy.

"When he had finished his prayer he asked them what they had been saying and they replied that it was nothing. He kept on at them until they told him. He then said, 'God forbid! I shall live where you live, die where you die!'"

This comment given by Ibn Hishām is substantiated by Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in his *ḥadīth* compendium. He stated that the following was related to him by Bahz and Hāshim, both quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, from Thābit. Hāshim said, "Thābit b. Bunānī related to me, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Rabāḥ, who said, 'Delegations came in to see Muʾāwiya and I was among them, as was Abū Hurayra. This was in Ramaḍān. We prepared food for one another. Abū Hurayra would invite us very often. So I asked myself whether I should prepare some food and invite them to my tent. I ordered food to be prepared and met Abū Hurayra that evening. I said to him, "Abū Hurayra, the invitation tonight is at my place." "So you're beating me to it then?" "Yes," I replied, "I've invited some people who are there."

"'Abū Hurayra said, 'Well, you *anṣār*, should I recount a *ḥadīth* of yours?" He went on to relate the conquest of Mecca. He said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, he entered Mecca. He dispatched al-Zubayr in command of one of the flanks and Khālid in charge of the other. He sent Abū ʿUbayda over the bridge and they took the centre of the valley. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in his squadron. Quraysh had gathered their forces. They (the army commanders?) said, 'We'll send those ahead; and if they make progress, we'll be with them. If they are attacked, we'll give him whatever he asks.'"

"'Abū Hurayra went on, "He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) then looked over and when he saw me, he said, 'Abū Hurayra!' I responded, 'At your service, Messenger of God!' 'Call up the *anṣār* for me; and I don't want any except *anṣār* to come to me.' So I called out to them and they came and formed a circle around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then asked them, 'Do you see the Quraysh forces and their supporters grouped together?' He then spoke using his hands, saying, 'Cut right through them to conduct me to al-Ṣafā.'"

"'Abū Hurayra went on, "So off we went, each one of us refraining from killing any of them and they not interfering with us. Abū Sufyān commented, 'The green (banner) of Quraysh has been disgraced! There is no Quraysh after today!'

"'"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then announced, 'Whoever locks his door will be secure; whoever enters Abū Sufyān's house will be secure.' And so people did lock their doors.

"'"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), then advanced to the (Black) Stone, saluted it and circumambulated the *kaʿba*. In his hand he carried a bow. He grasped it by its bent frame and arriving, on his way round, at an idol beside the *kaʿba* they used to worship, he struck it in the eyes, saying, 'The truth has come and error is gone. Error is completely gone!'

"'"He then climbed al-Ṣafā from where he could look down upon the *kaʿba*, and raised his hands, invoking God and praying to Him.

"'"Meanwhile, the *anṣār* were down below and were telling one another, 'The man is seized by a desire to be in his village and he has a feeling of compassion for his tribe!'"

"'Abū Hurayra went on, 'Then revelation came to him. It was never hidden from us when this came, and no one would raise his gaze to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until it was at an end."'"

Hāshim stated, "When the revelation was over, he raised his head and said, 'O *anṣār*, did you just say, "The man is seized by a desire to be in his village and by compassion for his tribe?"' They replied, 'Yes, Messenger of God, we did say that.' 'What then should I be called? Absolutely not! I am God's servant and His messenger. I migrated to God and to you. It is with you I shall live and with you I shall die.'

"Those present then went up to him, weeping and saying, 'We only said what we did because of our passion for God and His messenger.' He then said, 'God and His messenger believe you and forgive you.'"

Muslim and al-Nasā'ī relate this from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra. Al-Nasā'ī added the name of Salām b. Miskīn.

Muslim also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, all three sources quoting Thābit, from 'Abd Allāh b. Rabāḥ the *anṣārī*, who lived in al-Baṣra, from Abū Hurayra in similar words.

Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar told him that Faḍāla b. 'Umayr b. al-Mulawwaḥ – al-Laythī, that is – wanted to kill the Prophet (ṢAAS) as he was circumambulating the *ka'ba* at the time of the conquest of Mecca. When the man approached him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, "'Is that Faḍāla?' 'Yes, Faḍāla, Messenger of God,' he replied. He next asked, 'And what was it you were just telling yourself?' He replied, 'Nothing; I was repeating the name of God.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) laughed and said, 'Seek God's forgiveness!' and he placed his hand on Faḍāla's chest and his heart became calm.

"Faḍāla used to say, 'I swear by God, by the time he took his hand away from my chest, none of God's creation was more beloved by me than him.'

"Faḍāla stated, 'I went back to my family and went by to see a woman with whom I would talk. She asked, 'Are you coming in to talk?'

"But Faḍāla declined and proceeded to speak the verses,

> 'She said, "come on in and talk!" He replied, "No; God
> and Islam forbid you that.
> Had you but seen Muḥammad and his advance at the
> Conquest, the day when the idols were smashed,
> You would have seen God's religion fully visible while
> the face of idolatry was covered in darkness."'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr related to him, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "Ṣafwān b. Umayya left to go to Jidda to take a boat from there to Yemen. 'Umayr b. Wahb told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),

'Prophet of God, Ṣafwān b. Umayya, his people's chief, has fled from you intending to cast himself into the sea. Do you give him immunity, may God bless you?' He replied, 'He is given immunity.'

"ʿUmayr then asked him, 'Messenger of God, please give me some token by which he will know your immunity for him.' So he gave him the turban he had been wearing when he had entered Mecca.

"ʿUmayr left with it and caught up with Ṣafwān as he was about to go to sea. He told him, 'Ṣafwān, may my father and mother be your ransom; if you plan to kill yourself, this is a guarantee of immunity from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that I have brought you.'

"'Clear off! Don't talk to me!' Ṣafwān told him. ʿUmayr insisted, 'But I swear, he is the most trustworthy, compassionate and best of all men and your cousin. His fame, honour and possessions are your own.' Ṣafwān replied, 'Yet I fear for myself.' ʿUmayr argued, 'But he is too compassionate and noble for that.'

"ʿUmayr did bring him back and when he stood before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) Ṣafwān said, 'This man claims that you grant me immunity?' 'He spoke the truth,' he replied. 'Let me have two months to make my choice,' Ṣafwān asked. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'You may have four months to decide.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on to relate from al-Zuhrī that Fākhita, daughter of al-Walīd, the wife of Ṣafwān, and Umm Ḥakīm, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, the wife of ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl, had followed ʿIkrima to Yemen and asked him to come back, and he did so and accepted Islam. When the two men (Ṣafwān and ʿIkrima) accepted Islam, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) affirmed the validity of their first marriages.

Ibn Isḥāq quoted Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit as having said, "Ḥassān delivered against Ibn al-Zibaʿrā while the latter was in Najrān the following single verse, adding to it no other,

> 'May you never be deprived of a man hatred for whom has
> made you settle in Najrān where your life is solitary
> and mean!'

"When this reached Ibn al-Zibaʿrā, he came out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and accepted Islam. When he did so, he spoke the verses,

> 'O Messenger of *al-Malīk*, the Sovereign Lord, my tongue
> is now mending what I tore when I was unproductive,
> When I followed Satan in the ways of error; and those
> who turn along his course are deceived.
> My flesh and bones believe in my Lord; and my heart is
> witness that you are the one who warns.
> I shall drive away from you there the clan of Luʾayy;
> all of them are deceived.'"

Ibn Isḥāq also quoted Ibn al-Zibaʿrā as reciting, when he accepted Islam,

"Worries and cares held back sleep from me and the
night pitched above me was disturbed and impenetrable
When I had heard that Aḥmad had criticized me, I
passed that night as though in fever.
O best man that ever a sure-footed, fast-paced camel
bore upon its body,
I apologize to you for what I did; I have been
wandering in error
During a time when Sahm and Makhzūm ordered me to
pursue false paths.
I gave aid to evil policies, led on by the orders of
those in error, accursed men.
Today my heart believes in the Prophet Muḥammad and
whoever mistakes this is deprived (of truth).
Enmity is over, its causes gone; the ties and
understanding between us call out.
Forgive my mistakes – may my parents be your ransom – for
you are forgiving and are yourself forgiven.
Upon you there is the sign of the knowledge of the
Sovereign Lord, a strong light and a seal impressed
After friendship, He honoured you with His proof, and
proof from God is powerful indeed.
I have testified that your religion is true, and that
you will be mighty in the hereafter.
God testifies that Aḥmad is the one chosen, noble and
pre-eminent among the righteous,
A prince, his high house being from Hāshim, the branch
of a tree firm at its apex and in its roots."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Some scholars of poetry dispute attribution of these verses to this poet."

I note that ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zibaʿrā al-Sahmī was one of the chief enemies of Islam, one of those poets who used their powers in satirizing the Muslims. God then allowed him to repent fully and to return to Islam, and to aid and defend it.

Division.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that the following lines of Ḥassān b. Thābit were among those delivered on the day of the conquest of Mecca:

"Traces of her campgrounds, now empty, at Dhāt
al-Aṣābiʿ and al-Jiwā' and on to ʿAdhrā'[118] have
vanished,
Homes of Banū al-Ḥasḥās now deserted and obliterated by
wind and rain

118. Sites in Syria Ḥassān is said to have visited.

Always was the company pleasant there and in its pastures were fine camels and sheep.

No more of that! But who can deal with a spectre that keeps me awake when evening is past?

Shaʿtha: when she appears before one, the heart knows no consolation.

She is like a fine wine from Bayt al-Raʾs[119], one to be mixed with honey and water;

Such drinks are fine to recall, the best of wines for which to make sacrifice.

It we blame if we behave badly, getting into fights or quarrels

When we drink it, it makes us feel like kings or lions so that nothing can deter us from conflict.

May we be deprived of our horses if you do not see them raising the dust, their objective Kadā.

They battle their reins, turning aside the thirsty spears above their shoulders.

Our horses continue charging ahead, the women flapping their veils at them.

Either you turn away from us and we perform the pilgrimage, and then the conquest will occur and the cover (over the *kaʿba*) be removed,

Or you should bear up against a battle in which God will give victory to whomever he wishes.

Gabriel, the Messenger of God, is on our side, and the Holy Spirit is without peer.

God said, 'I have sent a servant who speaks the truth – if visitation can do good.

I swear by him; so stand, and acknowledge his truth.' You replied, 'No; we'll not arise. We don't wish to.'

And so God said, 'I have sent my troops; they are the *anṣār* and their intent is to fight.'

Every day we receive from Maʿadd insults, conflict or mockery.

We will confuse with our rhymes those who mock us; and we will strike when blood mixes with blood!

Give Abū Sufyān from me an important message – for now is plain what had been hidden –

Consider our swords having left you a slave, and household slaves have bondwomen rule them!

You satirized Muḥammad, and I answered for him; with God will be your requital.

Is whoever of you satirizes the Messenger of God, the equal of those who praise and aid him?

119. A place in Jordan.

You satirized someone blessed, a pious *ḥanīf*, a
companion of God, a man characterized by loyalty.
My father, his father and my honour, all protect against
you the honour of Muḥammad.
My tongue is a faultless sword and my verse a water
source no buckets could turn cloudy."

Ibn Hishām commented that Ḥassān spoke these verses before the conquest.

I note that what he said is well-directed and pointed towards what was to come after these verses; the Abū Sufyān referred to in the verse is Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

Ibn Hishām commented that he had heard that al-Zuhrī had stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw the women slapping the horses with their veils, he smiled at Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Anas b. Zunaym al-Dīlī spoke the following verses in apology to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for what ʿAmr b. Sālim al-Khuzāʿī had said about the Muslims; that was when he came asking assistance against them, as related above.

"Is it you at whose command Maʿadd was led aright? No;
God guides them and said to you, 'Testify!'
No camel ever carried on its saddle a man more pious
and trustworthy than Muḥammad,
Anyone swifter to do good or more generous, a man who
goes forth like a burnished Indian-steel sword.
Anyone more ready to present a fine, unused Yemeni
robe, or to give away the winning horse.
You should know, O Messenger of God, that you will
attain me, and that a threat from you is as already
accomplished.
You should know, O Messenger of God, that you have
power over every settlement, whether in the highlands
or the lowlands.
You should know that the mounted men, the riders of
ʿUwaymir, are liars who break every vow.
They informed the Messenger of God that I satirized
him; if that be true, then my hand has never carried
my whip!
All I said was, 'Woe upon the mothers of the young men
struck down by ill-luck, not in fortunate, happy times.'
They were killed by those not their equal in blood-line;
and my weeping and confusion were extreme.
And you were accused of spreading evil about ʿAbd b.
ʿAbd Allāh and Mahwad's daughter.
Dhuwayb, Kulthūm and Salmā all followed one another (to
death) and even if I do not weep, I do grieve,

And Salmā! There is no tribe like Salmā and his
brothers. Are kings alike to slaves?
I have committed no sin nor shed blood; be sure, you
who know the truth, and take thought!"

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Salmā spoke the following verses on the conquest of Mecca:

"That morning Muzayna and Banū Khufāf drove the people
of al-Ḥaballaq from every ravine.
We struck them with our sharp swords at Mecca the day
of the conquest of the good Prophet
We came at them with 700 of Sulaym and a full
1,000 of Banū ʿUthmān.
We crushed their backs, striking and thrusting and
pelted them with fine arrows
Which you could hear making a crackling sound like
arrowshafts breaking at their point fastenings.
We charged, our steeds wheeling among them, the
shafts of our lances straight ahead.
We came back taking plunder as we wished, while they
retreated regretting their conflict.
We gave the Messenger of God our pledge and goodwill.
They heard our speech and set about retreating from us
on that morning of terror."

Ibn Hishām stated that ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī spoke the following verses at the conquest of Mecca:

"With us that day when Muḥammad conquered Mecca were
1,000 men wearing insignia; the valleys
streamed with them.
They helped the Messenger and witnessed his signs;
their emblems the day of the encounter were to the
fore.
In a constricted place where their feet set firm; it
was as though (their enemies') heads were mere
colocynths.
Before this their hooves had raced over Najd, until
jet-black Hijāz stretched out before them
It was God who conquered it for him and the judgement
of swords and vigorous toil subjugated it to us.
A man used to leadership, his head held high, aspiring
to the heights of dignity, a most generous man."

Ibn Hishām gave the explanation for the acceptance of Islam by ʿAbbās b. Mirdās. His father used to worship a stone idol called Dimār which he entrusted to

'Abbās when his death was near. One day, while 'Abbās was worshipping it, he heard a voice from inside it say,

"Tell all the tribes of Sulaym that Dimār has perished,
while the people of the mosque live on.
He of Quraysh who has inherited prophethood and right-guidance
after Mary's son is a true guide.
Dimār has perished, though he was long worshipped, from
before the scripture up to the Prophet Muḥammad."

At that 'Abbās set Dimār afire, joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and accepted Islam. This story is given above in full in the section of the *Cries of the Spirits*[120] along with various similar tales. And to God belong all praise and credit.

THE DISPATCH BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) OF KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD AGAINST BANŪ JADHĪMA, AFTER THE CONQUEST OF MECCA.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that it was related to him by Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm b. 'Abbād b. Ḥanīf, from Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who said, "When Mecca was conquered, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth Khālid b. al-Walīd as a missionary and not as a warrior. With him were Arab tribes, along with Sulaym b. Manṣūr and Mudlij b. Murra. When Banū Khudhayma b. 'Āmir b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna saw them approach, they went for their weapons, but Khālid told them, 'Put down your arms; people have accepted Islam.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued that a companion of his, a scholar from Banū Jadhīma, told him, "When Khālid asked us to put down our arms one of us, a man named Jaḥdam, said, 'Take care, Banū Jadhīmā – it's Khālid! I swear by God, all there will be after laying down your arms will be captivity; and after that there will be execution! By God, I'll never lay down my arms!'

"He was seized by some of his people, who asked, 'Jaḥdam, do you want to spill our blood? People have (all) accepted Islam now and warfare is over. People are safe now.'

"They kept on at him until they had taken away his weapons. They disarmed him because of what Khālid had said."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to report that Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm quoted Abū Ja'far as saying further, "When they had put down their weapons, Khālid ordered that they be bound and he then put a number of them to the sword. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he raised his hands to heaven and said, 'O God, I declare to You my innocence of what Khālid b. al-Walīd has done.'"

Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar told him that one man from that tribe escaped and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and when the latter had

120. See Vol. I above, pp.258–9.

been told what had happened, He asked, "Did anyone argue with him?" The man replied that a man of pale complexion and medium stature had argued with him, but Khālid rebuked him and shut him up. Another man, tall and excitable, had also argued with him and they disputed fiercely. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, "The first man, Messenger of God, was my son ʿAbd Allāh; the other was Sālim, the freed-man of Abū Ḥudhayfa."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to say that Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm further quoted Abū Jaʿfar as saying, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and told him, 'ʿAlī, go out to those people and make enquiries. Put an end to the practices of the *jāhilīyya*.'

"'ʿAlī went out to them carrying money the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent with him. He paid them compensation for the deaths and for their material losses, even paying them for a dog's bowl! Having met all these obligations, he still had some money left. He asked them whether there was anyone else to be paid for lost blood or damages and they said not. He then gave them the remaining money on behalf of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in case any other demands that neither he nor they were aware of should be made later.

"Having done this, he returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and reported to him. 'You acted correctly and very well,' he told him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose and, facing the *qibla* and stretching his arms out wide so that his armpits were visible, he said, 'O God, I declare to You that I am innocent of what Khālid b. al-Walīd did.' He spoke these words three times."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that some who wished to excuse Khālid report him as having said, "I did not fight them until ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa al-Sahmī told me to do so. He said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered you to combat them because of their having refrained from accepting Islam.'"

Ibn Hishām quoted Abū ʿAmr al-Madīnī as saying that when Khālid reached them, they had said, "*ṣabaʾnā*! *ṣabaʾnā*! We have changed religion!"

These traditions are defective in their lines of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Khālid b. al-Walīd to Banū – I think he said this – Jadhīma, and he invited them to enter Islam. But they did not respond properly by saying *aslamnā*, 'we accept Islam', but instead began saying '*ṣabaʾnā*! *ṣabaʾnā*!' Khālid then took some prisoner and killed others. He gave to each of our men a prisoner and next morning Khālid ordered that each man of us should kill his prisoner."

Ibn ʿUmar went on, "I said, 'I swear by God, I'll not kill my prisoner! Nor will any of my men kill theirs either!'"

The account continues that they then went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and told him what Khālid had done. He responded by raising his hands and saying, "O God, I declare to You that I am innocent of what Khālid has done!" He said this twice.

Al-Bukhārī and al-Nasā'ī related this from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-Razzāq in similar terms.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Jaḥdam said to them, when he saw what Khālid was doing, 'O Banū Jadhīma, the die is cast and lost; I warned you of what had happened to you.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "I have heard that there were angry words between Khālid and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf about this. 'Abd al-Raḥmān told him, 'You have behaved in Islam as though in the *jāhilīyya*!' 'But I only took revenge for your father,' Khālid replied. 'Abd al-Raḥmān responded, 'You lie! I have already killed my father's murderer. It's your uncle, al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra, whom you have avenged!' Ill feeling arose between them over this.

"When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, 'Take it easy, Khālid! And leave my Companions alone! I swear, that if you had a mountain like Uḥud of gold and then spent it in God's cause, you'd not attain a morning and evening's worth of what my Companions have done!'"

Ibn Isḥāq then went on to relate the story of al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm, the uncle of Khālid b. al-Walīd. He had left on a business trip to Yemen in the company of 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd al-Ḥārith b. Zahra, this man's son 'Abd al-Raḥmān, along with 'Affān b. Abū al-'Āṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams and his son 'Uthmān. When they returned they brought with them some possessions of a man of Banu Jadhīma who had died in Yemen. They brought these effects to his heirs. One of their men, a man named Khālid b. Hishām, claimed them and met them on Banū Jadhīma territory, asking for the dead man's possessions before they reached the family of the latter. When they refused to hand them over he attacked them and in the fighting 'Awf and Fākih were killed and their goods were seized. 'Abd al-Raḥmān killed the man, Khālid b. Hishām, who had slain his father, while 'Affān and his son 'Uthmān fled to Mecca. Quraysh were about to attack Banū Jadhīma when the latter sent apology to them insisting that the attack had not been their fault. They returned the two dead men and their property and so warfare was averted.

This, then, is why Khālid told 'Abd al-Raḥmān that he had avenged his father by killing Banū Jadhīma and why 'Abd al-Raḥmān responded by saying that he had killed his father's murderer. And so he went on to charge that Khālid was merely avenging his uncle al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra when they killed him and took his possessions.

What was really thought by both men was that he, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, had not intended any of this and that the charge had only arisen due to their conflict. Khālid had only sought to render Islam and its side victorious, even though he was in error in thinking that they had been demeaning Islam by saying, *saba'nā! saba'nā*! He did not realize that they had accepted Islam, and so he killed a large number of them and took the rest captive. Most of the captives were killed as well. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not take his command away but left

him in charge. He did, however, declare his own innocence of what Khālid had done and paid compensation for the loss of life and property.

In this there is substantiation of a statement made by scholars that the mistake of the Imām rests with his treasury, not with his own funds! But God knows best.

This is why the Caliph Abū Bakr did not dismiss him when he killed Mālik b. Nuwayra during the *ridda* wars, first executing him, then choosing for himself Mālik's wife Umm Tamīm. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then advised, "Dismiss him; there's a fault in his sword!" Abū Bakr replied, "I'll not sheathe a sword that God drew against the polytheists."

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas related to him, from al-Zuhrī, from Ibn Abū Ḥadrad al-Aslamī, who said, "That day I was with the cavalry of Khālid b. al-Walīd and a young man of Banū Jadhīma, of about my own age, whose hands had been tied up to his neck with a rope, spoke to me. The women were all gathered together a little way off. He asked me, 'Take me by the rope and lead me over to where the women are so that I can say something, and then bring me back and you can do with me whatever you will.'

"I replied that what he had asked was easily granted and took his rope and led him over to stand near them. He then said, 'Ḥubaysh, accept that life is at an end.' He then spoke the following verses,

'Don't you agree that when I sought and found you at
Ḥilya or came to you at al-Khawāniq
Was it not right to reward a lover who had travelled
hard through long nights and hot days?
There was no blame in my saying, when our peoples were
together,
"Grant me love, before some tragedy occurs."
"Grant me love before distance intervenes and the chief
leads my lover away."
I never betrayed our secret pact and, after meeting
you, was never attracted by another.
And even when distracted from love by tribal matters,
my passion persisted.'

"She replied, 'May you live on for ten, or nine odd numbered years and then eight more in succession!'

"I then led him back and he was beheaded."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to relate, quoting Abū Firās b. Abū Sanbala al-Aslamī who quoted some of their sheikhs, from others who were present there, to the effect that the girl, Ḥubaysh, went over to him when he was beheaded and bent down over, kissing him until she herself died right there with him!

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related, through al-Ḥumaydī, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq, who said that he heard a man of Muzayna named Ibn ʿIṣām quote his father as having said, "The Messenger of

God (ṢAAS) would say when he sent out a military expedition, 'If you see a mosque or hear a call to prayer, do not kill anyone.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did send us out on one such mission and so ordered us. We headed towards Tihāma and caught up with a man leading some *howdahs*, camel-borne litters. We told him, 'Accept Islam!' He replied, 'What is Islam?' We explained, but he would not recognize it. He then asked what we would do if he declined. We told him we would kill him. He then asked if we would wait while he went over to the *howdahs*. We agreed to take him over there. When he reached there, he called out, '*Islamī*! Accept Islam, Ḥubaysh! before life comes to an end.' She replied, '*Islam*! "be safe", for ten and nine odd-numbered years and then eight more in succession.'

"The man then spoke the verses (given above) as far as 'and the chief leads my lover away' and came back to us, saying, 'Do as you wish.' So we led him off and beheaded him. The woman then hurried down from her *howdah*, threw herself down upon him and died."

Al-Bayhaqī proceeded to relate, through Abū Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nasā'ī, who quoted Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥarb al-Marwazī, quoting ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid, from his father, from Yazīd al-Naḥwī, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth an expedition that captured booty, along with a man. He told the raiders that he did not belong there and was in love with a woman he had been pursuing. He asked to see her one more time, and that then they could do with him whatever they wished. A tall woman of dark complexion was there and he said to her, "Accept, Ḥubaysh, before life comes to an end." He then spoke two verses. She responded, "Yes, I would sacrifice myself for you!"

The narration continued "When they led him away and beheaded him, she came and threw herself upon him, sighed deeply once or twice and died.

"When they arrived back and reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he exclaimed, 'Was there not one man of mercy among you?'"

THE DISPATCH OF KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD TO DESTROY AL-ʿUZZĀ.

Ibn Jarīr stated that its destruction occurred five days before the end of Ramaḍān that year.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then dispatched Khālid b. al-Walīd to al-ʿUzzā. There was a building at a palm-grove that Quraysh, Kināna and Muḍar revered. Its custodians and guardians were of Banū Shaybān, of Banū Sulaym, allies of Banū Hāshim. When the Sulamī who was its guardian heard that Khālid was coming, he hung his sword upon the Goddess and hurried away up the mountain where she stood, saying,

'O ʿAzz, make an all-out attack on Khālid; throw aside
your veil and roll up your sleeves!

O ʿAzz, if you don't kill that man, Khālid, then you
will meet swift punishment or convert to Islam!'

"When Khālid reached there he destroyed it, then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Wāqidī and others related that when he arrived there, it was five days prior to the end of Ramaḍān. Having smashed it, he returned and reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him, "And what was it you saw?" "I saw nothing," he replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent him back and when he arrived there he saw a black female emerge from the temple, her hair dishevelled and wailing. He then put her to the sword and spoke the verse,

'O ʿUzza, and such is for disbelief, and not glorifying
God; I see that God has indeed disgraced you.'

He then went on to lay waste to that temple in which she had been. He also confiscated the valuables inside it, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure. He then returned and informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, 'That was al-ʿUzzā; she'll not be worshipped again.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that the jurist Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Jaʿfar, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, quoting Abū Kurayb, from Ibn Fuḍayl, from al-Walī b. Jamīʿ, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had conquered Mecca, he sent Khālid b. al-Walīd out to al-Nakhla, where al-ʿUzzā was. It consisted of a shrine positioned above three acacia trees. He cut down the trees and destroyed the shrine and returned and reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but he told him, "Go back; you have done nothing."

Khālid did so and when the temple guardians saw him they hurried off up into the mountain, saying,

"O ʿUzzā, cut him down! O ʿUzzā, disgrace him! If you
don't, you'll have to die!"

When Khālid reached there he found a naked female with dishevelled hair piling dirt over her head and face. He put her to the sword and killed her, then returned and reported to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who commented, "Yes, that was al-ʿUzzā."

Chapter: On the period spent by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca.

There is no dispute over his having remained for the rest of Ramaḍān, shortening the prayers and breaking the fast. This is used by some scholars to substantiate their view that travellers who do not resolve upon remaining may shorten the prayers and fast for 18 days, according to one view. According to the other, it is determined by the place where he is.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nuʿaym related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting Qabīṣa, quoting Sufyān, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Isḥāq, from Anas b. Mālik, who

said, "We stayed 10 days with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), shortening the prayers."

The other scholars related this from numerous lines, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī al-Baṣrī, from Anas, in similar words.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that it was related to him by ʿAbdān, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, quoting ʿĀṣim, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there for 19 days, performing prayers consisting of two *rakʿas*."

Al-Bukhārī related it also from another line. Al-Bukhārī and Abū Ḥuṣayn gave longer versions of both. Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Māja (related it) from a *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim b. Sulaymān al-Aḥwal, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

In the text of Abū Dā'ūd the period of the stay was 17 days.

Aḥmad b. Yūnus related to us, quoting Aḥmad b. Shihāb, from ʿĀṣim, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "We stayed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while travelling for 19 days, shortening the prayers."

Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "We therefore shorten the prayer if we stop over for less than 19 days. If our stay is longer, however, we complete the prayer normally."

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Ibn ʿAliyya, quoting ʿAlī b. Zayd, from Abū Naḍra, from ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn as follows, "I went on military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and was present with him at the conquest. He remained (there) for 18 nights performing prayers consisting of only two *rakʿas*, saying, 'You residents, pray four *rakʿas*; we are travellers.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Jadʿān and he said, "This is a *ḥadīth* that is *ḥasan*, 'good'."

Abū Dā'ūd then related from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there 15 nights performing shortened prayers. He then said, 'More than one authority quoted this from Ibn Isḥāq without reference to Ibn ʿAbbās.'"

Ibn Idrīs stated, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, and ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr b. Qatāda, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, and ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb and others, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained at Mecca for 15 nights."

Chapter: On the regulations issued by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Mecca.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, from Mālik, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀ'isha, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) (the following *ḥadīth*). And al-Layth stated that Yūnus related to him, from Ibn Shihāb, quoting ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr who quoted ʿĀ'isha as saying, "ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqāṣ promised his brother Saʿd that he would gain custody of the son of Zamʿa's slave girl. ʿUtba had said that the boy was his own son. When the Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) arrived in Mecca during its conquest, Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ took the boy to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and ʿAbd b. Zamʿa went with him.

"Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ stated, 'This is the son of my brother; he has sworn to me that he is his son.' ʿAbd b. Zamʿa said, 'Messenger of God, this is my brother; he is Zamʿa's son and was born on his bed.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked at the son of Zamʿa's slave girl and found him to be very like ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqāṣ. He then said, 'He is your brother, ʿAbd b. Zamʿa, because he was born on his (your father's) bed.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said (to his wife), 'And you shall put on your veil before him, Sawda!'[121] This was because of the resemblance he saw in him to ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqāṣ."

Ibn Shihāb went on to quote ʿĀ'isha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'A child relates to a bed; for a fornicator there is a stone.'"[122]

Ibn Shihāb stated, "Abū Hurayra used to affirm this *ḥadīth* in public."

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī, from Qutayba, from al-Layth. Ibn Mājah (also) gave it from his *ḥadīth*. Al-Bukhārī is alone in relating this from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from al-Zuhrī.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Muḥammad b. Muqātil related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, "ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr informed me that while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was active on the conquest of Mecca, a woman committed theft and her family asked Usāma b. Zayd to intercede (and seek clemency) for her. When Usāma brought the matter up with him, the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) changed colour and he demanded, 'Are you talking to me about a punishment legally prescribed by God?' Usāma replied, 'Please seek God's forgiveness for me, Messenger of God!'

"That evening the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose to make an address. He gave praise to God and went on to say, 'Now then, peoples before you were ruined because if one of them of noble birth were to steal, he would be excused, whereas if a person without power were to do so the penalties of the law would be applied against him. By Him in whose hand rests the soul of Muḥammad, if Fāṭima, the daughter of Muḥammad were to steal, I would cut off her hand!'

"He then ordered that the hand of the woman be amputated. Thereafter she was truly repentant and married."

ʿĀ'isha said, "After that she would sometimes come and visit and I would pass on requests from her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bukhārī also related this in another section (of his work) and Muslim did so from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀ'isha.

121. Sawda was the daughter of Zamʿa. Since it was obvious from the boy's appearance that he was not Zamʿa's son, Sawda was not his relative and therefore should not appear before him unveiled.

122. That is, a child is to be identified with the parents with whom he is. Stoning to death is the penalty in Islam for fornication.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim there is a *ḥadīth* of Sabra b. Maʿbad al-Juhanī which says, "At the time of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us to engage in *al-mutʿa*, temporary marriage, when he entered (the town) but by the time he left it he forbade it (the practice)."

In one account the Prophet (ṢAAS) is quoted as saying, "It is certainly *ḥarām*, forbidden; it is *ḥarām* from this day and on to the day of resurrection."

In an account in the *ḥadīth* collection of Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal), the *musnad*, as well as in the *sunan*, it is stated that this (the prohibition of *mutʿa* marriages) came at the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, the "farewell pilgrimage". But God knows best.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it is stated, on a line of transmission from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Yūnus b. Muḥammad, from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād, from Abū al-ʿUmays, from Iyyās b. Salama b. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, from his father, who said, "In the year of *awṭās*, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) condoned temporary marriage with women of three nights duration, but he then forbade it."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The 'year of *awṭās*' means the year of the conquest." This and the *ḥadīth* of Sabra are identical.

I note that those who establish its prohibition in the expedition against Khaybar say that it was twice made permissible and twice prohibited. Al-Shāfiʿī and others give texts to this effect.

The practice is also said to have been both declared permissible and prohibited on more than two occasions. But God knows best. It is also said to have been prohibited only once, on this occasion under discussion, at the conquest of Mecca.

It is also said to have been declared permissible only in case of *al-ḍarūra*, "necessity"; on the basis of this, if necessity exists, it, *al-mutʿa*, is made permissible. This view is attributed to Imām Aḥmad.

It is also said that the practice was not absolutely forbidden, but should be considered *ʿalā al-ibāḥa*, "permissible". This is well-known as the position of Ibn ʿAbbās and his companions, as well as that of a group of the Companions (of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)). Discussion of this occurs in the work *al-Aḥkām*.

DIVISION.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, (who said) that Muḥammad b. al-Aswad b. Khalaf related to him that his father, al-Aswad, saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepting pledges of allegiance on the day of the conquest. He said, 'He was seated with Mt. al-Qarn facing him and was accepting the people for their Islam and their *shahāda*.' I asked, 'What is meant by *shahāda*?' He replied, 'Muḥammad b. al-Aswad b. Khalaf related that he received their pledge of allegiance (on their expression of) faith in God and their testimony that "there is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger."'"

Aḥmad was alone in giving this.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "People high and low came to him, men and women both, and he accepted their (affirmation of) Islam and their (recitation of the) *shahāda*.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "People then assembled in Mecca to pledge allegiance in Islam to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was seated before thm, so I have been told, on Mt. al-Ṣafā, with ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb below where he sat. He accepted (their statements) of total obedience to the best of their ability to God and to His messenger.

"When he had finished receiving the pledges of the men, he accepted those of the women. Among them was Hind, daughter of ʿUtba, fully veiled and apologetic in her speech for what she had done to Ḥamza. She feared that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would punish her for that. When the women came up to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for him to accept their allegiance, he told them 'Pledge to me that you will not associate anything else with God.' Hind commented, 'Well, I swear, you're making demands of us different from those applied to the men!'

"He went on, 'And do not steal!' She responded, 'I swear by God, I did occasionally steal a little money from Abū Sufyān; I really didn't know whether that was permissible for us or not.' Abū Sufyān, who was a witness to what she was saying, said, 'You are absolved for whatever you took in the past.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'You must be Hind, daughter of ʿUtba?' 'Yes, I am,' she replied. 'Please forgive what is now past, may God forgive you.'

"'And you women must swear not to commit adultery,' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on.

"'Does a free woman[123] commit adultery?' Hind asked.

"'And do not kill your children,' he continued. She responded, 'Should we raise them from birth, then kill them when grown? You and they know best about this!'[124] At this ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb laughed uncontrollably.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'And you shall not make up slanderous and disgraceful stories.' 'Well', Hind replied, 'inventing slander is certainly ugly; a little exaggeration is better!'

"'And you must not disobey me,' he went on. Hind responded, 'To do good!'[125]

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to ʿUmar, 'Accept their pledge. And may God forgive them. For God is forgiving, merciful.'"

123. That is, a woman who is not a slave – i.e. "does a woman of good birth (or high standing)".

124. According to al-Ṭabarī's account, Hind responded to this question by saying, "I brought them up when they were little and you killed them on the day of Badr when they were grown up, so you are the one to know about them!" (Quoted in Guillaume, *op. cit.* p.553.)

125. This exchange appears in different form in al-Ṭabarī's account. According to it, the exchange was as follows, "You shall not disobey me in carrying out orders to do good." She said, "We should not have sat all this time if we wanted to disobey you in such orders!" Quoted in Guillaume, *op. cit.* p.553.

'Umar then accepted their pledges, for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never shook hands with women. Indeed, the only women he ever touched were those God had made lawful for him, or who were *maḥram*[126] for him.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from 'Ā'isha, may God be pleased with her, that she said, "No, I swear, the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never touched the hand of any woman." In one account the wording is, "And he only ever accepted allegiance verbally from them." And he would say, "Whatever I say to one woman, is just what I would say to 100 women."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is reported from 'Ā'isha that Hind, daughter of 'Utba, the wife of Abū Sufyān, came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "O Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a stingy man. He does not give me enough to cover expenses for myself and for my children. Would it be wrong for me to take some of his money without his knowledge?" He replied, "You may fairly take from his funds enough for yourself and your children."

Al-Bayhaqī related through Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, from al-Layth, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, that Hind, daughter of 'Utba, said, "Messenger of God, there used to be nothing hidden on the face of the earth that I wanted more than that your supporters be humiliated. But now there's nothing hidden in the back of the earth that I want more than that your supporters be successful." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, "And what else, by Him who holds Muḥammad's soul in His hand?" She said, "Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a stingy man. Would it be wrong for me to provide food from what he owns?" "No, but do so *bil-ma'rūf*, 'fairly'."

Al-Bukhārī related this from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr in similar terms. Material relating to the acceptance of Islam by Abū Sufyān is given above.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Jarīr, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, from Ṭāwūs, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, '(Now) there is no *hijra*, but there is *jihād*, "striving for God's cause", and *nīyya*, "intentions". If you are fought, then fight back.'"

Al-Bukhārī related it from 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba, and Muslim did so from Yayḥā b. Yaḥyā, from Jarīr.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by 'Affān, quoting Wahb, quoting Ibn Ṭāwūs, from his father, from Ṣafwān b. Umayya, who said that he was told, "that only those who migrated will enter paradise". So I (the father of Ṭāwūs?) said, "I'll not go home until I ask the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what it was he was asked. So I went to him, told him of this and he responded, 'There is no *hijra* after the conquest of Mecca. However, there is *jihād* and *nīyya*; and if you are fought, then fight back.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

126. That is, in a degree of consanguinity to him that precluded marriage.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr related to us, quoting al-Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān, quoting ʿĀṣim, from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī, from Mujāshiʿ b. Masʿūd, who said, 'I went with Abū Maʿbad to the Prophet (ṢAAS) so that he could make a pledge to him to make the *hijra*. He replied, "The *hijra* is over,[127] (reserved) for those who did it. I accept his pledge of allegiance to Islam and for the *jihād*."'

"I met Abū Maʿbad and asked him (about this) and he replied, 'Mujāshiʿ spoke the truth.'"

Khālid stated, from Abū ʿUthmān, from Mujāshiʿ, that he brought his brother Mujālid with him.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAmr b. Khālid related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting ʿĀṣim, from Abū ʿUthmān, who said, "Mujāshiʿ related to me as follows, 'After the conquest of Mecca, I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with my brother and said, "Messenger of God, I've brought you my brother for you to accept his pledge for the *hijra*." He replied, "Those (credited with) performing the *hijra*, with all its rewards, have gone." "For what will you accept his pledge, then?" I asked. "I will accept his pledge of allegiance to Islam, to faith and to the *jihād*."

"'I later met with Abū Maʿbad, who was the elder of them, and asked him (about it). He replied, "Mujāshiʿ spoke the truth."'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Ghundar, quoting Shuʿba, from Abū Bishr, from Mujāhid, who said, "I said to Ibn ʿUmar, 'I want to migrate to Syria.' He replied, 'There is no *hijra*; however, do go and present yourself. You'll either find something or just return.'"

Abū al-Naḍr stated that Shuʿba related to him, quoting Abū Bishr who said that he heard Mujāhid say, "I asked Ibn ʿUmar and he said, 'There's no *hijra* now' – or 'after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'" The rest of the *ḥadith* is as above.

Ishāq b. Yazīd related to us, quoting Yahyā b. Ḥamza, quoting Abū ʿAmr al-Awzāʿī, from ʿAbda b. Abū Lubāba, from Mujāhid b. Jubayr, that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar said, "There is no *hijra* after the conquest."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Isḥāq b. Yazīd related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza, quoting al-Awzāʿī, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Rabāḥ, who said, "I visited ʿĀʾisha with ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr who asked her about the *hijra*. She replied, 'There is no *hijra* now. The believers used to flee, each one singly with his religion, to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, and to His messenger, fearing his faith might be subverted. Now God has rendered Islam victorious and the believer worships God wherever he wishes. However, there is *jihād* and *nīyya*.'"

These accounts and anecdotes show that the *hijra*, whether already completed or in general, came to an end after the conquest of Mecca. This was because people

127. This implies that following the conquest of Mecca migration to join Islam was no longer valid. Previously participation in the *hijra* had been an action for which there would be reward.

had entered into God's religion in large numbers and Islam had become victorious and firmly based; and so there was no *hijra* any more.

This is so unless there might be some circumstances arising that necessitate *hijra*, due to the close presence of warfare and a lack of power to make the faith prevail over them; this would then necessitate *hijra* into the domain of Islam. This is a matter about which there is no dispute among scholars.

However, such a *hijra* would not be similar to that of prior to the conquest. Moreover, both *jihād* and *infāq*, "sacrifice", for God's cause are appropriate and desirable right up to Judgement Day, though not like that *jihād* and *infāq* that pertained to the conquest, that is the conquest of Mecca.

God, Almighty is He, stated, "Those of you who made sacrifices and fought prior to the conquest are not equivalent; those are higher in rank than those who made sacrifices and fought thereafter. But for both God has promised reward" (*sūrat al-Ḥadīd*; LVII, v.10).

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from Abū al-Bakhtarī al-Ṭā'ī, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī, who said, "When the verse, 'when God's victory and the conquest came' (*sūrat al-Naṣr*; CX, v.1) was revealed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited it to its end and then he said, 'The people are good and I and my Companions are good.' He then said, 'There is no *hijra* after the conquest, but there is *jihād* and *niyya*.'

"Marwān said to him (Abū Saʿīd), 'You have lied! With him there were Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj and Zayd b. Thābit, seated with him on the bed.' Abū Saʿīd responded, 'If these two wanted, they would tell you it was so. But this one is afraid that you will withdraw his prestige with his people, while this other one is afraid you will withdraw the stipend he receives!'

"At this Marwān raised his whip to strike him and when the two men saw this, they said, 'He spoke the truth!'"

Aḥmad is alone in relating this.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, from Abū Bishr, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "ʿUmar would take me in with the sheikhs who had been at Badr. One of them seemed annoyed and said, 'Why do you let him come in with us, when we have sons like him?' ʿUmar replied, 'But you know who he is.' One day ʿUmar invited them and I went in with them; I did not realize that he had only included me to show them something. ʿUmar asked, 'What do you have to say about the statement of God, Almighty and Glorious, 'When God's victory and the conquest come"?' One of the sheikhs replied, 'We are ordered to praise God and to seek His forgiveness if we are aided and given victory.' Others of them were silent, saying nothing. ʿUmar asked, 'Is that what you say, Ibn ʿAbbās?' 'No,' I replied. 'Well, what do you say?' he asked. I replied, 'This refers to the approach of death for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of which God was informing him. (The phrase)

'When God's victory and the conquest come' was a sign of your (the Prophet's) death. And so, 'give praise to your Lord and ask his forgiveness. He is ever willing to forgive'. At that ʿUmar said (to the sheikhs) 'I do not know anything about it other than what he knows.'"

Al-Bukhārī was alone in recounting this.

This is related similarly on more than one line of transmission from Ibn ʿAbbās, all to the effect that he interpreted this verse as a reference to the approaching death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Mujāhid, Abū al-ʿĀliyya al-Ḍaḥḥāk and others, including Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with them both, also subscribed to this interpretation.

There is also a *ḥadīth* given by Imām Aḥmad who quoted it through Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, ʿAṭāʾ, and Saʿīd b. Jubayr back to Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When the verse, 'When God's victory and the conquest come' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I have been given notice of my death"' – that is, that he would be taken away (by God) that year."

Imām Aḥmad is alone in including in his chain of transmission ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Muslim al-Khurasānī. This *ḥadīth* has weakness noted by several *imāms*. In the text there is a phrase which is completely inappropriate. Namely, the statement that "he would be taken away that year". This is foolish, because the conquest was in the year 8 AH, in Ramaḍān, as related above. This is something beyond dispute.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died in Rabīʿ al-Awwal of 11 AH, again something beyond dispute.

Similar is the *ḥadīth* related by *al-ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī, may God have mercy upon him, (who stated as follows), "Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Wakīʿī related to us, quoting his father, quoting Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn, from Abū al-ʿUmays, from Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Jahm, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The last *sūra* of the entire Qurʾān that was revealed in its entirety was, "When God's victory and the conquest came."'"

This is also unacceptable. Its chain of authorities is also problematic. It is likely that what is meant is that it is the last *sūra* of the Qurʾān that was revealed in its entirety. But God knows best.

We have sufficiently discussed interpretation of this noble *sūra*; and to God belong all praise and credit.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qalāba, from ʿAmr b. Salama (who said) that Abū Qalāba asked him, "Won't you meet him and ask him?" So I did meet him and did ask him. He replied, "We were at a water-source by which people passed and we would ask them, 'What is wrong with the people? What is that man doing?' They would reply, 'He claims that God has sent him and revealed to him such-and-such.' I would learn those words by heart and would feel as though they were implanted inside me. These Arabs were delaying their acceptance of Islam until the conquest. They would say, 'Leave him for his own people to

take care of him! If he does overcome them, then he will be a prophet speaking the truth.'

"When the combat at the conquest occurred, each tribe hurried to accept Islam. My father accepted Islam before my tribe did. When he arrived back, he said, 'I swear by God that I have come to you from the Prophet, in truth!' He, (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said, 'Perform such-and-such a prayer at such-and-such a time. And when the time for prayer comes, then one of you should call the *adhān*, the summons to prayer. And then which ever one of you knows the Qur'ān best should lead the prayer.' So they enquired but found no one who knew more Qur'ān than I did, because of what I had been learning from the passing caravans.

"And so they appointed me to lead them in prayer; I was six or seven years old at the time. I used to be dressed in a *burda*, a short, squared garment, and when I prostrated it would ride up (and expose me). A woman of the tribe asked, 'Couldn't you cover over for us the anus of your reciter?' So they bought cloth and made a shirt for me. And nothing had ever made me so happy as that shirt did!"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in recounting this; Muslim did not.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST HAWĀZIN; THE BATTLE OF ḤUNAYN.

God Almighty stated, "God aided you on many battlefields and at the battle of Ḥunayn, when your large numbers made you confident, but they were of no use to you and the earth was constrained all about you, spacious though it was! Then you turned back, retreating. Thereafter God sent down his sense of calm[128] upon His messenger and upon the believers and He sent down forces which you did not see and He punished those who disbelieved; that is the reward of unbelievers. Then, after that, God will turn towards whomever He wishes; and God is Forgiving, Merciful" (*sūrat al-Barā'a*; IX, v.25–7).

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār related in his book that the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) against Hawāzin came after the conquest, on the 5th of Shawwāl, 8 AH. He also claimed that the conquest took place ten days before the end of Ramaḍān, fifteen days before his departure against Hawāzin.

This is related similarly from Ibn Mas'ūd. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr stated this, and Aḥmad preferred it, as did Ibn Jarīr in his history.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth against Hawāzin on the 6th day of Shawwāl and he reached Ḥunayn on the 10th of that month. Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', stated, 'We'll not be defeated today because of size.'[129] Then they were defeated; the first defeated were Banū Sulaym, then the Meccans, then the remainder of the force."

128. The word used is *sakīna*; for discussion of this word, see Lane, op. cit. under *sakana*.

129. The implication is that the substantial numbers of the Muslims engaging would ensure victory.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that when Hawāzin heard about how God had conquered Mecca for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), their leader, Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī, gathered them together. All of Thaqīf assembled with Hawāzin and they were joined by Naṣr and all Jusham, along with Saʿd b. Bakr and a few men of Banū Hilāl. Of Qays ʿAylān, only these were present. Of Hawāzin, (the clans of) Kaʿb and Kilāb did not attend and no noteworthy person of them was there. Among Banū Jusham there was Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, an elderly sheikh who was capable of speaking advice and giving his knowledge of warfare; he was a man of very great experience. Thaqīf had two leaders; in the Aḥlāf there was Qarīb b. al-Aswad b. Masʿūd b. Muʿattib. In Banū Mālik there were Dhū al-Khimār Subayʿ b. al-Ḥārith and his brother Aḥmar b. al-Ḥārith. The overall command was under Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī.

Ibn Isḥāq's account continued, "When he had made the decision to attack the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he had the people bring their possessions along with their women and their children with them. When they halted at Awṭās, his force gathered around him; among them was Durayd b. al-Simma in a kind of *howdah* in which he was borne along. When they halted, Durayd asked, 'In which valley are you?' 'In Awṭās,' they replied. He commented, 'A fine place for cavalry! It's not hilly with rocks, nor is it soft ground. Why is it I hear the grunting of camels and the braying of donkeys, the crying of babies and the bleating of sheep?' They replied that Mālik b. ʿAwf had had the force bring their possessions, women and children with them. 'And where is Mālik?' asked Durayd. 'He is here,' they told him and summoned him.

"Durayd then said to him, 'Mālik, you have become your people's leader and this is a day that will greatly influence the future. Why is it I hear the grunting of camels, the braying of donkeys, the crying of babies and the bleating of sheep?' He replied, 'I had the people bring their children and possessions with them.' 'Why was this?' Durayd asked. Mālik replied, 'I wanted every man to have his family and possessions behind him so that he would fight for them.'

"On hearing this, Durayd made a sound of disapproval and commented, 'You cowardly sheep grazer! Would anything ever turn around someone in retreat? If the battle is to go well, it will be only men with swords and lances who do you good. If the battle goes badly, you'll be disgraced with regards to your family and possessions anyway.'

"Durayd then asked, 'What have Kaʿb and Kilāb done?' 'No one from them is present,' he replied. 'So then skill and courage are absent! If it were to be a day of fine, noble deeds, Kaʿb and Kilāb would not miss it. I wish you had done the same as them! Who is attending with you?' They told him that ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir and ʿAwf b. ʿĀmir were present. He responded, 'Well, those two branches of ʿĀmir will do neither good nor harm.' He then said, 'Mālik, you've done nothing (good) by sending ahead the main force of Hawāzin to face up to the cavalry.'

"Durayd then told Mālik b. ʿAwf, 'Send them up high to some inaccessible area of their people's territory, then meet the turncoat apostates on horse. If the

battle goes in your favour, then your people behind you can join you. If it goes against you, then you will have saved your families and possessions.'

"Mālik replied, 'By God, I'll not do that! You've grown old and so has your mind!' He went on, 'Hawāzin, either you obey me, or I'll press myself down on this sword until it comes out through my back!' He hated Durayd to have any say or credit. They said they would obey him.

"Durayd then said, 'This is a battle in which I did not participate, nor did I miss it.' He then spoke the following verses,

'How I wish I were a youth once more! I would speed
forth into the battle
I would lead on long-maned horses as though they were
young donkeys.'

"Mālik then told everyone, 'When you see them, then break your swords from their sheaths and charge at them as one man!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān related to me that he was told that Mālik b. ʿAwf sent out some of his men as scouts. When they came back their joints had become dislocated. 'What happened to you?' he asked them. They replied, 'We saw some white men mounted on piebald horses. And all of a sudden, we were afflicted as you see us now.' And, by God, even that did not deter him from his plan."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard about them, he sent out ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad al-Aslamī with orders to infiltrate them and report back. He did so, and when he had learned of their plan to wage war against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and heard (of the role of) Mālik and Hawāzin and their intentions, he came back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and so informed him.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had decided to go forth against Hawāzin, he was told that Ṣafwān b. Umayya had a stock of coats of armour and weapons. He therefore sent to Ṣafwān – still at that time a polytheist – and asked him to loan his equipment for the Muslims to use against their enemies next day.

"Ṣafwān asked, 'Are you going to take them (from me) by force, Muḥammad?' He replied, 'No. They will be a loan and guaranteed for return to you.' 'I've no objection to that,' he responded. He then gave him 100 coats of mail and sufficient weapons. Some maintain that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him also to transport the equipment and that he agreed."

This is the account as given, without a full line of transmission, by Ibn Isḥāq.

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated this from Ibn Isḥāq, from ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, from his father. And also from ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, al-Zuhrī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm and others, the account of Ḥunayn is given similarly to above. The story of the armour is also as above. In that account, when Ibn Abū Ḥadrad returned and

reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about Hawāzin, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb questioned his veracity. Ibn Abū Ḥadrad responded, 'If you call my honesty into question, ʿUmar, you'd probably call truth itself into question!' ʿUmar asked, 'Do you hear what he is saying, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'You were going astray, but God gave you guidance.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting Shurayk, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rafīʿ, from Umayya b. Ṣafwān b. Umayya, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) borrowed armour from (Ibn) Umayya at the battle of Ḥunayn. (Ibn) Umayya responded, 'Are you taking them by force, Muḥammad?' He replied, 'No, it's a loan, return guaranteed.'"

He went on to relate that some of the armour was lost and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) offered to make good on his guarantee of their return and that (Ibn) Umayya responded, "Today it's Islam I want, Messenger of God."

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Hārūn.

Al-Nasāʾī included it from an account of Isrāʾīl, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rafīʿ, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣafwān b. Umayya, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) borrowed coats of mail from Ṣafwān.

He also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Hushaym, from Ḥajjāj from ʿAṭāʾ, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) borrowed coats of mail from Ṣafwān.

He also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Hushaym, from Ḥajjāj, from ʿAṭāʾ, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) borrowed coats of armour and horses from Ṣafwān. He related the remainder of the *ḥadīth* as above.

Abū Dāʾūd stated that it was related to him by Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, quoting Jarīr, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rafīʿ, from people of the family of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣafwān, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Ṣafwān, do you have any weapons?" Ṣafwān responded, "As a willing loan or by force?" "As a loan," he replied. Ṣafwān then loaned him between 30 and 40 coats of mail and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) attacked Ḥunayn. When the polytheists were defeated, Ṣafwān's armour was collected and some was found to be missing. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked Ṣafwān, "We have lost some of your armour. Shall we pay you compensation?" "No, Messenger of God," he replied. "There is now in my heart what was not present that day."

This is also *mursal*, incomplete in its line of transmission.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went forth accompanied by 2,000 Meccans and 10,000 of his men who had come out with him and through whom God had conquered Mecca. They totalled 12,000 men."

I note that according to the statements of ʿUrwa, al-Zuhrī and Mūsā b. ʿUqba, the total number of the 2 armies with which he faced Hawāzin was 14,000, since he had brought 12,000 to Mecca, in their view, and 2,000 of the *al-ṭulaqāʾ*[130] had been joined to these.

130. The word means "those set free". The term is applied to the Meccans who remained polytheists until the conquest of Mecca.

Ibn Isḥāq related that he went out from Mecca on the 5th of Shawwāl, and that he appointed 'Attāb b. Usayd b. Abū al-'Āiṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams al-Umawī in command of Mecca.

I note that 'Attāb was at that time approximately 20 years of age.

Ibn Isḥāq related further how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had proceeded on to meet Hawāzin, and he then quoted the *qaṣīda*, the ode, of al-'Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī on that activity. Some of its verses were,

"Take to all Hawāzin, their high and low, a message
from me, giving them clear advice:
'I think that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) will attack
you in the morning with his army.
Among them will be your brother Sulaym who will not let
you leave, along with the Muslims, God's servants, of
Ghassān.
On his right flank there will be Banū Asad, and the
well-tried tribes of 'Abs and Dhubyān.
The earth will almost shake with fear at Him, and in
his vanquard will be Aws and 'Uthmān.'"

Ibn Isḥāq pointed out that Aws and 'Uthmān were clans of Muzayna.

He went on, "Al-Zuhrī related to me, from Sinān b. Abū Sinān al-Dīlī, from Abū Wāqid al-Laythī, that al-Ḥārith b. Mālik said, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Ḥunayn, having only recently emerged from the *jāhilīyya*.

"'We travelled on with him to Ḥunayn. The Quraysh unbelievers and other Arabs revered a great green tree called *Dhāt Anwāṭ*; they would go to it each year and hang on it their weapons, make sacrifices near it and spend the day there.

"'As we travelled on with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), we saw a great green lote tree and we called out from all sides of the path, "O Messenger of God, establish for us a *Dhāt Anwāṭ* such as they have." He responded, "*Allāhu Akbar*! God is most Great!" By Him who holds my soul in His hand, you speak as did the people of Moses to him, "Make for us a god like the god they have!" You are an ignorant, foolish people! These are *sunan*, ancient practices! You would re-establish the ancient practices of your forebears!'"

Al-Tirmidhī narrated this *ḥadīth* from Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī, from Ṣufyān. Al-Nasā'ī related it from Muḥammad b. Rāfi', from 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, both of them drawing it from al-Zuhrī, just as did Ibn Isḥāq.

Al-Tirmidhī characterized it as *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic". Ibn Abū Ḥātim related it, in his *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) through Kuthayyir b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. 'Awf, from his father, from his grandfather, *marfū'an*, incomplete in its line of transmission.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Abū Tūba related to him, quoting Mu'āwiya b. Sallām, from Zayd b. Sallām, that he heard Abū Sallām quote al-Salūlī, who said that Sahl

b. al-Ḥanẓaliyya related to him, that when they went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to perform the prayer at *al-ẓuhr*, noontime, a horseman arrived, who said, "Messenger of God, I went on ahead of you, went up Mt. such-and-such and Mt. such-and-such and then I came across Hawāzin in their entirety, complete with their sedan-borne women, their livestock camels and their sheep, all gathered at Ḥunayn.

"At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled and said, 'Tomorrow all that will be booty for the Muslims, if God will it!' He then asked, 'Who will stand guard for us tonight?' Anas b. Abū Marthad replied, 'I will, Messenger of God!' 'Then mount up,' he told him.

"He went and mounted a mare, then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him, 'Go on up into this defile till you reach its top; we don't want to be exposed to danger from ahead tonight.'

"Next morning, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to the place for prayer and performed two *rakʿas* of prayer. He then asked, 'Have you perceived anything from your mounted guard?' When they said they had not, he made a call for prayer and performed it, glancing up towards the defile until it was over. He then announced, 'Good news! Your horseman has come!' As he said this he was looking through the tree into the defile and the mounted man then appeared and stopped in front of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He reported that he had gone right up to the top of the defile, as ordered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that he had looked out over both defiles when morning came and had not seen anyone. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked him, 'Did you dismount at all during the night?' He replied, 'No; except to pray or to relieve myself.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'You have done your duty; don't worry about not doing it hereafter!'"

Al-Nasāʾī related it similarly, from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, from Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Ḥarrānī, from Abū Tūba al-Rabīʿ b. Nāfiʿ.

Chapter: On the conduct of the battle; how at first there was flight and then it ended in favour of the pious.

Yūnus b. Bukayr and others quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār as saying, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, from his father, who said, 'Mālik b. ʿAwf went forth with others to Ḥunayn, where he arrived before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They prepared and positioned themselves for battle in the narrows and twists of the valley.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his force arrived in the valley in the half-light of dawn. As the men descended the enemy cavalry appeared before them and bore down on them. Our men broke ranks and fled, no one caring about the others.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved away to the right, calling out, "Where are you going, men? Come to me; I am the Messenger of God! I am Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh!"

"'But it did no good. The camels were all over one another. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw the state of the men ...[131] With him a group of men of his family: ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and his brother Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās. And, it is said, al-Faḍl b. Abū Sufyān, Aymān b. Umm Aymān, Usāma b. Zayd. Some include with them Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās, along with a group of *muhājirīn*, including Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.

"'Al-ʿAbbās was gripping the mouth-ring of his white donkey that he was riding, having struck it to open its mouth.'"[132]

He (Ibn Isḥāq) continued, "There was one man of Hawāzin mounted on a red camel who carried a black banner on the end of a long spear; he was ahead of and leading Hawāzin who were behind him. When he overtook someone, he would thrust his spear at him; if he missed the man, then he would raise his spear as a sign to those behind him and they would follow the man.

"While he was engaged in this, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib fell upon him, accompanied by an *anṣārī*. ʿAlī approached him from behind and struck the hocks of the camel and it fell on its rump. The *anṣārī* then leapt on the man and gave him a blow that severed his foot, along with half his leg, so that he fell from his saddle.

"The men went on fighting hard and when those who had fled in defeat returned, they found bound prisoners assembled near the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Imām Aḥmad narrated this from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zuhrī, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turned to Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who was one of those who had stood fast that day and had well and truly accepted Islam and was holding the back of the saddle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked, 'Who is this?' Abū Sufyān replied, 'I'm your mother's son, Messenger of God.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When the enemy had been defeated, some of the Arab toughs began to reveal their ill-will. Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb (whose acceptance of Islam was still fresh and who was still that day carrying divining arrows) said,

131. The Arabic printed text is defective at this point. The account, as given in Guillaume's translation, continues as follows: "The men ran away, except that a number of Muhājirs and Ansār and men of his family remained with the apostle. Of the Muhājirs who stood firm were Abū Bakr and ʿUmar; of his family ..." From this point the Arabic printed text seems intact, as above.

132. At this point the Arabic text seems defective and ill-ordered. In Ibn Isḥaq's account as translated by Guillaume, this quotation is part of a separate passage quoting the words of the father of Kathīr b. al-ʿAbbās. See Guillaume, *op. cit.* p.569.

'Their defeat won't end before the sea!' Kalada (or Jabala) b. al-Ḥanbal, who was there with his brother – on his mother's side – Ṣafwān b. Umayya (he still being a polytheist, during the respite granted him by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) cried out, 'Magic is definitely useless now!' Ṣafwān responded, 'Be silent, may God close your mouth! I swear, I'd sooner have a man of Quraysh be my leader than any of Hawāzin!'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAffān b. Muslim, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting Isḥāq b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ṭalḥa, from Anas b. Mālik, that, "Hawāzin brought their women, children, camels and livestock with them to the battle of Ḥunayn and lined them up so that they would outnumber (the supporters of) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And when the forces met, the Muslims did retreat, as God Almighty stated. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'O *anṣār*, I am God's servant and His messenger.' And God defeated the polytheists; and he was neither struck by a sword, nor pierced by a lance."

The account went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated that day, 'Whoever kills an unbeliever shall own the booty from him.' Abū Ṭalḥa killed that day 20 men and took booty from them.

"Abū Qatāda stated, 'O Messenger of God, I struck a man on his shoulder vein; he was wearing armour, but I was forced away from him. Would you see who took it?' At that a man arose and said, 'I'm the one who took it. You should compensate him for it and award it to me.' Whenever a request was made to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he either agreed to it or remained silent. This time he remained silent and ʿUmar spoke up, 'I swear, God would not compensate one of God's lions and give it to you!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'ʿUmar has spoken the truth.'"

He (Imām Aḥmad) said, "Abū Ṭalḥa met Umm Sulaym who had a dagger with her. Abū Ṭalḥa asked, 'What is that?' She replied, 'If one of the polytheists comes near me, I'll stick him in the stomach!' Abū Ṭalḥa commented, 'Did you hear what Umm Sulaym said?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed and Umm Sulaym asked, 'Messenger of God, execute those *ṭulaqāʾ*, Meccan converts, at our rear who deserted you!' He replied, 'God has already done well and enough, Umm Sulaym.'"

Muslim also narrated from him the story of Umm Sulaym's dagger, and Abū Dāʾūd related it along with a statement from him (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) that, "Whoever kills someone (an enemy) will have the man's booty." Both these authorities quoted from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama.

The comment given above as ʿUmar's is controversial; it is widely believed to have been made by Abū Bakr, "the Trusting".

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith related to him, quoting his father, quoting Nāfiʿ Abū Ghālib, (who said) that he was present when Anas b. Mālik was asked, by al-ʿAlā b. Ziyād al-ʿAdawī, "Abū Ḥamza, what age was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he received his mission?' He replied that he was 40 years of age. 'And what happened then?' he was asked. He

replied, 'Thereafter he was 10 years in Mecca and 10 in Medina. When he had completed 60 years of age, God took him to Himself.' He was asked, 'At that time, what was he like, relative to the age of others?' 'He was the most youthful of men, handsome and well-built,' he replied.

"Al-ʿAlā' then asked, 'Abū Ḥamza, did you ever participate in a military expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' He replied, 'Yes, I was on the expedition to al-Ḥunayn with him. The polytheists came forth and attacked us early in the morning and soon we saw our cavalry round at our rear. Among the polytheists there was one man who was really devastating us. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw this, he dismounted and then God defeated them and they retreated. When he saw that victory was won, he had them brought to him as captives, one by one, and they would pledge allegiance in Islam to him. One of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "I have sworn that if that man who had been devastating us were brought, I would behead him." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent, and the man referred to was brought up. When the man saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, "Messenger of God, I turn in repentance to God!" He refrained from accepting the man's pledge of allegiance so that his Companion could fulfil his vow. The latter kept looking over at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of whom he was in awe, waiting for him to tell him to kill the man. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw that he was not going to do anything, he accepted the prisoner's pledge of allegiance. His Companion then asked, "What about my oath, Messenger of God?" He replied, "I've only refrained from accepting his oath till now so that you could fulfil your oath." The Companion asked, "Messenger of God, could you not have gestured to me?" He replied, "It is not fitting for a prophet to gesture."'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Aḥmad (also) stated that it was related to him by Yazīd, quoting Ḥamīd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "One of the prayers spoken by the Prophet (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn was, 'O God, if You wish it, You will not be worshipped on earth after today!'"

The chain of authorities for this *ḥadīth* is tripartite and meets the criteria of the two sheikhs.[133] However, none of the compilers of the (canonical) collections included it with this line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Bashshār, quoting Ghundar, quoting Shuʿba, from Abū Isḥāq, who heard al-Barā' b. ʿĀzib being questioned by a man of Qays as to whether he and others had deserted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Ḥunayn. He replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not fled. The Hawāzin were good archers. They fled when we attacked, but when we charged at the booty, they shot arrows at us. I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on his white mule, its reins being held by Abū Sufyān, and the former was saying, 'I am undoubtedly the Prophet!'"

133. That is, al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

Al-Bukhārī also related this from Abū al-Walīd, from Shuʿba, the Messenger of God's words having been,

> "I am the Prophet, undoubtedly; I am the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib."

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Isrāʾīl and Zuhayr quoted this from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, with the addition of the words, "And then he dismounted from his mule."

Muslim and al-Nasāʾī related it from Bandār. Muslim added Abū Mūsā to the chain. Both traced it back to Ghundar.

Muslim also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Zāʾida, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said that he then dismounted, calling for help and saying,

> "I am the Prophet, undoubtedly; I am the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. O God, send down Your help!"

Al-Barāʾ went on, "When the fighting became most intense, we would seek protection with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); those who were brave would imitate him."

Al-Bayhaqī related from various lines that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said that day, "I am al-ʿAwātik's[134] son."

Al-Ṭabrānī stated that it was related to him by ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl al-Asfāṭī, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿAwf al-Wāsiṭī, quoting Hushaym, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, from Shabbāba, from Ibn ʿĀṣim al-Sulamī (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at the battle of al-Ḥunayn, "I am al-ʿAwātik's son!"

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from ʿAmr b. Kathīr b. Aflaḥ, from Abū Muḥammad, freed-man of Abū Qatāda, from Abū Qatāda, who said, "We accompanied the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) into battle at Ḥunayn. When we clashed, the Muslims retreated. I saw one of the polytheists overpowering one of the Muslims, so I struck him with my sword from behind on his shoulder vein, cutting through his armour. But he charged at me and pinned me down so hard I felt near death. However, he died and so released me. I caught up with ʿUmar and asked, 'What's wrong with everyone?' 'It is God's decree,' he replied.

"Later they (the Muslims) returned (to the battle) and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat and stated, 'Whoever killed one of the enemy and has a witness to it can claim the dead man's possessions.' So I arose and asked, 'Who will be my witness?' I then sat down. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) repeated what he had said, and again I arose, asking for someone to be my witness; and then I sat down. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) repeated his statement, and again I arose. He now asked, 'What is wrong, Abū Qatāda?' I related what I had done and a man

134. A word meaning an ancient bow – an honorific title for ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

then got up and said, 'He speaks the truth. I have the dead man's possessions, so compensate Abū Qatāda for me.' Abū Bakr then said, 'Absolutely not, by God! You cannot expect a lion of God to fight for God and His messenger, then for him to give you the booty he won!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'He (Abū Bakr) spoke the truth; give it back to him!' The man did so and I used it to purchase a piece of land from Banū Salama; it was the first money I earned after accepting Islam."

The rest of the scholarly community, except al-Nasā'ī, related this from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that al-Layth b. Saʿd related, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from ʿAmr b. Kathīr b. Aflaḥ, from Abū Muḥammad, the freed-man of Abū Qatāda, who quoted Abū Qatāda as saying, "At the battle of Ḥunayn, I noticed one of the Muslims fighting a polytheist, while another of the polytheists was sneaking up behind the Muslims to kill him. So I charged at the second polytheist, who raised his hand to hit me, but I struck it and cut it off. However, he seized me and pulled me to himself so hard I feared (I would die). Then he went down, loosening his grip, and I pushed him away and killed him. After that the Muslims retreated, as did I myself. Then I saw ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb amid the army and asked him, 'What's wrong with everyone?' He replied, 'It is God's decree.'

"After that the men returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (after defeating the enemy) and he announced, 'Whoever can provide proof of his having killed an enemy shall receive his (the dead man's) possessions.' So I stood up to look for some proof of my having killed an enemy, but since I could not see anyone who could testify for me, I sat down again. Then it seemed to me I should tell to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what had happened (and did so). One of the men sitting there said, 'I have the weapons belonging to the man slain to whom he is referring; give him compensation for me.' Abū Bakr said, 'Indeed not; he will not give anything to some little hyena of Quraysh what belongs to one of God's lions who fought for God and His messenger.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose and awarded it to me and I used it to buy a piece of land. It was the first property I earned."

Al-Bukhārī related this in various other places, as did Muslim. Both drew it from Qutayba, from al-Layth b. Saʿd.

It is given above from an account of Nāfiʿ Abū Ghālib, from Anas, that the man who spoke up on the occasion was ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Perhaps he said it following Abū Bakr, or in substantiation or agreement of his words. Or there may have been some confusion over who spoke thus. God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said that it was related to him by ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir, from his father Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who quoted the Messenger

of God (ṢAAS), when he saw how people were behaving at the battle of Ḥunayn, as saying, "ʿAbbās! Call out: 'O *anṣār*! O people of the tree!'" (When he did so) they responded, "*Labbayka*! *Labbayka*! At Your service! At Your service!" The men then tried to turn their mounts, and when they failed to do so, they threw off their armour from around their necks, took their swords and shields and headed in the direction of his voice. Eventually some 100 of them were gathered about him and they made a stand and fought on. The first call he made was to the *anṣār*, then another was made to (Banū) Khazraj. They were steadfast in the battle. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked out at his mounted men and the fierce battle waging and commented, "The fires of war are really hot now!"

Al-Bayhaqī went on, "By the time all the force had returned around him, the prisoners were already bound, and there with them the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God destroyed many of them and caused many to flee. He awarded to His messenger their possessions and children."

Ibn Lahīʿa stated, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, and Mūsā b. ʿUqba narrated in his military chronicle, from al-Zuhrī, that after God had conquered Mecca for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he had rested, he went out against Hawāzin, accompanied by the people of Mecca, some mounted, others on foot. Even the women left too, walking; they did so not for religious reasons but to watch and to bring back the booty. And they would not have minded if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men had lost.

They also stated that he was accompanied by Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and Ṣafwān b. Umayya. The wife of the latter was a Muslim, while he was still a polytheist. But they (the couple) had not been separated.[135]

ʿUrwa stated, "The leader of the polytheists that day was Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī. With him was Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, much suffering from his advanced age. Also accompanying them were their womenfolk, children and livestock. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out ahead ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad as a scout. He spent the night with the enemy force and heard Mālik b. ʿAwf say to his companions, 'When morning comes, attack them as one man. Break the scabbards of your swords and position your livestock and women in separate lines.'

"Next morning Abū Sufyān, Ṣafwān and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām positioned themselves apart and to the rear to observe which side would prevail. The Muslim forces were ranged into lines and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounted his grey mule, went out to meet each line and urged them to fight hard, encouraging them that they would be victorious if they remained steadfast.

"While they were so engaged, the polytheists attacked the Muslims as one man. The Muslims engaged in one round of fighting, then turned around and retreated. Ḥāritha b. al-Nuʿmān commented, 'I estimated the number remaining with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after the retreat to be 100 men.'

135. The fact that the couple did not share the same faith did not cause the dissolution of their marriage.

"People say that one of the Quraysh men passed by Ṣafwān b. Umayya and said, 'I bring good news of the defeat of Muḥammad and his men. I swear, they will never recover.' Ṣafwān asked, 'Are you telling me it's good news for the bedouin to win? I swear, I much prefer a man of Quraysh than a bedouin as my master.' Ṣafwān was angry for this reason."

ʿUrwa went on, "Ṣafwān sent a slave of his ahead, telling him, 'Listen for who is making the war cry.' When he came back, he said, 'I heard them saying, "O Banū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān! O Banū ʿAbd Allāh! O Banū ʿUbayd Allāh!"' He (Ṣafwān) said, 'Muḥammad has won! Those were their war cries.'"

The sources stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in the thick of the battle, he stood up in his stirrups while he rode the mule and raised his hands praying to God, saying, 'O God, I appeal to You to fulfil Your promise to me. O God, it must not be that they defeat us!' He called for his men and urged them on, 'O men who were at the Ḥudaybiyya truce! God! God! Things are turning against Your prophet.' It is said that he incited them by saying, 'O *anṣār* of God and of His messenger! O Banū al-Khazraj! O people of *sūrat al-Baqara*!' And he assigned some of his Companions to call this out."

They went on, "He also picked up a handful of pebbles and cast them into the faces and on to the heads of the polytheists, saying, 'May their faces be deformed!'

"His men then hurriedly gathered around him. They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Now the fires of war are heating up!' God then defeated His enemies wherever He had cast His pebbles at them. The Muslims pursued them, killing them. And God gave them their women and offspring as booty. Mālik b. ʿAwf fled and entered the fort of al-Ṭāʾif, along with some of his people's leaders.

"Many of the people of Mecca accepted Islam when they saw God's victory for His messenger (ṢAAS) and the way He had honoured His religion."

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Ibn Wahb stated that it was told to him by Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī, who said that Kathīr b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib quoted al-ʿAbbās as stating, "I was present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn; I and Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥarith kept close to him throughout. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was riding a white mule presented to him by Farwa b. Nufātha al-Jadhāmī. When the forces met, the Muslims turned back in flight. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) suddenly urged his mule on towards the polytheists. I held tight to its bridle, trying to slow it down, while Abū Sufyān gripped the saddle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cried out, 'Hey, ʿAbbās, call for the men of the acacia tree!' I swear, it was as though, on hearing my voice, I had gained their attention as does a cow her young! They responded, '*Yā labbaykāh*! *Yā labbaykāh*! At Your service! At Your service!'

"They and the polytheists then engaged in battle, while the *anṣār* criers shouted, 'O *anṣār*!' Then the cry was repeated directly to Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on his mule, stared over at them, as though stretching forward to battle them himself, and said, 'This is when the fires of war will heat up!' Then he picked up gravel which he threw into the faces of the unbelievers and said, 'May you be defeated, by Muḥammad's Lord!' I had been watching, and as far as I could see the fighting was progressing as before. But no sooner had he thrown the gravel than the enemy's enthusiasm dulled and they retreated."

Muslim narrated this about Abū al-Ṭāhir, from Ibn Wahb in similar terms. He also narrated it from Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī in similar terms.

Muslim also related, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, from Iyyās b. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, from his father, who said, "We fought the battle of Ḥunayn with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When we confronted the enemy, I advanced up a mountain path where I found a polytheist, at whom I shot an arrow. He hid from me and I did not know what became of him. I then saw the enemy coming up another mountain path. They clashed with the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who turned back. I retreated too. I had two striped garments, in one of which I was dressed, the other draped over me. I untied my waist-wrapper and joined both striped garments together. Then I retreated, passing by the Prophet (ṢAAS), who was mounted on his grey mule. He commented, 'Ibn al-Akwaʿ has seen something frightening.'

"As the enemy was overwhelming the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he dismounted from his mule, picked up a handful of dirt from the ground and threw it into their faces, saying, 'May their faces be deformed!' And every single one of them had his eyes fill with that dirt from that handful and they turned and fled. God defeated them and thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided up their possessions among the Muslims."

Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālisī stated in his *Musnad ḥadīth* collection that it was related to him by Ḥammād b. Salama, from Yaʿlā b. ʿAṭāʾ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yasār, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Ḥunayn. We set out on an extremely hot day. We halted in the shade of some acacia trees, and when the sun had set, I put on my cuirass and mounted my horse. I then went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was in his tent. I addressed him, 'Peace be upon you, Messenger of God and may His mercy and blessings be yours. Is it time to go yet, Messenger of God?' 'Yes, it is,' he replied. He then called out the name of Bilāl, who emerged quickly from beneath an acacia, his shadow like that of a bird. He said, 'At your service and pleasure, may I be ransom for you!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Saddle up my horse.' He was brought two palm fronds that were without holes or indentations.

"He mounted his horse and we spent the day riding. The two cavalries came face to face and we did battle with them. Then the Muslims turned and retreated, as God Almighty stated. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began saying,

'O worshippers of God, I am the servant and Messenger of God!' He then jumped from his horse and someone close to him later told me that he took a handful of dirt and tossed it into the faces of the enemy, saying, 'May their faces be deformed!'"

Yaʿlā b. ʿAṭā' stated, "Their sons quoted their fathers as saying, 'All of them, without exception, had their eyes and mouths filled with dirt. And we heard a clanging sound from the sky like iron striking an iron pot and God, Almighty and Glorious is He, defeated them.'"

Abū Dā'ūd al-Sijistānī related it in his *Sunan* collection, quoting Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl, from Ḥammād b. Salama in similar words.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAffān, quoting ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād, quoting al-Ḥārith b. Ḥusayn, quoting al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, from his father, who quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd as stating, "I was present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn. The men retreated from him, and 80 of the *anṣār* and the *muhājirīn* remained there with him. We drew back some 80 feet, but did not turn our backs to the enemy. These men were the ones upon whom God sent down *al-sakīna*.[136] The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was meanwhile still going forward on his mule, which veered to one side so that he slipped off his saddle. I called out to him, 'Up you get! May God raise you up!' He replied, 'Get me a handful of dirt!' With this he struck them in their faces and filled their mouths. Then he asked, 'Where are the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār*?' 'They are close by,' I replied. 'Call for them,' he asked. I did this and they came, their swords in their right hands shining like stars, and the polytheists then turned their backs in retreat."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b.Tamīm al-Qanṭarī, quoting Abū Qalāba, quoting Abū ʿĀṣim, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭā'ifī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿIyyāḍ b. al-Ḥārith al-Anṣārī, from his father (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) attacked Banū Hawāzin with a force of 12,000 men and that at Ḥunayn a like number of the people of al-Ṭā'if were killed as those who died at Badr. ʿIyyāḍ stated, "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) picked up a handful of pebbles which he threw into our faces, and we were defeated."

Al-Bukhārī narrated this in his history, but he did not include ʿIyyāḍ's genealogy.

Musaddad stated that Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān related to him, quoting ʿAwf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the freed-man of Umm Burthin, from someone who was present at Ḥunayn as an unbeliever, who said, "When we and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met they had not prepared ewes' milk[137] for us! So we advanced

136. "The calm"; see notes and above and *sūrat al-Barā'a*; IX, v.27. Sometimes the word is found identified as "His (God's) sakīna", as in the above verse and elsewhere, sometimes with the definite article, as here.

137. That is, presumably, "they were not going to treat us as honoured guests".

slashing away with our swords before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until we overwhelmed them. Eventually there between us and them were some really magnificent men. And then they cried out, 'May your faces be deformed! Go back!' And we were defeated because of those words."

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān stated that it was related to him by Abū Sufyān, quoting Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm, quoting al-Walīd b. Muslim, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shaʿbī, from al-Ḥārith b. Badl al-Naṣrī, from a man of his tribe who had been present on that day at the battle of Ḥunayn, along with ʿAmr b. Sufyān al-Thaqafī, both of whom said, "When the Muslims were being defeated at Ḥunayn, there only remained with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ʿAbbās and Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then picked up a handful of pebbles and threw it into their faces. We fled, imagining every rock or tree to be some knight chasing us."

Al-Thaqafī added, "I raced away on my horse until I entered al-Ṭāʾif."

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated in his military chronicle, from Yūsuf b. Suhayb b. ʿAbd Allāh, that only one man stood fast with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Ḥunayn, and his name was Zayd.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated, through al-Kudaymī, quoting Mūsā b. Masʿūd, quoting Saʿīd b. al-Sāʾib b. Yasār al-Ṭāʾifī, from al-Sāʾib b. Yasār, who quoted Yazīd b. ʿĀmir al-Suwāʾī as saying, at the discovery that Muslims came across at the battle of Ḥunayn, "The polytheists pursued them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) picked up a handful of dirt from the ground and then advanced towards the polytheists and threw it into their faces, saying, 'Go back! May your faces be deformed!' And every man another would meet complained about dirt in his eyes."

He then narrated through two other lines from Abū Hudhayfa, who stated that it was related to him by Saʿīd b. al-Sāʾib b. Yasār al-Ṭāʾifī, quoting Abū al-Sāʾib b. Yasār, who said that he heard Yazīd b. ʿĀmir al-Suwāʾī (who had been present at Ḥunayn with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), though on the side of the polytheists, having accepted Islam only later) say as we asked him about the terror that God had cast into the hearts of the polytheists at the battle of Ḥunayn, "He would take pebbles and throw them into an iron pot that would clatter; and we would experience the same in our insides."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh *al-ḥāfiẓ* and Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Faḍl, both of whom said, "Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb related to us, quoting al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Bukayr al-Ḥaḍramī, quoting Abū Ayyūb b. Jābir, from Ṣadaqa b. Saʿīd, from Muṣʿab b. Shayba, from his father, who said, 'I went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to the battle of Ḥunayn, though it was not Islam nor any knowledge of it that made me do so; I just refused to have Hawāzin defeat Quraysh! As I stood with him, I said, "Messenger of God, I can see piebald horses!" He replied, "No one but a

polytheist would see them!" Then he struck me in the chest and said, "O God, guide Shayba aright!" He then hit it again and said, "O God, guide Shayba aright!" and then he did and said the same a third time. And I swear by God, no sooner had he raised his hand from me the third time than there was none of God's creation whom I loved more than I did him!'"

He went on to relate the encounter between the armies, how the Muslims had been retreating, how al-'Abbās had called out and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had asked God for His help, and so on until God had defeated the polytheists.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muzanī, quoting Yūsuf b. Mūsā, quoting Hishām b. Khālid, quoting al-Walīd b. Muslim, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, from 'Ikrima, the freed-man of Ibn 'Abbās, from Shayba b. 'Uthmān, who said, "When I saw at the battle of Ḥunayn that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was exposed, I remembered my father and my uncle and how 'Alī and Ḥamza had killed them. So I said (to myself) today I'll get my revenge on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"I went to approach him from his right, but there was al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib standing dressed in white metal armour, looking like silver with its tarnish wiped away. I said, 'He's his uncle – he'll not desert him.' Then I went at him from the left and came upon Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. I told myself, 'That's his cousin – he'll not desert him.' Then I came at him from behind. All I had left to do was attack him fiercely with my sword when a great flame like lightning arose beween myself and him. I was afraid it would burn me, so I put my hand over my eyes and retreated. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then turned and said, 'Shayba, come closer to me. O God, take Satan away from him!' I then lifted my gaze to him and found him to be dearer to me than my own sight or hearing. He then said, 'Shayb, fight the unbelievers!'"

Ibn Isḥāq quoted Shayba b. 'Uthmān b. Abū Ṭalḥa, a brother of Banū 'Abd al-Dār, as saying, "I said, 'Today I will get my revenge'" (his father had been killed at Uḥud). 'Today I shall kill Muḥammad!' I went around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to kill him, but something overwhelmed me so that I could not do that; I knew that it was forbidden for me."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq also quoted his father, Isḥāq b. Yasār, from another man, who quoted Jubayr b. Muṭ'im as saying, "I was with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn and while the battle was going on, I saw something like a black coverlet falling from the sky that descended between us and the enemy. We saw it to be ants that had spread all over and were filling the valley. Immediately the enemy were defeated. We had no doubt that it was the angels."

Al-Bayhaqī related it from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Isḥāq.

He went on to quote Khudayj b. al-'Arjā' al-Naṣrī as reciting the following verses – about Ḥunayn, that is,

"When we approached Ḥunayn and its water, we saw
something black, unpleasant in colour, streaked white
With a grey squadron which, were it cast up at the
heights of Mt.ʿUrwa it would have become level!
If my people's chiefs had obeyed me, we would not have
encountered the manifest apparition.
Then we would not have met the troops of Muḥammad's
people, 80,000 strong, along with Khindif."

Ibn Isḥāq also quoted the following verses spoken by Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī, chief of Hawāzin, while he was in the turmoil of battle that day:

"Advance, Muḥāj![138] This is a day of battle to which one
like me rides on one like you, again and again.
Even if the front line is lost and the rear too and
they come on up,
Squadrons (so numerous as to) exhaust one's sight. I
used to thrust so hard as to make the wounds gush with blood!
When others were blamed for holding back and hiding, I
would thrust so hard the blood would gurgle forth
In a full stream from inside, sometimes overflowing,
sometimes gushing fast,
The lance's tip still inside, broken at the shaft-head.
O Zayd! O Ibn Hamham, to where do you flee?
Your teeth are gone and you are old. The white-skinned
women wearing long veils know well
That I'll not charge blindly, when the secluded women
are brought from behind the curtains."

Al-Bayhaqī related through Yūnus b. Bukayr, who quoted from Ibn Isḥāq, other verses delivered by Mālik when his companions had fled in defeat. These verses were spoken after he had accepted Islam; they are also attributed to others:

"Remember their progress, and all those there, while
above Mālik the banners fluttered.
Mālik is a leader above whom there is none; at Ḥunayn
he wore a glistening crown.
Until they met their enemy, when bravery led them on,
wearing helmets and chain-mail and bearing leather
shields.
They struck hard at the men until they saw no one
around the Prophet, until dusk encompassed him.
Until Gabriel came down to help them and we were
defeated and made captive.
Had it not been Gabriel fighting us, our fine swords
would have protected us

138. The name of his horse.

'Umar al-Fārūq when they were being defeated, escaped
from a thrust that caught his saddle."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the polytheists were defeated, and God gave His messenger power over them, a Muslim woman said,

'God's cavalry has overcome that of al-Lāt; it is God
who more deserves to prevail.'"

Ibn Hishām stated that an authority on the transmission of poetry quoted it to him as,

"God's cavalry has overcome that of al-Lāt; His
cavalry more deserves to prevail."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When Hawāzin were defeated, widespread execution of Thaqīf of Banū Mālik took place. Seventy of their men were killed beneath their banner, which was under the charge of Dhū al-Khimār. When he was killed, 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥabīb took it and fought on with it until killed. 'Āmir b. Wahb b. al-Aswad told me that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) learned of his death, he said, 'God damn him! He hated Quraysh!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on to quote Ya'qūb b. 'Utba as having said that along with this man 'Uthmān, a Christian slave of his was also killed. One of the *anṣār* came to remove the youth's possessions and found him to be uncircumcised. So he called out at the top of his voice, "Hey, Arabs, Thaqīf are uncircumcised!"

"Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba al-Thaqafī said that upon hearing this, 'I took him by the hand, fearing that this calumny would spread among the Arabs and told him, "Don't say that, may my father and mother be your ransom! He was just a Christian slave of ours." I then uncovered the dead for him, asking, "Can't you see that they are indeed circumcised?"'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The banner of (Banū) al-Aḥlāf was with Qārib b. al-Aswad. When the enemy were defeated, he leaned it against a tree and he, his relatives and his people all fled. Only two of the al-Aḥlāf were killed – one man of Banū Ghiyara named Wahb and a man of Kubba named al-Jullāḥ. When he heard of the death of al-Jullāḥ, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The leading young man of Thaqīf, except for him descended from Ibn Hunayda, has been killed today.'" By this latter man he was referring to al-Ḥārith b. Uways.

Ibn Isḥāq stated further, "Al-'Abbās b. Mirdās spoke the following verses, referring to Qārib b. al-Aswad and his having fled from his brothers, and to Dhū al-Khimār's having constrained his people and himself to death:

'Who is it will inform Ghaylān for me and, I imagine,
someone knowing will go to him,
And 'Urwa too; I have only to lead you to a response
and a statement that suggests the contrary to what you
both say:

That Muḥammad is a servant and a messenger for a Lord who does not lead astray nor does He do wrong.

We find him to be a prophet like Moses, and whatever man thinks himself better than him is deluded.

Terrible was the state of Banū Qasī in Wajj, when the matters were decreed.

They ruined their situation; and for every people there is a leader, and fortunes may well change.

We attacked them like forest lions; the forces of God move in plain view.

We attacked the force of Banū Qasī enraged, almost flying at them

I swear that had they stayed, we would have brought troops against them and they would not have escaped.

We were (like) lions of Līya[139] there until we revealed them and al-Nuṣūr[140] were made to surrender.

And (there was) a day before that of Ḥunayn that has now gone by when blood streamed.

You'll hear of no day like today; a people of long memory has not heard of such.

We killed Banū Ḥuṭayṭ on the dust, over their banners, while the cavalry shifted away.

Dhū al-Khimār was no leader for a people who had intelligence who could be punished or disavowed.

He took them on the roads to death, matters being clear for those who could see them

Some on the point of death escaped and survived, while many of them were killed.

A feeble man would not help such a situation, nor would someone lacking modesty or over-cautious.

He destroyed them and perished; they gave him leadership over their affairs and the chiefs left.

Banū ʿAwf have horses that trot along and are given hay and barley to eat.

Were it not for Qārib and his father's sons, the pastures and forts would be divided up

But they occupied the leadership by luck to which they were directed.

They obeyed Qārib, and good fortune and aspirations lead to glory.

If they are led to Islam, they will be found to be leaders of men for so long as day and night persist.

If they do not accept Islam, then they call for war against God and shall have no helper.

139. A place near al-Ṭāʾif.
140. The family of Mālik b. ʿAwf.

Just as war erased Banū Sa'd and fate brought evil to
the clan of Banū Ghaziyya.
As though Banū Mu'āwiya b. Bakr came to Islam like
sheep, bleating.
We said, 'Accept Islam! We are your brothers; our
hearts are innocent of old hatred.'
It was as though when the people came to us, they were,
after the peace, devoid of hate."

Chapter.

When Hawāzin had been defeated, their leader Mālik b. 'Awf al-Naṣrī halted at a pass with a group of his men and told them to stay there until their weaker comrades and those at their rear caught up with them.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that he had been informed that some horsemen came up while Mālik and his companions were at the pass. He asked his men, "What do you see?" "We can see men who place their lances between the ears of their horses that have long flanks." Mālik commented, "Those are Banū Salīm; you should not fear them." When they arrived there they followed a route in the middle of the valley. Then other riders appeared, following the first group. Mālik asked his men, "What do you see?" They replied, "We see men who rest their lances carelessly across their horses." "Those", Mālik said, "are al-Aws and al-Khazraj. You should not fear them." When these men arrived at the base of the pass, they took the same route as Banū Salīm. Then another horseman appeared, and Mālik asked his men, "What do you see?" They told him, "We see a rider on a long-flanked horse holding his lance on his shoulder and with his head covered in a red kerchief." "That is al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām," Mālik observed, "I swear by al-Lāt, he will attack you, so fight back hard." When al-Zubayr reached the base of the pass, he saw them, made for them and kept thrusting at them until he had dislodged them from it."

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders regarding the booty, and the camels, sheep, goats and prisoners were gathered together. He had them all taken to al-Ji'rāna where they were kept.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī in charge of the booty.

Chapter.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that he was informed by a colleague that on that day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by a woman whom Khālid b. al-Walīd had

killed; a crowd had gathered around her. He told one of his companions, "Go to Khālid and tell him that God's messenger forbids you from killing children, women or hired labourers."

Ibn Isḥāq related it thus without a complete line of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Abū ʿĀmir ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAmr, quoting al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū al-Zināḍ, who said that al-Muraqqaʿ b. Ṣayfī related to him, from his grandfather Rabāḥ b. Rabīʿ, brother of Banū Ḥanẓala al-Kātib, who stated that on one occasion the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from a military expedition he had waged in which Khālid b. al-Walīd was in the vanguard. Rabāḥ and the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by a dead woman who had been struck down by the vanguard. They had halted and were looking down admiringly at her when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), riding his mount, caught up with them. They drew away from her and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted over her and said, "This woman should not have been killed!" He then told one of his men, "Go to Khālid and tell him, 'No women nor hired labourers must be killed!'"

Abū Dāʾūd, al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja related it similarly, from a *ḥadīth* of Muraqqaʿ b. Ṣayfī.

THE EXPEDITION TO AWṬĀS.

The reason for this was that when Hawāzin were defeated a number of them, including their leader Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī, took refuge in al-Ṭāʾif, where they fortified themselves. One group of their men went and made camp at a place called Awṭās. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent an expedition of his men under the command of Abū ʿĀmir al-Ashʿarī and they fought and defeated the enemy. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then himself went and besieged al-Ṭāʾif, as will be recounted.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the polytheists were defeated at the battle of Ḥunayn, they went to al-Ṭāʾif, in the company of Mālik b. ʿAwf. Some of them encamped at Awṭās, while others, consisting only of men of Banū Ghīra of Thaqīf, went towards Nakhla. The cavalry of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) followed those who took the path through the pass."

He went on, "Rafīʿa b. Rafīʿ b. Ahān al-Sulamī – known by his mother's name as 'son of al-Daghina' – captured Durayd b. al-Ṣimma. He did so by taking the reins of his camel, thinking that a woman and not he, was in the *howdah* upon it. When he made the camel kneel, he discovered an old man inside, Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, whom the young man, Rabīʿa, did not recognize. Durayd asked him, 'What do you want of me?' He replied, 'I am going to kill you.' 'Who are you?' Durayd asked. 'I am Rabīʿa b. Rafīʿ al-Sulamī.' Rabīʿa then struck Durayd with his sword, but the blow was ineffective. Durayd commented, 'Well, your mother did not give you a good weapon! Here, take my sword from the back of

my saddle in the *howdah*, then use it to strike me; hit above the backbone and below the skull. Now that's how I would strike men! And when you go to your mother, tell her that you killed Durayd b. al-Ṣimma. I swear that many were the times I defended your women!'

"Banū Sulaym claim that Rabīʿa said, 'When I struck him and he fell down, he was exposed and the skin high up between his thighs was like parchment from his having so often ridden bareback.'

"When Rabīʿa returned to his mother and told her of having killed him, she said, 'I swear, he set free three of your mothers!'"

Ibn Isḥāq then quoted verses his daughter ʿAmra spoke eulogizing him. These included,

"They said, 'We killed Durayd!' I said, 'They spoke
the truth!' And my tears kept streaming down my robe.
Were it not for Him who had defeated all the tribes,
Sulaym and Kaʿb would have known what to do.
Then a great army would have attacked them constantly,
their armour emitting various odours of rust, wherever
they went."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent after those of the enemy who had headed for Awṭās a force under Abū ʿĀmir al-Ashʿarī. He caught up with some of those who had fled and they engaged in battle. An arrow was shot at and killed Abū ʿĀmir and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī took the banner, he being the cousin of Abū ʿĀmir, battled them and God, Almighty and Glorious, gave him victory over them. They claim that it was Salama b. Durayd who shot Abū ʿĀmir al-Ashʿarī with an arrow, striking him in the knee and killing him.

"Salama spoke the following verses,

'If you ask about me, I'll say I'm Salam, son of
Samādir, "the weak-sighted", I'll tell whoever asks
I strike with my sword the heads of Muslims.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated further, "An authority on poetry and its transmission whom I trust told me that Abū ʿĀmir al-Ashʿarī confronted the polytheist brothers. One of them attacked him and Abū ʿĀmir fought back, calling him to accept Islam, saying, 'O God, bear witness against him!' Then Abū ʿĀmir killed him.

"A second polytheist attacked him and Abū ʿĀmir fought back, inviting him into Islam, saying, 'O God, bear witness against him.' Abū ʿĀmir then killed him. At that they all charged at him while he spoke as before. Eventually he had killed nine of them and only the tenth remained. He attacked Abū ʿĀmir, who fought back, calling upon him to accept Islam, saying, 'O God, bear witness against him.' Then the man called out, 'O God, do not bear witness against me!' At that Abū ʿĀmir stopped fighting him and the man withdrew. He thereafter accepted Islam and was a good Muslim. When he saw him, the Prophet (ṢAAS) would comment, 'That's the fugitive from Abū ʿĀmir.'

"Two brothers – al-ʿAlā and Awfā, sons of al-Ḥārith of Banū Jusham b. Muʿawiyya – then shot at Abū ʿĀmir. One of them hit him in the heart, the other in the knee, and they killed him. Abū Mūsā then turned the enemy back and attacked and killed these two men. A man of Banū Jusham b. Muʾāwiya eulogized them in the following verses,

'What a calamity was the killing of al-ʿAlā and Awfā
together, who received no support.
It was they who killed Abū ʿĀmir, that cunning lion!
They left him lying on a battle field, his clothing as
though stained with saffron.
The like of them both was never seen before; no two
were ever more free of fault, or more sure of aim.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. al-ʿAṭāʾ related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished at Ḥunayn, he sent Abū ʿĀmir in command of an army to Awṭās. There he encountered Durayd b. al-Ṣimma who was killed, while his companions were defeated."

Abū Mūsā went on, "He sent me forth with Abū ʿĀmir, who was shot in the knee, the arrow, shot by a man of Banū Jusham, lodging in it. When I reached him, I asked, 'Who shot you, uncle?' He pointed over at the man, saying, 'There, that's the man who shot and killed me!' I made for him, but he withdrew when he saw me coming. I followed on, calling out, 'Aren't you ashamed not to stand and fight?' he stopped retreating and we exchanged a few sword strokes then I killed him. I went and told Abū ʿĀmir, 'God has killed your enemy!' He asked me, 'Take out this arrow.' I did so and water seeped from the wound. He then requested, 'Nephew, deliver my greeting to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and ask him to pray for my forgiveness.'

"Abū ʿĀmir then appointed me in command of our men and after a short while he died. I returned and went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) inside his house. He was lying on a rope bed of date-palms and stalks with a coverlet over him; the ropes and strands of the bed had made marks on his back and sides. I told him our news and about Abū ʿĀmir and how he had told me, 'Ask him to seek forgiveness for me.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for water to be brought, performed the ablution, then raised his arms praying, 'O God, forgive ʿUbayd, Abū ʿĀmir!' I saw the whiteness of his underarms. He then said, 'O God, place him on the Judgement Day of Resurrection above many of Your creation' – or 'of many people'. I said, 'Will you also ask forgiveness for me?' He then said, 'O God, forgive ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays his sins and on Resurrection Day grant him a favourable entry (into paradise).'"

Abū Burda noted, "One of the prayers was for Abū ʿĀmir, the other for Abū Mūsā, may God be pleased with them both."

Muslim related this from Abū Kurayb, Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Barād, from Abū Usāma in similar words.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Sufyān – he being al-Thawrī – from ʿUthmān al-Battī, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī, who said, 'At Awṭās we took some women prisoner who had husbands and we were reluctant to have intercourse with them while this was so. We therefore asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and this verse was revealed, "and all married women, except those whom your right hands possess" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.24). And so we considered their bodies permissible to us.'"

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUthmān al-Battī. Muslim gave it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Qatāda, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī. Imām Aḥmad, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba. Muslim, Shuʿba and al-Tirmidhī gave it additionally from a *ḥadīth* of Hammām, from Yaḥyā, all three giving an account from Qatāda, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Abū ʿAlqama al-Hāshimī, from Abū Saʿīd to the effect that the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Awṭās made captives of women who had husbands who were polytheists. This fact made some of the men refrain from intercourse with them. And so this verse "and all married women, except those whom your right hands possess" was revealed.

This is the version given by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; and he added to this chain of authorities Abū ʿAlqama al-Hāshimī who is considered reliable. This is the accepted interpretation, though God knows best.

A number of the early authorities view this verse as evidence that the sale of a female slave means her divorce. This is related of Ibn Masʿūd, Ubayy b. Kaʿb, Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, Ibn ʿAbbās, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. The majority oppose these, citing an anecdote about Burayra to the effect of her having been sold and then given a choice of ending or maintaining her marriage. If sale of her meant her divorce, then she would not have been given a choice.

We have discussed this issue in detail and sufficiently in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And we will refer to it again, if God so wills it, in our (projected work) *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*.

A number of the early authorities cite this *ḥadīth* relating to those made captive at Awṭās to substantiate the permissibility (of intercourse) with female slaves who were polytheists. The majority, however, oppose them, saying, "This is a special case; perhaps these women accepted Islam or were Christians or Jews." The proper place for further discussion of this issue will be in *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*, if God Almighty wills it.

Chapter: On those who were martyred at the battle of Ḥunayn and on the Expedition to Awṭās.

(These men were) Ayman b. Umm Ayman, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he being Ayman b. ʿUbayd; Zayd b. Zamʿa b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad, whose horse, named al-Janaḥ, bolted and so he was killed; Surāqa b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAdī al-Anṣārī, of Banū al-ʿAjlān; Abū ʿĀmir al-Ashʿarī,

the commander of the expedition to Awṭās. These total four men; may God be pleased with them.

Chapter: On the Poetry spoken at the Expedition against Hawāzin.

Among these verses are those of Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Salmā,

"Had it not been for God and His servant, you would
have retreated when terror overcame every coward
At the winding valley that day our enemies faced us,
the swift horses stumbled on to their chins.
Some men went running, their garments held up in their
hands, others were knocked to the side by hooves and
flanks.
God honoured us and gave victory to our faith,
dignifying us through worship of the Most Merciful.
And God destroyed them, dispersing and humiliating them
for worshipping Satan."

Ibn Hishām stated that some transmitters of the poetry include the verses,

"When Your Prophet's uncle and his ally arose, calling,
O squadron of the faith!
Where are they who responded to their Lord, at the
battle of al-ʿArīḍ and at the 'willing allegiance'"[141]

(Ibn Isḥāq stated) "ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī spoke the following,

'By the swift horses on assembly day and by the Book
that the Messenger recited,
I was pleased at Thaqīf's painful fate yesterday beside
the defile
They are the enemy's leaders from Najd, and killing
them is sweeter than drinking.
We defeated their group, that group of Banū Qasī, and
fierce was the fighting for Banū Rīʾāb.
The tents of Banū Hilāl were left at Awṭās begrimed
with dust.
If (our forces) had clashed with Banū Kilāb, their
women would have risen with dust[142] upon them.
We raced our horses among them between Buss and
al-Awrāl,[143] breathing hard in pursuit of the booty
Amidst a clamorous army that included the squadron of
the Messenger of God that charged into the battle.'

"ʿAbbās b. Mirdās also spoke the following,

141. See above, Vol. 11 p.341, footnote 74.
142. That is, in mourning.
143. Buss is a mountain near Dhāt ʿAraq. Al-Awrāl are three black mountains in the desert.

'O seal of the prophets, you are sent with the truth;
all guidance on the right path being yours.
God built upon you love in His creation, and Muḥammad
he named you.
Then those who were true to the pact you gave them
became an army, over whom you appointed al-Daḥḥāk
A man with a sharp sword who, when surrounded by the
enemy, saw only you.
He would even battle those near in blood, seeking to
please the All-Compassionate and yourself too.
I tell you I witnessed his repeated attacks in the
turmoil of war, braining the polytheists,
Sometimes strangling them with his hands, sometimes
slashing their heads with his sharp sword,
Using it to smash the warriors' heads; if you saw what
I did, it pleased you well,
While Banū Sulaym charged before him, striking and
thrusting constantly at the enemy.
They walked beneath his banner as though lions of a
thicket determined to battle there.
Not wanting closeness from their relatives, seeking
only that they obey their Lord and to please you.
These were our actions for which we were renowned, our
ally being your Lord.'

"'Abbās b. Mirdās also spoke the following,

'Mijdal is empty of its people now, as is Mutāli'; and
the plains of Arīk are bare, as are its cisterns.
Homes of ours, O Juml, when our lives were fine and
easy, and time's changes would unite our family wish
A lover whom great distance has diverted; can life now
past ever return?
If she seeks after the unbelievers, she is not to be
blamed; for I am the assistant and follower of the
Prophet.
The best of envoys I have known, Khuzayma, brought us,
and al-Mirrār is of them, and Wāsi' too.
And so we came, along with 1,000 men of Sulaym,
upon whom were splendid coats of mail made by Dā'ūd.
We pledged allegiance to him at al-Akhshabayn, though
it was the hand of God to whom we really pledged there.
We went into Mecca with the *mahdī*, the one well-led, by
force, our swords in the rising dust, glistening,
openly,
The bodies of our horses were covered with sweat,
groaning, their blood within them boiling,

At the battle of Ḥunayn when Hawāzin came at us, and our tight ribs restricted our breathing

We kept firm with al-Daḥḥāk, undeterred by the blows and strikes of our enemies

Before the Messenger of God, while a banner flew above us, shining like lightning above clouds.

That evening Daḥḥāk b. Sufyān struck with the sword of the Messenger of God, and death was near at hand.

We defended our brother from our brother,[144] and if we had seen an option, we would have followed our relatives.

But the religion of God is that of Muḥammad; we are pleased with it. It has guidance and laws.

Through it he set us aright after our mistaken course; and no matter decided by God can be prevented.'

"ʿAbbās b. Mirdās also spoke the following,

'The remaining connection with Umm Muʾammal has been ended, for she changed her intention, against her word.

She had sworn by God not to sever the link; she did not speak true in that, and was not true to her word.

She is from Banū Khufāf who spent the summer in the al-ʿAqīq valley, living in the desert at Wajra and al-ʿUrfā.

Even if Umm Muʾammal follows the unbelievers, she has stocked my heart with passion despite her distance.

Someone will tell her that we refused; the only ally we seek is our Lord,

And that we are with the guide, the Prophet, Muḥammad and that 1,000 are with us, matched by no other tribe,

With trustworthy heroes of Sulaym, men who obey and do not disobey by even a syllable.

Khufāf, Dhakwān and ʿAwf, whose path you would imagine strewn with (disuniting) difficulties,

(But) our glossy armour and helmets were as though worn by frowning lions slashing in their lairs.

Through us God's religion gained strength; we added a like number to the group already with him

At Mecca when we came; it was as if our banner was an eagle that, having soared, was ready to swoop down.

Upon mounts staring fixedly ahead, their forcing against their bits you would think inspired by a genie's hum,

That morning we trod the polytheists underfoot, finding no deviation or change from the orders of the Messenger of God,

144. Banū Sulaym and Hawāzin were both clans of Qays.

At a battle amidst which the men heard from us no
urgings except to fight and to crush heads
Sent flying from their supports by our swords which
sliced right through the warriors' necks.
Many's the man we left struck down, and many the widow
weeping bitterly over her husband.
It is God's pleasure we seek, not that of man; and to
God belongs all that is apparent and hidden.'

"ʿAbbās b. Mirdās, may God be pleased with him, also spoke the following verses,

'Why are your eyes sleepless, as though bothered by
irritants, husks beneath their lids?
Eyes made sleepless from their pain, welling and
streaming their tears,
Which look like pearls scattered when the man stringing
them breaks their thread.
How far away is the home of her for whose love you
hope, between you and whom al-Ṣammān and al-Ḥafar
stand!
Abandon your youth now gone, long past for your hair is
grey and thin.
And recall the distress of Sulaym in their lands; yet
Sulaym have reason to have pride.
They are a people who aided the Most Merciful and
followed the religion of the Messenger while people
were in conflict.
They no longer plant palm shoots in their land, nor do
cattle low in their wintering grounds
Where only fast steeds, like eagles, are kept at hand
amidst lands filled with herds of camels.
Khufāf and ʿAwf were brought to their flanks, and the
clan of Dhakwān did not turn away in annoyance.
They struck openly at the polytheist armies in Mecca's
valley and their souls were whisked away
Until we left, their bodies like palm trees uprooted on
the plain's surface.
At the battle of Ḥunayn our witness was to the glory of
the religion and it is recorded with God.
When we rode death, dingy-hued its inner flanks, while
the horses emitted a dusky glow
Beneath the banner, with al-Daḥḥāk leading us, like a
lurking lion walking within his forest,
In dire straits due to the burdens of warfare that
almost caused sun and moon to fade.
We remained steadfast at Awṭās; our lances dedicated to
God, we helped those we wished, and won victory.

And finally people returned to their homes who, were it
not for the Sovereign and ourselves, would not have
emerged.
You will not see any tribe, small in number or large,
without our having had some influence upon them.'

"'Abbās also spoke the following,

'O man who is borne upon a young, strong-boned, swift-footed camel
If you should go to the Prophet, then say to him as it
is your duty to do, if the group assembled are at ease,
"O finest man to ride a mount or ever to walk upon the
earth, if souls be counted,
We were true to our pact with you when the cavalry were
overpowered and wounded by the warriors
When there streamed a force from all parts of the
Buhtha clan that shook the mountain trails
Until we attacked the people of Mecca, in a squadron,
their armour shining, being led by proud men.
From every powerful clan of Sulaym, wearing close-knitted
chain-mail upon them
Moistening their lances when they charged into the
fray, so that you would imagine them as frowning lions.
Overwhelming the squadron, their insignia showing,
bearing in their hands slashing swords and quick-thrusting spears.
At Ḥunayn there were a thousand in our force by which
the Messenger was supported, as by fierce lions,
They were a vanguard ahead of the believers; and that
day the sun upon them seemed more intense.
We went forward, God guarding us in his care; and God
never loses those He guards.
We were blockaded at al-Manāqib. But God took pleasure
in that; and that makes our blockade worthwhile.
The morning of Awṭās we made a fierce attack and the
enemy drew back, calling out to us, "Hold off!"
Hawāzin appealed to the brotherhood between us; but
the breast Hawāzin used to offer is very dry!
Finally we left their force like wild asses that lions
have torn apart, one after the other.'

"He also, may God be pleased with him, spoke the following,

'Who is it will tell the peoples that Muḥammad is God's
messenger, right-guided wherever he moves?
He called out to God, seeking His help alone and He was
true and kind to him.
We travelled forth, keeping our appointment with
Muḥammad at Qudayd so that he could have us fulfil a
matter that God had decreed.

They scouted us at dawn and as dawn broke they
perceived us to be young warriors with lances set,
Upon horses, and our armour firmly attached, and our
numerous infantry rushing forward like a torrent.
The best of the tribe – if ask you must – are Sulaym and
they include some who claim to be Sulaym
And a force of *anṣār* who would not desert him, obedient
to him and they do not disobey him in what he says.
Since you have appointed and promoted Khālid commander
of the army, he has indeed advanced
With an army, guided by God, of which you are leader.
With it you rightfully strike those who are evil.
I have sworn a genuine oath to Muḥammad and have
fulfilled it with a thousand horses, fully bridled.
The Prophet of the believers called, 'Advance!' And
it pleased us to be the vanguard.
We spent the night at Mustadīr pool. We had no fear –
only enthusiasm and determination.
We obeyed you until all the enemy accepted Islam,
attacking their force in the morning, those people at
Yalamlamā.
(A force so large) even a piebald red stallion could go
astray amidst it, and an old man be insecure unless
well marked.
We surprised them like a covey of grouse startled at
dawn, each of which you see to be uncaring for its
brother,
That morning; until finally we left them that evening
at Ḥunayn, its streams flowing with blood.
If you wished, you could everywhere see fine race
horses, their riders stretched out besides broken
lances.
Hawāzin have regained from us their herds; and for us to
be disappointed and deprived of these has pleased
them.'"

Thus did Imām Muḥammad b. Isḥāq give the poems of ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī, may God be pleased with him. We have omitted some of the odes he included for fear of being long-winded and boring. Ibn Isḥāq also gives the poetry of others; but enough on the subject has been given above. Though God knows best.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST AL-ṬĀ'IF.

ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba quoted al-Zuhrī as stating that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fought at Ḥunayn and besieged al-Ṭā'if in Shawwāl of 8 AH.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "The routed Thaqīf army reached al-Ṭā'if, shut themselves behind the gate of the city and fortified themselves in preparation for conflict.

"Neither ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd nor Ghaylān b. Salama were present at Ḥunayn or the siege of al-Ṭā'if. They were at Jurash learning how to construct testudos for use at a distance and close by the walls.

"Having finished at Ḥunayn, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on to al-Ṭā'if. On that subject Kaʿb b. Mālik spoke the following verses,

'In the lowlands and at Khaybar we ended all doubt,
then rested our swords
For them to choose (next). Had they spoken, their
blades would have said, "Attack Daws or Thaqīf!"
May I have no mother if you do not see them at your
courtyards, with us in our thousands.
We will tear down the pavilions in the Wajj valley, and
your homes will be devoid of you.
The most swift of our cavalry will attack you, leaving
behind them a dense mass
When they descend on your areas, you'll hear from them
enough to make your camels kneel in alarm.
In their hands will be sharp, slim swords, visiting
death upon those opposing them,
Flashing like lightning, fashioned by Indian
blacksmiths, not beaten out flat.
You might have thought the blood of heroes in them that
battle morning was mixed with saffron.
As for their most diligent, had they no adviser in
their peoples who knew of us
To tell them that we had gathered the most choice and
well-bred of horses
And had brought against them a force to line up around
the walls of their fort?
Their leader was the Prophet, resolute, pure of heart,
steadfast and abstemious,
Mature, wise, knowledgeable, astute, never rash or
frivolous.
We obey our Prophet and a Lord who is the Most Merciful
and has been most kind to us.
If you offer us peace we will accept and will make you
our allies, and
If you refuse, we will fight you steadfastly, and
conflict with us will not be gentle or easy.
We will fight on as long as we survive or you turn in
repentance to Islam, submissively.
We will battle on, careless whom we confront, nor
whether we destroy the old or the new.

How numerous were the tribes allied against us, some
the central tribes, some their allies.
They attacked us thinking themselves unequalled, but we
severed nose and ears
With our Indian swords, supple and gleaming, violently
forcing them forward
To the business of God and Islam until the religion is
established in justice and devotion
And al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and Wudd are forgotten and we
remove their necklaces and earrings.
Now they have become acquiescent and secure; and those
who do not refrain (from idolatry) become disgraced.'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Kināna b. 'Abd Yālīl b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr al-Thaqafī answered him in the following verse."

(I note that he had later come over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with the Thaqīf delegation; he accepted Islam along with them. This was so stated by Mūsā b. 'Uqba, Abū Isḥāq, Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athīr and others. Al-Madā'inī, however, claimed that he did not accept Islam, but went into Byzantine territory, where he accepted Christianity and died.)

'To those seeking us to fight us: we're at a well-known
place we will not leave.
We know our forefathers were here, where are its
terraces and its vineyards.
'Amr b. 'Āmir previously put us to the test, and their
men of reason and wisdom advised them.
They knew – if truth they tell – that we set straight
cheeks turned aside in disdain.
We reform them; those who are wild we tame and those
who do wrong acknowledge the evident truth.
We dress in light, supple chain-mail, from a longed-for
legacy, sky-coloured its sheen, decorated with
stars.
We force them off us with our sharp swords which, when
once drawn in conflict we do not again sheathe.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Shaddād b. 'Āriḍ al-Jushamī spoke the following verses concerning the passage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to al-Ṭā'if,

'Do not assist al-Lāt whom God destroys; how can aid be
given to one who cannot be assisted?
She who was burned, flaming in black smoke, while at
her stone monument not even the worthless do battle.
Once the Messenger descends on your lands and has left,
none of its people will remain there.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then travelled – from Ḥunayn to al-Ṭā'if – by way of Nakhla al-Yamaniyya, Qarn, al-Mulayḥ and Buḥrat al-Rughā' of Liyya; he had a mosque constructed there and performed the prayers.

"'Amr b. Shu'ayb related to me that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped that day at Buḥrat al-Rughā' he allowed retaliation in kind for blood spilled, that being the first occasion in Islam that such permission was given. A man of Banū Layth had killed someone of Hudhayl and he executed him for it. While at Liyya he ordered the destruction of the fort of Mālik b. 'Awf.

"He then proceeded along a path known as *al-Ḍayyiqa*, 'the narrow, difficult path'. As he was setting out along it he asked what it was called and it was so named to him. He commented, 'No; it's *al-Yusrā*, "the easy road".'

"Emerging from it he passed Nakhb and made a halt beneath a lote tree known as *al-Ṣādira*, near property owned by a man of Thaqīf. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent word to him to either come out or have his wall destroyed. He refused to emerge and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that his wall be demolished."

Ibn Isḥāq then quoted Ismā'īl b. Umayya as quoting Bujayr b. Abū Bujayr to have said, "I heard 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr say that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say when he went forth with him to al-Ṭā'if and passed by a grave, 'This is the tomb of Abū Righāl,[145] he being the father of Thaqīf. He was of Thamūd and one of those defending their sanctuary there. When he went out (with Abraha) he was afflicted by that same vengeance that came down upon his people at that place, and he was buried there. The proof of this is that along with him a golden bough was buried. If you exhume him, you will find it.'

"The men promptly did so and retrieved the bough, along with his remains."

Abū Dā'ūd narrated this from Yaḥyā b. Mu'īn, from Wahb b. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Zuray', from Rawḥ b. al-Qāsim, from Ismā'īl b. Umayya.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then travelled on and established his camp near al-Ṭā'if. Some of his men were killed by arrows because the camp had been set close to al-Ṭā'if. They therefore withdrew to the place where today stands his mosque, built by Thaqīf after their acceptance of Islam. It was 'Amr b. Umayya b. Wahb who built it. It had in it a column from which, so they say, a cracking sound could be heard every morning when sunlight struck it.

"He besieged them there for some 20 days." Ibn Hishām gives this figure as 17.

145. This related to the advance made in the area by Abraha (see Vol. I above, p.22) who was persuaded in al-Ṭā'if to leave their temple undisturbed and to continue on to attack the sanctuary at Mecca.

ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba quote al-Zuhrī as having stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went on to al-Ṭā'if, leaving the captives (from Ḥunayn) at al-Jiʿrāna, where they filled the tents of Mecca. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) encamped at al-Akama, near the fortress of al-Ṭā'if, for some ten or more days, engaging them in battle while they fought back from behind their fortifications. The only man to emerge was Abū Bakra b. Masrūḥ, Ziyād's brother from his mother's side. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set him free. Many casualties were suffered there and they (the Muslims) cut down some of their grape vines to enrage them thereby. At this Thaqīf asked, 'Don't ruin our properties; they will either remain ours or become yours.'"

ʿUrwa stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered each Muslim to cut down five date-palms or five vines. He sent out a crier to announce, "Anyone who comes forth to us will be free." A number of people did join him, including Abū Bakra b. Masrūḥ, a brother of Ziyād b. Abū Sufyān on his mother's side. He then set them free and assigned each one to a Muslim who was to provide food and a mount.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd related to him, quoting Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would set free any slave who came to him with priority over any of their freed-men who accepted Islam. (He stated also) that at the battle of al-Ṭā'if he set two men free.

(Imām) Aḥmad stated, "'Abd al-Quddūs b. Bakr b. Khumayr related to us, quoting al-Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged the people of al-Ṭā'if and two slaves came out whom he set free. One of them was Abū Bakra. It was his practice to free any slaves who came over to him.'"

He also stated, "Naṣr b. Rī'āb related to us, from Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'At al-Ṭā'if, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "Whatever slaves join us shall be freed."'

"'Some of the slaves did come out, including Abū Bakra. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set them all free.'"

This *ḥadīth* is given only by Aḥmad; it hinges upon al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt, a weak source. However, Imām Aḥmad did accept it. It was his view that it was a general, universal principle that every slave who left the enemy to join Islam was freed.

Others maintained that this was conditional and not an absolute rule.

If the *ḥadīth* is authentic, then its general legislative authority is very plain – as in the case of his statement (referred to above), 'Whoever kills an enemy shall own that man's possessions.'

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as stating, "'Abd Allāh b. al-Mukarram al-Thaqafī related to me, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged the people of al-Ṭā'if, one of their slaves came out to join him, he being Abū Bakra, who belonged to al-Ḥārith b. Kalda. Along with him came

"al-Munbaʿith"; his real name was al-Muḍṭajiʿ, "he who lies down", but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed him "al-Munbaʿith", "he who rises again". Also there were Yaḥnas and Wardān among a group of slaves who accepted Islam. When the delegation arrived from the people of al-Ṭāʾif to accept Islam, they asked, "Messenger of God, restore to us our slaves who joined you." He replied, "No; those have been set free by God." But he did give the man the clientage to his former slave.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Ghundar, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿĀṣim, who said that he heard Abū ʿUthmān say, "I heard Saʿd, the first to shoot an arrow in God's cause, and Abū Bakra, who climbed over the walls of al-Ṭāʾif to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), both say, 'We heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) state, "Anyone who claims to be the son of someone other than his real father, while knowing the facts, will be denied paradise."'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "Hishām said, 'Maʿmar informed us, from ʿĀṣim, from Abū al-ʿĀliya – or Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī – as follows, "I heard Saʿd and Abū Bakra narrate the following *ḥadīth* from the Prophet (ṢAAS), namely, that ʿĀṣim reported having said to him, 'Two men have testified to you who are to be trusted.' 'Yes, that is so,' he replied. One of these was the first to shoot an arrow in God's cause. The other was the third of 23 persons who joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-Ṭāʾif."'"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "Two of his wives were accompanying the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). One of these was Umm Salama. He set up two pavilions for them and would pray between them. He besieged the enemy and fought them fiercely, engaging in exchanges of arrow fire."

Ibn Hishām stated that he also shot at them using catapults.

A trustworthy source related to me that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was the first in Islam to fire a catapult, using them against the people of al-Ṭāʾif.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that a number of the Muslims went beneath a testudo and moved it slowly forward to burn the walls of al-Ṭāʾif and heated nails were cast down upon them. When they emerged from beneath the testudo, Thaqīf shot arrows down at them, killing some men. At that point the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that the Thaqīf vines be cut down and the Muslims set about this task.

Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba then advanced and called for safe passage to talk with them. This was granted and they invited some women of Quraysh and Banū Kināna to come out to them; they feared that they might be treated as captives if the fortress were conquered. The women refused and Abū al-Aswad b. Masʿūd asked the two men, "Can't I make a better suggestion for you than that you put forward? You well know the whereabouts of the estate of Abū al-Aswad. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has been encamped at a valley

called al-'Aqīq, between the lands of Banū al-Aswad and al-Ṭā'if. There is no property in al-Ṭā'if more distant from irrigation water nor more difficult to supply or more inaccessible to cultivate than it. If Muḥammad cuts it down it will never produce again to him; so suggest that he either take it for himself or leave it alone for the sake of God and our kinship ties."

They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did leave it alone for them.

Al-Wāqidī quoted his elders similarly. It was his view that it was Salmān al-Fārisī who suggested using the catapult and that he himself operated it. It is said that he brought it forward, along with the two testudos. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī, through Ibn Lahī'a, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa, reported that 'Uyayna b. Ḥuṣn sought permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to go to the people of al-Ṭā'if to invite them to Islam. He was given this permission. When he went to them, he advised them, in a lengthy address, to stay in their fortification, telling them, "You should not be scared by the strikes of someone who cuts down trees!"

The account continues, "When he returned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him what he had told them and he replied, 'I invited them into Islam, warned them of hell and told them of paradise.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'You lie! You said such-and-such to them!' 'Uyayna admitted, 'You speak the truth, O Messenger of God! I turn to God and to you seeking forgiveness for that.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Hishām al-Dustuwā'ī, from Qatāda, from Sālim b. Abū al-Ja'd, from Mi'dān b. Abū Ṭalḥa, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ al-Sulamī, he being 'Amr b. 'Absa, may God be pleased with him, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the siege of the fortress at al-Ṭā'if. I heard him say, 'Whoever of you can make an arrow reach (them) will reach an extra level in paradise.' And that day I made 16 arrows reach.

"I also heard him say, 'Whoever casts an arrow in God's cause is in effect set free. For whomever turns grey in God's cause there shall be a light on Resurrection Day. Any man who frees a Muslim shall have God render every one of his bones a shield for every other, bone by bone. And any woman who frees a Muslim woman shall have God render every one of her bones a shield for every other bone she has.'"

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī narrated this, and al-Nasā'ī declared it *ṣaḥīḥ*, from a *ḥadīth* of Qatāda.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by al-Ḥumaydī, quoting Sufyān, quoting Hishām, from his father, from Zaynab, daughter of Umm Salama, who said that Umm Salama stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to see me when I had a *mukhannath*,[146] 'an effeminate man', with me. The former heard

146. The term seems to have been applied to men not sexually excited by women; see Ibn Kathīr's own comments hereafter.

the latter say to ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya, 'If God conquers al-Ṭāʾif for you tomorrow, be sure to take Ghaylān's daughter; she exposes four folds of flesh when approaching and eight when she turns her back.' And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Don't have such persons in your company!'"

According to Ibn ʿUyayna and Ibn Jurayj the name of the effeminate was Hīt.

Al-Bukhārī also related it, as did Muslim, with lines of transmission from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father. In one version there are the words, "whom they considered devoid of normal male sex drive". And in one there is the phrase, "And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I would not have this man know what is here. Don't have such people in your company.'"

This implies that if he were someone who understood that, then he would be included (for consideration) with those referred to in God Almighty's words, "or the children who are not conscious of the private parts of women" (*sūrat al-Nūr*; XXIV, 31).

By the word *al-mukhannath* in the usage of the early authorities is meant those devoid of (sexual) interest in women; the word does not refer to homosexuals. For had he been like that, his execution would certainly have been necessary, as the *ḥadīth* tradition indicates, and as Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', may God be pleased with him, himself decreed execution.

The meaning of the phrase given above, "she exposes four folds of flesh when approaching and eight when she turns her back" is a reference to the folds of flesh on her stomach; these would appear as four folds as she approached and each of these would become two as she moved away. This woman was named Bādiyya, daughter of Ghaylān b. Salama, and she was a lady of Thaqīf.

Al-Bukhārī quoted Ibn Jurayj as giving the name of this *mukhannath* as Hīt. This is widely accepted as fact. However, Yūnus quoted Ibn Isḥāq as stating, "With the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) there was a freed-man of his aunt Bint ʿAmr b. ʿĀyid, a *mukhannath* named Mātiʿ. He would go into the presence of the wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in his home; he was not considered as having the normal desire for women that men have. Then he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) overheard him saying to Khālid b. al-Walīd, 'Khālid, if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) should conquer al-Ṭāʾif, then be sure that Bādiyya, daughter of Ghaylān, does not slip away from you. She exposes four folds of flesh when she approaches you and eight when she turns her back.' When he heard this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I would not have thought this man would notice such as that.' He then told his women, 'Let him not have access to you.' He was then banned from the house of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh, quoting Sufyān, from ʿAmr, from Abū al-ʿAbbās, the blind poet, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged al-Ṭāʾif, but did not overcome them, he said, 'We'll be leaving tomorrow, if God wills it.'

This disappointed them and they asked, 'Are we to leave without victory?' He replied, 'Then recommence the fighting.' Next day they did so but suffered casualties. He then said, 'We'll be leaving tomorrow, if God wills it.' This pleased them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed." Sufyān, the sub-narrator, once used the wording, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna; he gave the line of transmission as being from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, different from that given by al-Bukhārī. And (this line is given) in another similar version and in one from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Kuthayyir b. Zayd b. al-Walīd b. Rabāḥ quotes Abū Hurayra as saying, 'Fifteen days of the siege of al-Ṭā'if having elapsed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sought the advice of Nawfal b. Mu'āwiya al-Dīlī, asking, "Nawfal, what is your view of maintaining it?" He replied, "Messenger of God, if you wait out a fox in its hole, you'll take it; and if you leave it (where it is) it will do you no harm."'"

Muḥammmad b. Isḥāq stated, "I have been informed that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was engaged in the siege of Taqīf, he asked Abū Bakr, 'Abū Bakr, I had a vision that I was presented with a bowl filled with cream. A cock pecked at it and spilt its contents.' Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, replied, 'I do not think you will achieve with them today what you wish.' 'I don't think so either,' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said.

"Khawlā al-Sulamiyya, daughter of Ḥakīm, then said, 'Messenger of God, please give to me, if God gives you victory, the jewellery of Bādiyya, daughter of Ghaylān b. Salama, or that of al-Fāri'a, daughter of 'Uqayl'; these were known as the Thaqīf women with the most jewels. It is said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'What, Khawlā, if I am not awarded control over Thaqīf?'

"Khawlā then left and reported to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb what he had said and the latter went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked, 'Messenger of God, Khawlā has reported to me a conversation she claims to have had with you.' 'I might have said it,' he replied. 'Umar asked, 'Then have you not been awarded control over them?' 'No,' he answered. 'Umar asked, 'Then should I not announce our departure?' 'Yes, do,' he told him.

"'Umar then announced their departure. As the army moved off, Sa'id b. 'Ubayd b. 'Asīd b. Abū 'Amr b. 'Allāj commented, 'Well, their tribe is standing fast.' 'Uyayna b. Ḥuṣn responded, 'Yes, I swear by God, nobly and valiantly.' One of the Muslims then addressed the latter, 'Uyayna, God Damn you, would you praise the polytheists for withstanding the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when you came here to assist him?' 'Uyayna replied, 'I did not come with you to fight Thaqīf; I wanted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to conquer al-Ṭā'if so that I could acquire a Thaqīf woman with whom to have intercourse so she would bear me a son. We hold Thaqīf in high regard.'"

Ibn Lahī'a narrated, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa, the story of Khawlā, daughter of Ḥakīm, and what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said and how

he had told ʿUmar to announce the departure. He went on, "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the men that they not disband their force. Next morning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth with his men and as he mounted to leave, he said, 'O God, guide them and spare us the trouble of them!'"

Al-Tirmidhī narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that they (the Muslim forces) said, "O Messenger of God, the Thaqīf arrows greatly harmed us; pray to God against them." He responded, "O God, give guidance to Thaqīf."

He (al-Tirmidhī) then commented, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan gharīb*."

Yūnus quoted Ibn Isḥāq as saying that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mukarram, quoting well informed scholars as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged the people of al-Ṭāʾif for some 30 days and then left, not having defeated them. After he had returned to Medina, a delegation of them came to him, in Ramaḍān, and accepted Islam."

Reference to this will come in detail with regard to Ramaḍān of 9 AH, if God so wills it.

The following is the list of names of those Muslims who were, according to Ibn Isḥāq, martyred at al-Ṭāʾif.

From Quraysh: Saʿīd b. Saʿīd b. al-Āṣ b. Umayya; ʿUrfuṭa b. Janāb, ally of Banū Umayyya b. al-Asad b. al-Ghawth; ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, who was struck by an arrow there and who died of his wound in Medina, after the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, struck by an arrow that day; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa, an ally of Banū ʿAdī; al-Sāʾib b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. ʿAdī al-Sahmī, along with his brother ʿAbd Allāh; Julayḥa b. ʿAbd Allāh, of Banū Saʿd b. Layth.

From the *anṣār*: from Khazraj: Thābit b. al-Jadhaʿ al-Aslamī; al-Ḥārith b. Sahl b. Abū Ṣaʿṣaʿa al-Māzinī; al-Mundhir b. ʿAbd Allāh, of Banū Sāʿida.

From al-Aws: Ruqaym b. Thābit b. Thaʿlaba b. Zayd b. Lawdhān b. Muʾāwiya.

Those martyred that day totalled twelve – seven men of Quraysh and four of the *anṣār*. Also killed was one man of Banū Layth. May God be pleased with them all.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on his way back from al-Ṭāʾif, Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Salmā spoke the following verses concerning the battles at Ḥunayn and al-Ṭāʾif:

'It was a replay of the battles of the Ḥunayn valley,
Awṭās and al-Abraq;
Hawāzin foolishly assembled their forces but broke up
like birds scattered.
They did not retain a single position against us,
except for their walls and the base of their ditch.

We paraded before them to bring them out, but they fortified against us behind a closed gate.

Our men without armour withdrew to a great force, a squadron whose armour shone with death.

Close-ranked, and green-hued; if sent charging against a fortress, it would be as though never constructed.

They walk like hounds on tree-shed thorns, like horses led separately then brought together again,

Each wearing armour that once firmly set looks like a pool shimmering under a breeze,

Over coats of armour, the hems of which brushed our shoes, finely woven by Dā'ūd and Muḥarriq's family.'"

Abū Dā'ūd stated that it was related to him by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb Abū Ḥafṣ, quoting al-Firyābī, quoting Abān, quoting ʿAmr – he being Ibn ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Hāzim – quoting ʿUthmān b. Abū Ḥāzim, from his father, from his grandfather Ṣakhr – he being Abū al-ʿAyla al-Aḥmasī - who said that when he, Ṣakhr, heard that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was attacking Thaqīf, he set off with his cavalry to assist him. When he arrived at al-Ṭā'if, however, he found him already gone. He then made a vow that he would not leave the fortress before they emerged to accept the authority of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And he did not leave them until they had done so. Ṣakhr then wrote to him as follows, "Messenger of God, Thaqīf have now accepted your authority. I am accompanying them to you, along with my cavalry."

(The account continues) "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that there be a general assembly for prayer and he spoke ten prayers for Banū al-Aḥmas, saying, 'O God, bless al-Aḥmas for both their cavalry and their foot soldiers.'

"When they arrived al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba spoke, 'O Messenger of God, Ṣakhr took my aunt and she adopted that which Muslims embrace.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called for Ṣakhr and said, 'Ṣakhr, when people accept Islam, their blood and possessions are spared; return al-Mughīra's aunt to him.' And he did return her.

"He then asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for that water supply belonging to Banū Salīm; they had fled from Islam and abandoned that water. He asked, 'Messenger of God, settle me and my people there.' 'Yes,' he agreed and he agreed to settle him and Aslam – the tribesmen of Aslam, that is – there. They then went to Ṣakhr and asked him to give the water supply to themselves, but he refused. And so they went again to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Messenger of God, we have accepted Islam and went to Ṣakhr to have him give us our water supply, but he refused. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Ṣakhr, when people accept Islam their blood and possessions are spared. Deliver their water supply over to them.' He replied, 'Yes, O Prophet of God.'

"I then saw the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turn red with embarrassment at his (Ṣakhr's) having taken the women and also the water!"

Abū Dāʾūd is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*. And there is some difference of opinion about its chain of authorities.

I observe that it was the Divine Wisdom that determined that the conquest should be postponed that year so that they (Thaqīf) would not be annihilated. It has been related above how, following the death of his uncle, Abū Ṭālib, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had gone earlier to al-Ṭāʾif. He had invited them to come to God Almighty and to provide him sanctuary, so he could go on conveying the message of His Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, but they had rejected him and called him a liar.

He had then departed for home in a state of depression from which he had only emerged at Qarn al-Thaʿālib. There he saw a rain cloud in which was Gabriel. The angel of the mountains had then called out to him, saying, "Muḥammad, your Lord greets you. He has heard how your people have spoken to you and have rejected you. Would you like me to level the Akhshabayn mountains upon them?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had replied, "No; give them respite so that God might bring forth from their loins those who will worship Him alone, associating no other with Him."

His statement, "No; give them respite ..." was consistent with his not conquering their fortress so that they not be annihilated, and that the conquest should be delayed to allow them to come forth as Muslims thereafter, in Ramaḍān of the following year. This will be related hereafter, if God Almighty so will it.

Chapter.

The return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-Ṭāʾif and the division of the spoils taken from Hawāzin at Ḥunayn; this division occurred following his entry from al-Jiʿrāna to perform the *ʿumra* pilgrimage.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), following his departure from al-Ṭāʾif, went through Daḥnā and made camp at al-Jiʿrāna, accompanied by his men and by many Hawāzin captives. One of his men had asked him, as he was leaving Thaqīf, "O Messenger of God, speak a prayer against them," but he had prayed, "O God, guide Thaqīf and bring them."

(Ibn Isḥāq continued) "At al-Jiʿrāna a delegation of Hawāzin came to him. At that time he held captive 6,000 women and children and innumerable camels and sheep."

He went on, "ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb related to me (and there is a *ḥadīth* of Yūnus b. Bukayr also from ʿAmr) quoting his father, from his grandfather, who said, 'We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Ḥunayn and after he had taken captives and possessions from Hawāzin, a delegation came to him at al-Jiʿrāna from them; they had now accepted Islam. They addressed him as follows, "O Messenger of God, we are one people, one tribe. You well know what disaster has befallen us. Be kind to us and may God be kind to you."

"'Their spokesman, Zuhayr b. Ṣurad Abū Ṣurad, then arose and said, "Messenger of God, those in the enclosures for the captives are nothing but your own maternal aunts and nursemaids who cared for you. If we had suckled Ibn Abū Shamir or al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir and then had suffered from them what we have from you, we would have at least hoped for some special consideration and compassion from them. And you are the Messenger of God, the most trustworthy of men."

"'He then recited the following verses,

"Be kind to us, Messenger of God, in your nobility, for you are the man from whom we hope and expect this.
Be kind to womenfolk ruined by fate, their community destroyed and ruined.
Fate has imposed upon us circumstances of great sorrow, the hearts of our people overwhelmed with misery and pain.
If there does not reach them comforts that you deliver, O most wise of men when tested,
Be kind to women from whom you suckled, your mouth filled with pearl-like drops of their pure milk.
Be kind to women from whom you suckled, for then your actions will adorn you and not be wasted.
Do not render us like those whose joy is gone for ever; let us survive, for we are a noble people.
We will surely express thanks for favours for, if given us, we will remember them forever hereafter."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "What matters most to you – your women and children or your possessions?" "What?" they replied. "Would you have us choose between our honour and our goods? Of course, our women and children matter most to us." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on, "As for what was mine or belonged to Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, that is yours. After I have prayed with the people, say, 'We ask the Messenger of God to intercede with the Muslims; and we ask them to intercede with him for us for our women and children.' When you ask this, I will grant your wish and make a request on your behalf."

"'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the noon prayer, they arose and they spoke as he had asked. He then said, "As for what was mine or belonged to Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, that is now yours." The *muhājirūn* responded, "Whatever (rights) we had now go to the Messenger of God." The *anṣār* said the same.

"'However, al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis said, "For myself and Banū Tamīm, no!" 'Uyayna stated, "For myself and Banū Fazāra, no!" Al-'Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī said, "For myself and Banū Sulaym, no!" But Banū Sulaym disagreed, saying, "What was ours is now that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." 'Abbās b. Mirdās then asked Banū Sulaym, "Would you disgrace me?"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then stated, "Whoever withholds his right shall have six camels due from the first booty that we obtain. Now return their women and children to these people."

"'He then mounted and the people followed after him, saying, "O Messenger of God, divide up for us our share of the booty!" They forced him over close to a tree which pulled off his cloak. He asked them, "Please return my cloak to me. For I swear by Him who has my soul in His hand, if the camels I had for you numbered as many as all the trees of Tihāma, I would divide them up among you. Moreover, you have never found me miserly, cowardly or untruthful!"

"'He then went over to a camel and took from its hump a piece of its fur which he held up in two fingers, saying, "People, I swear by God, I have nothing from your booty – not even this hair – except for one-fifth of it. And that too is given back to you. 'A needle for a needle'.[147] For theft of booty means sin, and hell-fire and disgrace on Resurrection Day for those who take it."

"'One of the *anṣār* then came carrying a strand of hair rope and said, "Messenger of God, I took this to sew up a saddle-cloth for a camel of mine with ulcers." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I award to you my rights in it. Since word of this might spread, I don't need it." And he threw it from his hand.'"

This text requires that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned their captives to them before the division of the spoils, a view held by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār, but one opposed by Mūṣā b. ʿUqba and others.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī there is a *ḥadīth* from al-Layth, from ʿUqayl, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. It states that when the delegation of Hawāzin came to him, having accepted Islam, and asked to have their property and women returned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, "There are with me those you see. The talk that is most favoured by me is what is most true. Choose one of two options – either the captives or their possessions. I have been waiting for you."

(The narration continued) "He had delayed the distribution for ten days following his return from al-Ṭā'if. When it was clear to them that he would return to them only one of the two categories, they replied, 'We choose those of us who are captives.'

"He then arose among the Muslims and, having given appropriate praise to God, said, 'These brothers of yours have come in repentance and I have decided to return those of them taken captive. Whoever of you wishes to do that as a favour should do so. Those of you who would prefer to receive this (full) share, we will give it with the first booty God awards us.'

"The Muslims responded, 'We are pleased to return them as a favour, O Messenger of God.' He then told them, 'We do not know which of you have agreed and which have not. So go back and let your leaders inform us.' They did return and their leaders talked with them and came to him and informed him that they (all) had agreed and had given their assent (to the release of the prisoners)."

147. Perhaps: that is, "Be absolutely scrupulous over issues of value".

This is what we have been informed about those Hawāzin taken captive.

Al-Bukhārī did not refer to the objection raised by al-Aqraʿ, ʿUyayna and their families; he remained silent on the issue. A positive (statement) generally takes priority over a denial. And more so if there be silence.

Al-Bukhārī related from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī as follows, "ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim informed me, from his father, that Jubayr b. Muṭʿim informed him that while he was with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), accompanying the men returning from Ḥunayn, the bedouin so crowded around him questioning him that they forced him against a tree which pulled off his cloak. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped and asked, 'Hand me back my cloak. If I had as many camels as these thorny trees, I would distribute them among you. You know me not to be miserly, untruthful or cowardly.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated that he was informed by Abū Wajra, Yazīd b. ʿUbayd al-Saʿdī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib a slave girl named Rayṭa, daughter of Hilāl b. Ḥayān b. ʿUmayya, and to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān he gave a slave-girl called Zaynab, daughter of Ḥayān b. ʿAmr b. Ḥayān. He also gave a slave girl to ʿUmar, but he gave her to his son, ʿAbd Allāh.

Ibn Isḥāq went on to state that Nāfiʿ quoted ʿUmar's son ʿAbd Allāh as having said, "I sent her off to my aunts of Banū Jumaḥ to prepare her properly for me while I circumambulated the *kaʿba* and arranged to come and take her on my return from the mosque. When I had finished at the mosque, I went there and found everyone in turmoil. I asked what was going on and they replied that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had returned their wives and children (to Hawāzin). I then said, 'Your woman friend is with Banū Jumaḥ; go and get her.' And they did so."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "ʿUyayna b. Ḥisn took an elderly Hawāzin woman, saying as he did so, 'I can see an old lady who I think is of high standing in her tribe; ransom for her may be substantial.' When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned the captives at a rate of six camels per person, ʿUyayna refused to give her back. Zuhayr b. Ṣurad then told him, 'Let her go; I swear, her mouth is not cool, her breasts are not rounded, she has no child in her womb, she has no upset husband, and her milk is not abundant. It's not as if you've taken a woman who is fair-skinned and a virgin, or even someone who is plump and mature!' And so ʿUyayna gave her back in exchange for six camels."

Al-Wāqidī stated that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided up the spoils at al-Jiʿrāna, each warrior received four camels and forty sheep.

Salama quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr to the effect that a man who took part in the Battle of Ḥunayn said, "I was riding along on my camel at the side of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I was wearing heavy boots. My camel bumped against that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and the toe of my boot struck and hurt his leg. He then tapped my foot with his whip, saying, 'You hurt me! Go further away from me!' So I moved off. Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wanted to see me and I assumed this was

because I had struck his leg the day before. So I went to him, feeling apprehensive, but he said, 'You struck my leg yesterday and hurt me and I tapped your foot with my whip. I have called for you to give you compensation for that.' He then awarded me 80 ewes for the blow he had struck me.'"

The import of all of this is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave back the captives only after the division of the spoils, as this text and others show.

The clear text of the *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, who was quoted by Muḥammad b. Isḥaq, from his father and from his grandfather, is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned the captives to Hawāzin before the division of spoils. This is why, when he mounted, that the bedouin crowded around him asking that the division of the spoils take place, forcing him over to a tree which tugged off his cloak, so that he said, "Please return my cloak to me. For I swear, by Him who has my soul in His hand, if I had as many camels as these thorny trees, I would distribute them among you. You know me not to be miserly, untruthful or cowardly."

This is also related in similar words by al-Bukhārī, from Jubayr b. Muṭʿim.

Since the men feared that Hawāzin would have their possessions returned to them as their women and children had been, they asked him to divide it up at al-Jiʿrāna, as God Almighty and Glorious is He, had ordered him. He gave preference and priority to some persons and some of the tribal leaders in this distribution and some of the *anṣār* complained to him until he addressed them and explained the wisdom of his actions, in order to placate them.

Some foolish and ignorant persons, including some from the *khawārij*,[148] such as Dhū al-Khuwayṣira,[149] may God rebuke him, and the like, made certain criticisms, as will be related and explained in detail in a *ḥadīth* relating thereto. And help is to be sought from God.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿĀrim related to us, quoting Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān, quoting his father, quoting al-Sumayṭ al-Sadūsī, to the effect that Anas b. Mālik said, 'Having conquered Mecca, we sent an expedition to Ḥunayn. The polytheists advanced in the most impressive lines I had ever seen. First came the lines of cavalry, then the fighters, then the women and children, then the sheep and goats, then the camels. We were a large force, some 6,000 strong, and Khālid b. al-Walīd was in command of our vanguard of cavalry. Our cavalry began to take shelter behind us but they left themselves open. It was not long before the bedouin forces along with others we know fled. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called out, 'O *muhājirūn*! O *anṣār*! Where are you now?'"

148. The so-named "Kharijites" (*Khawārij*) were the first group to dissent on doctrinal reasons from orthodox Islam. They were active in the last two years of the Caliphate of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and engaged in sporadic uprisings throughout the Arab-Islamic empire thereafter. The Ibādiyya of North Africa and the lower Arabian (Persian) Gulf consider themselves heirs to the early *khawārij*. See also pp. hereafter.

149. For reference to the bedouin Dhū al-Khuwayṣira see hereafter.

Anas explained that this was according to an account of his aunt.[150] He then went on, "We said, *Labbayka*! 'At your service, Messenger of God!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then advanced and by the time we came to them God had already defeated them.

"We seized their property and went on to al-Ṭā'if which we besieged for 40 nights before returning to Mecca. There we stayed, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was awarding some men 100 (camels) while to another he would give 200.

"The *anṣār* were saying among themselves, 'He gives to those who fought him in the battles, but not to those who did not!'[151]

"This talk was reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he ordered the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* leaders to come in to see him. Then he said, 'Let none but an *anṣārī*' (or he used the word the *anṣār*, plural) 'come in to me.' So we entered his pavilion, which we filled. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then addressed us, saying, '*Anṣār*!' – or something to that effect – 'What is this that has reached me?' 'What is it that you have heard, Messenger of God?' He asked, '(You tell me) what talk it is I have heard!' 'Well, what have you heard, Messenger of God?' they asked.

"He then asked, 'Are you not content that others receive material goods while you go off with the Messenger of God, whom you have enter your homes?' They replied, 'We are content, Messenger of God.' And they were satisfied."

This is related thus by Muslim, from a *ḥadith* of Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān.

There are strange aspects to this. (For example) His statement that they were 6,000 at the battle with Hawāzin, whereas they were 12,000 strong. Also his statement that they besieged al-Ṭā'if for 40 days, whereas they did so for a month, or even less than 20 days. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting Hishām, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, who said that Anas b. Mālik stated to him, "Some of the *anṣār* began talking when God gave to His messenger the spoils from Hawāzin and he began awarding some men 100 camels. They were saying, 'May God forgive the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for giving to Quraysh but not us, even though our swords drip with their blood!'"

Anas b. Mālik went on, "What they were saying was reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he sent for the *anṣār* whom he gathered in a leather pavilion, allowing entry to no one else at the time. When they were assembled, the Prophet (ṢAAS) arose and said, 'What is this talk that has reached me?' The *anṣār* elders replied, 'Our leaders, Messenger of God, have said nothing. Some of our young men, however, have been saying, "God forgive the Messenger of God! He is giving to Quraysh but not to us, even though our swords drip with their blood."' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'I am giving to these men who were so recently polytheists in order to establish good will with them. Are you not

150. The Arabic text indicates a footnote relating to this woman; however there is no accompanying material in the footnote.

151. By giving to the Meccans and not to the *anṣār*.

content they go off with material things, while you take the Prophet to your homes? I swear by God, what you take home is far better than what they do.' They responded, 'We are content, Messenger of God.' He then told them, 'You will find others much advantaged. But be patient until you meet God and His messenger; for I will be there at the *al-ḥawḍ*,[152] the pool".'"

Anas concluded, "But they were not patient."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving it from this line.

Al-Bukhārī went on to relate, as did Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAwf, quoting Hishām b. Zayd, from his grandfather Anas b. Mālik, who said, "At the battle of Ḥunayn, Hawāzin attacked. With the Prophet (ṢAAS) there were 10,000 warriors, along with some Meccans who had joined them. They (the Muslims) drew back, and so he called out, '*Anṣār*!' And they responded, '*Labbayka, yā rasūl Allāhi, wa saʿdayk*! *Labbayka*! *Naḥnu bayna yadayk*!"[153] 'At your service, Messenger of God, and at your assistance! We are here before you!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then dismounted and said, 'I am the servant and Messenger of God!' After that the polytheists were defeated and he gave both to those who had joined at Mecca and to those who were *muhājirūn*; he gave nothing to the *anṣār*. They began talking and he summoned them to his pavilion. He asked them, 'Are you not content to have them take away sheep and camels, while you go back with the Messenger of God?' He went on, 'If the rest were to enter some valley, while the *anṣār* climbed up a mountain defile, I would take the path of the *anṣār*!'"

In another narration from al-Bukhārī on this subject, he (Anas b. Mālik) stated, "At the battle of Ḥunayn, Hawāzin, Ghaṭafān and others advanced, along with their livestock and families. With the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) there were 10,000 warriors and some men who had joined him at Mecca. They (the Muslims) withdrew, so that he was left alone. He made two calls to them, each call separate from the other. Turning to his right, he called, '*Anṣār*!' They responded, 'At your service, Messenger of God! Be content, we are with you!' At the time he was riding his white mule. He dismounted and said, 'I am the servant and Messenger of God!'

"The polytheists were defeated and he won much booty that day and he divided it between the *muhājirīn* and the Meccans who had joined the Muslims (after the conquest). However, he gave the *anṣār* nothing. The *anṣār* said, 'If difficulties arise, we are summoned, but the spoils are given to others!'

"When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he assembled them in a pavilion and asked them, '*Anṣār*, what is this report that has reached me?' They were silent and he asked, '*Anṣār*, are you not content that others have worldly goods while you go away with the Messenger of God, having him for yourselves in your own homes?' 'Yes,' they replied. Then he said, 'If the men

152. That sweet-water source in paradise where, at resurrection, the Prophet (ṢAAS) will meet his community.

153. Their response is both rhythmic and rhymed.

were to make their way through a valley and the *anṣār* were to take a route through a mountain defile, I would follow them.' Hishām asked, 'Abū Ḥamza' (i.e. Anas b. Mālik), 'did you actually witness that?' He replied, 'Where would I have been, away from him?'"

Al-Bukhārī then related it – as also did Muslim – from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assembled the *anṣār* and said, 'Quraysh were still recently in the *jāhiliyya* and have greatly suffered. I wanted to aid them and to establish goodwill with them. Are you not content for others to return with worldly goods, while you go to your homes with the Messenger of God?' 'Yes,' they agreed. He then said, 'If the men were to make their way into a valley while the *anṣār* followed a route into a mountain defile, I would follow the valley – or the defile – of the *anṣār*.'"

They also gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba, from Abū al-Tayyāḥ Yazīd b. Ḥamīd, from Anas in similar form. In that version they (the *anṣār*) had exclaimed, "By God, that's very strange! While our swords still drip with their blood, the spoils are divided up among them." He then addressed them in the words similar to those given above.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Affān related to us, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave from the spoils at Ḥunayn to Abū Sufyān, 'Uyayna, al-Aqra', Suhayl b. 'Amr and others. The *anṣār* then said, 'Our swords drip with their blood, yet they go off with the spoils!' News of this reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he assembled the *anṣār* in a pavilion of his until it was filled. He asked, 'Is there anyone here who is not of you?' They replied, 'No one except our cousin.' He commented, 'A cousin is of one's own people.' He then asked, 'Have you said such-and-such?' 'Yes,' they agreed. He observed, 'You are the *shi'ār*, "the under-garments", while the people are the *al-dithār*, "the outer-wear".[154] Are you content to have the others receive the sheep and camels while you take the Messenger of God to your homes?' 'Yes,' they agreed. He went on, 'The *anṣār* are my *karsh*, "my very insides", and *'aybatī*,[155] "my closest family". If the men were to take a path through a valley and the *anṣār* were to take a mountain defile, I would follow along the defile. Had it not been for the *hijra*, I would have been one of the *anṣār*.' Ḥammād said, 'He gave out 100 camels (to the foregoing persons). He then named each one of those.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this with this line of transmission. And the *ḥadīth* meets the criteria set by Muslim.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Ibn Abū 'Adī, from Ḥumayd, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "O *anṣār*, did I not come to you when you were lost and did not God then give you guidance through me?

154. *Al-shi'ār* refers to the clothing directly touching the body, while *al-dithār* is the clothing that covers the undergarments and does not contact the body. The comment is to emphasize the degree of closeness to the Prophet.

155. The translation of these two terms is conjectural.

Did I not come to you when you were scattered, and did not God unite you through me? Did I not come to you when you were enemies (to one another) and did not God then place goodwill in your hearts?" "Yes, Messenger of God," they agreed. He asked, "Do you not say, 'You came to us in fear and we made you secure, in flight and we gave you sanctuary, in failure and we gave you aid?'" They replied, "Indeed yes; God has credit for His favour to us and to His messenger."

The chain of authorities for this *ḥadīth* is tripartite and it meets the criteria established by the *ṣaḥīḥayn*, the two canonical collections.

This *ḥadīth* from Anas b. Mālik is tantamount to *mutawātir*.[156]

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Wahīb, quoting ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā, from ʿAbbād b. Tamīm, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. ʿĀṣim, who said, "When God gave booty to His messenger (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn, he made distributions to those recently reconciled (to Islam) but gave nothing to the *anṣār*. They seem to have been upset at not having received as had the others, and so he addressed them as follows, '*Anṣār*, did I not find you astray and did not then God guide you to me? Were you not divided, and did God not unite you through me? Were you not poor, and did God not unite you through me? Were you not poor, and did God not enrich you through me?' As he asked each of these, they replied, 'God and His messenger give many favours.'

"He went on, 'If you had wished, you could have said, "You came to us so-on-and-so-forth." Are you not content to have others go off with the sheep and camels, while you take the Messenger of God away to your homes? Had it not been for the *hijra* I would have been one of the *anṣār*. If the people were to take a path into a valley and a mountain defile, I would follow into the valley and defile taken by the *anṣār*. The *anṣār* are *shiʿār*, while the people are *dithār*.[157] After me you will notice others given preference; be patient until you meet me at *al-ḥawḍ*, the pool before paradise.'"

Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā al-Māzinī.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as saying, "It was related to me by ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, from Maḥmūd b. Labīd that Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had won the spoils at the battle of Ḥunayn and had divided these up as he did to those Meccans of goodwill and to others of the Arabs, but had given none of it whatsoever to the *anṣār*, the latter men were resentful. They said, "So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has met with his own!" Saʿd b. ʿUbāda went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, "O Messenger of God, this tribe of *anṣār* feel resentment towards you." "Why?" he asked. Saʿd explained, "Because you have been distributing booty to your own people and others but giving them, the *anṣār*, nothing." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "And where do you stand in that, Saʿd?" "Well", he replied,

156. That is, the information it contains is affirmed by so many trustworthy persons as to exclude doubt over its veracity.

157. See footnote p.485.

"I'm just one man of my own people." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Assemble your people for me in this enclosure and when they are gathered, let me know." Sa'd then left, called out to them and they assembled in that enclosure. One of the *muhājirīn* also came; he was allowed entry and went in. Others who came were sent away. Eventually all the *anṣār*, without exception, were gathered for him. Sa'd then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, "Messenger of God, this tribe of *anṣār* are now assembled where you told me to gather them."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went and stood among them to address them. He gave fitting praise and thanks to God and went on to say, "*Anṣār*, did I not come to you when you were astray, and did not God then guide you? (Were you not) poor and did God not enrich you? Were you not enemies and did not God create good will between you?" "Yes," they agreed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "Can you not give me response, O *anṣār*?" They replied, "What should we say, Messenger of God? How should we answer you? Our favours are due to God and to His messenger." He replied, "I swear by God, had you wished you could have said, 'You spoke the truth, again and again.' And 'You came to us an outcast and we sheltered you. You came in distress and we comforted you. You were fearful and we made you secure, failing and we gave you aid.'" They responded, "Our favours are due to God and to His messenger."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Do you find within you, O *anṣār*, a lust for those worldly things whereby I reconciled a people who had accepted Islam, while I entrusted you with that of Islam which God had allotted to you? Are you resentful, for the others to take sheep and camels to their homes, while you return with the Messenger of God to yours? I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, that if the people were to follow one mountain defile while the *anṣār* followed another, I would make my way through the defile of the *anṣār*. Had it not been for the *hijra*, I would have been a man of the *anṣār*. O God, have mercy on the *anṣār*, their children and their children's children!"

"'They wept at this until their beards were wet and said, "We are content with God as our Lord and His messenger as distributor."

"'He then left and they dispersed.'"

Imām Aḥmad related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Isḥāq. None of the compilers of the canonical collections gave it with this line of transmission. It is (to be considered) *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic".

Imām Aḥmad related it also from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, from al-Faḍl b. Marzūq, from 'Aṭīya b. Sa'd al-'Awfī, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī, who quoted one of the *anṣār* as having said, to his friends, "I swear, I told you, didn't I, that once things settled down, he would give preference to others over you?" They replied to him rudely and that reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then came to them and said some things the narrator said he did not recall. They replied, "Yes, Messenger of God." He told them, "You used not to ride horses" and every time he said something to them, they replied, "Yes, Messenger of God."

He then related the rest of the *ḥadīth* as above. Aḥmad was also alone in giving this.

Imām Aḥmad was also alone in relating it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sāliḥ, from Abū Saʿīd, in similar words. He related it as well from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Ibn Lahīʿa, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, in an abbreviated form.

Sufyān b. ʿUyayna stated, from ʿUmar b. Saʿīd b. Masrūq, from his father, from ʿIbāya b. Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj, from his grandfather Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to each of those whose goodwill he sought 100 camels from the spoils at Ḥunayn. He gave 100 to each of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ṣafwān b. Umayya, ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn, al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis, ʿAlqama b. ʿAlātha, and Mālik b. ʿAwf. To al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās he gave less than 100, less than to the others, and so he recited the verses,

"Would you divide my share and that of (my horse)
al-ʿUbayd between ʿUyayna and al-Aqraʿ?
(Their fathers) Ḥiṣn and Ḥābis were not above (my
father) Mirdās in the assembly.
I was not (considered) beneath either of them; and
whomever you demean today will never be raised.
I was fully active in the warfare, yet I was given
nothing, nor was I defended."

The account concludes, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then awarded him more camels to bring his share up to 100."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿUyayna in similar terms, and this is (also) the version given by al-Bayhaqī.

There is another version given by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and Ibn Isḥāq. That quoted al-ʿAbbās as reciting,

"Those were the spoils I gained by charging on my colt
into the plain
And by keeping the tribe alert so that they not doze;
and when they slept, I did not.
But my share and that of (my horse) al-ʿUbayd went to
ʿUyayna and al-Aqraʿ.
I was fully active in the warfare, yet I was given
nothing, nor was I defended,
Given only some weak camels, to the number of their
four legs!
(Their fathers) Ḥiṣn and Ḥābis were not above (my
father) Mirdās in the assembly
And I was not (considered) beneath either of them; and
whomever you put down today will never be raised."

ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba quoted al-Zuhrī as saying, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard these verses, he asked al-ʿAbbās, 'Are you the one who said, "But my share and that of al-ʿUbayd went to al-Aqraʿ and ʿUyayna?"'

"Abū Bakr observed, 'That's not what he said, Messenger of God. I swear by God, you were never a poet; that would not be fitting for you.'[158] 'Well, what were his words?' asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Bakr then recited the line (reversing the order of the names) and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Well, they're the same; it doesn't matter which you put first!'

"He then said, 'Cut out his tongue for me!' Some people feared that he meant for him (al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās) to be mutilated, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) only wanted payment made to him. And he added, 'And also a share for ʿUbayd, his horse!'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ related to him, quoting Usāma, from Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, "I was with the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was encamped at al-Jiʿrāna, between Mecca and al-Medina, Bilāl being there with him. A bedouin came up to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and demanded, 'Well, aren't you going to fulfil your promise to me?' '*Abshir*! Rejoice!' The bedouin insisted, 'You've told me that *abshir* too often already!'"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went over to Abū Mūsā and Bilāl, looking angry and said, "The *bushrā*, the rejoicing, has been given back; you two have it!" He then asked for a bowl of water in which he washed his hands and face. He then took a mouthful and spat it back in it, saying, "Now, you two drink it and pour the rest over your faces and necks and you two 'rejoice'." They took the bowl and did as he asked. Umm Salama called out from behind the curtain, "Keep some for your mother!" And they did leave some for her.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting Mālik, from Isḥāq b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "I was walking with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was wearing a mantle from Najrān that had a rough hem. A bedouin came up to him and pulled on the mantle so roughly that I saw that its hem had made a mark on his shoulder. The bedouin said, 'Order a payment to me from God's property you have!' He turned to him, laughed and then ordered that a payment be made to him."

Ibn Isḥāq recorded the names of those to each of whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) distributed 100 camels that day. These were: Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb; his son Muʾāwiya; Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām; al-Ḥārith b. Kalda, a brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Dār; ʿAlqama b. ʿAlātha; al-ʿAlāʾ b. Ḥāritha al-Thaqafī, ally of Banū Zuhra; al-Ḥārith b. Hishām; Jubayr b. Muṭʿim; Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī; Suhayl b.

158. C.f. *sūra Yāsīn*; XXXVI, v.69; "And We have not taught him poetry; that would not be fitting for him."

ʿAmr; Ḥuwaytib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā; ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn; Safwān b. Umayya; al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī, that one of his companions asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "Messenger of God, since you gave 100 camels to each of ʿUyayna and al-Aqraʿ, why did you not do so to Juʿayl b. Surāqa al-Ḍamrī?" He replied, "By Him who holds the soul of Muḥammad in his hand, Juʿayl is better than the very best of all those on earth who are like ʿUyayna and al-Aqraʿ! But I wanted to establish goodwill with them for them to accept Islam; I placed the trust of Juʿayl b. Surāqa in his Islam."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to mention those to whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) distributed less than 100 camels. It would be too lengthy to relate these.

In the authentic *ḥadith* of Ṣafwān b. Umayya, he is quoted as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kept on making distributions to me from the spoils of Ḥunayn; he was previously the most hated person to me, but he gave until he became, for me, the most loved thing that God had created."

An Account of the arrival of Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke with a delegation from Hawāzin and asked them what had happened to Mālik b. ʿAwf. They replied that he was in al-Ṭāʾif with Banū Thaqīf. He told them, "Inform him that if he comes to me as a Muslim, I will return to him his people and their belongings and will award him 100 camels."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When Mālik heard this, he slipped away from Thaqīf and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Jiʿrānā – or in Mecca – accepted Islam and became a good Muslim. He then restored to Mālik both his people and their belongings. When he also gave him 100 camels, Mālik b. ʿAwf, may God be pleased with him, spoke the following verses,

> 'Never have I seen nor heard of the like of Muḥammad
> among all mankind.
> He gives in good faith and generously when requested
> and if you wish he will foretell what is to come.
> When the squadron goes into action with its lances and
> strikes hard with its Indian-steel swords
> He is like a lion crouching over its cubs within its
> den.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed him in command over those of his people who had accepted Islam, those tribes being Thumāla, Salima and Fahm. He (Mālik) had those do battle against Thaqīf; whenever they brought their flocks out, he would attack, thus causing them great difficulty."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl related to him quoting Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, quoting al-Ḥasan, who stated that ʿAmr b. Thaʿlab related to him as follows, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made distribution to some and did not to others. It seems that some complained to him and he responded, 'I give to those people I fear will be impatient and resentful; and to those who are self-sufficient and whose goodness is inspired in them by God, I give not. Of them is ʿAmr b. Taghlib.'

"'Amr went on, 'I would rather have such words about me said by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than have the most choice animals of the herd!'"

Abū ʿĀṣim added to this, quoting Jarīr as saying, "I heard al-Ḥasan quote ʿAmr b. Taghlib as saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then brought property – or captives – and distributed it in this way."

In an account from al-Bukhārī he is quoted as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) brought some property – or something – and gave to some men but not to others. It reached him that those who had been left out were complaining and so he made an address to them. He gave praise and thanks to God, then said, 'And further ...'" He then related it as above.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Ibn Hishām quoted Ḥassān b. Thābit as having recited these verses about the *anṣār* having been delayed in receiving distributions from the spoils:

"Sadness grew and water from the eyes fell copiously,
teardrops streaming,
In pain for Shammā' who is young and slender, blameless
and healthy.
But forget Shammā', for her passion has faded; and bad
it is to meet a love now past.
Go to the Messenger and say, 'O most trustworthy of all
men for Believers, if all men be counted,
Why were Sulaym called, though they are to leave, in
preference to those who gave refuge and aid?
God named them *anṣār* for their *naṣr*, "aid", to the true
faith, while warfare dragged on.
They sped to God's cause, exposing themselves to
dangers, never betraying nor complaining.
When people banded against us over you, and our sole
defence was our swords and spear points
We battled them and spared none, ignoring nothing that
the *sūras* revealed.
Those loving war do not dislike meeting us; when its
fire flares, we kindle it even more!
As when we repelled at Badr, before they achieved their
goal, those hypocrites, victory alighting upon us.
We were your troops at the battle on the slopes of Uḥud
when Muḍar insolently assembled their clans.

We were not slow or ineffectual; they found we did not stumble, as did all the rest!'"

An Account of the dissatisfaction of some who were ignorant, divisive and hypocritical towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) concerning the just distributions he made by agreement.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qabīṣa related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Wāʾil, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) divided up the spoils of Ḥunayn, one of the *anṣār* said, 'By doing this, he was not seeking to serve God!' I then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and informed him of this. His face darkened and he exclaimed, 'May God have mercy on Moses! He was made to suffer even more than this but remained patient!'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Qutayba b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting Jarīr, from Manṣūr, from Abū Wāʾil, who quoted ʿAbd Allāh as saying, "At Ḥunayn the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave preferable treatment to some persons. He gave 100 camels to each of al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis and ʿUyayna and also made distributions to others. One man said, 'By this division, service to God was not intended!' I said, 'Well, I'm going to report this to the Messenger of God.'

"He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) exclaimed, 'May God have mercy on Moses; he was made to suffer even more than this but remained patient!'"

He also related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Manṣūr, from al-Muʿtamir.

In one account given by al-Bukhārī, the wording is, "By God, this is a distribution that is devoid of justice; service to God was not intended." So I said, "I will *inform* the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of this!" When I went to him and told him, he exclaimed, "And who will ever be just, if it not be God and His messenger! May God have mercy on Moses; he was made to suffer even more than this but remained patient!"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that it was related to him by Abū ʿUbayda b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, from Miqsam Abū al-Qāsim, the freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, who said, "I and Talīd b. Kilāb al-Laythī came to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-Āṣ while he was circumambulating the *kaʿba*, his sandals hanging from his hand. We asked him, 'Were you present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when the man from Banū Tamīm spoke to him at the battle of Ḥunayn?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'A man of Banū Tamīm named Dhū al-Khuwaysira came and stood nearby while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was distributing the spoils. Dhū al-Khuwayṣira told him, "Muḥammad, I have been watching what you have been doing today." "Yes", asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "and what have you thought?" "I do not think you have been acting justly." The Prophet (ṢAAS) was very angry and said, "Confound you! If justice is not to be found with me, then with whom is it!"'

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then asked, 'Should we not kill him?' He replied, 'No; leave him alone. He shall lead a faction who will go deeply into the faith and emerge as an arrow does from its target. When its head is examined, nothing will be seen upon it. Also, its shaft and its notch will have nothing upon them. It will have outstripped the insides and the blood.'"[159]

Al-Layth b. Saʿd quoted from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Abū al-Zubayr, who quoted Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh as saying, "A man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Jiʿrāna while he was making distributions from the spoils of Ḥunayn. There was silver in Bilāl's cloak which he was taking and handing to people. The man said, 'Muḥammad, be just!' He responded, 'Confound you, who will be just if not me? Otherwise I would have disappointed and failed.' ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked, 'Will you permit me, Messenger of God, to kill this hypocrite?' He replied, 'God forbid that people say of me that I kill my men! (When) this fellow and his friends recite the Qurʾān, it doesn't emerge out of their throats; they have it pass straight on through, like an arrow exiting its target!'"

Muslim related this from Muḥammad b. Rumḥ, from al-Layth.

Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Abū ʿĀmir, quoting Qurra, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from Jābir, who said, "While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was distributing the spoils of Ḥumayn, a man went up to him and said, 'Do be just!' He responded, 'I will be made to suffer if I am not just!'"

Al-Bukhārī related this from Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, from Qurra b. Khālid al-Sadūsī.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, it is related from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from Abū Salama, from Abū Saʿīd, who said, "While we were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he was making distributions of the spoils, Dhū al-Khuwayṣir, a man of Banū Tamīm, came over to him and said, 'Messenger of God, be just!' He responded, 'Confound you, who would be just if I were not? Then I would have disappointed and failed. If I were not just, who would be?' ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked, 'Messenger of God, will you give me permission to behead him?' 'Leave him alone,' he replied. 'He has friends. One of you would feel contempt for his prayer and their prayer, his fasting and their fasting. They recite the Qurʾān, but their incantations do not come forth. They slip on through Islam as an arrow slips on through a target. If you examine its head, you'll see nothing on it; then its head binding, you'll see nothing; then its shaft, and you'll see nothing; then its feathers, you'll see nothing. It will have outstripped the insides and the blood. Their sign is that they will have among them a black man, one of whose upper arms reminds you of a woman's breasts, or like a piece of fat meat vibrating; they will appear at a time when people are disunited.'

159. This *ḥadīth* suggests foreknowledge on the part of the Prophet (ṢAAS) concerning the schism in Islam resulting from the activities of the *khawārij* of later years. The text of this *ḥadīth* twice employs the word *kharaja*, to go out or secede, from which the name of the movement is derived.

"Abū Saʿīd stated, 'I testify that I heard this from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I also testify that ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib fought them while I was present. He gave orders and that man was searched out and brought. I saw him to be as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had described him.'"

Muslim also related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Saʿīd in similar words.

An Account of the arrival of the foster-sister of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was at al-Jiʿrāna; her name was al-Shaymāʾ.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that a man of Banū Saʿd related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at the battle with Hawāzin, "If you capture Nijād – a man of Banū Saʿd b. Bakr – don't let him escape you." (He had done something serious.) "When the Muslims took him, they led him and his family away. With him they took al-Shaymāʾ, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, the foster-sister of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"They treated her roughly as they took her away and she said to the Muslims, 'You should know, I swear by God, that I am the foster-sister of your leader.' They did not believe her until they brought her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Yazīd b. ʿUbayd al-Saʿdī – he being Abū Wajzā – said, 'When she was brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) she said, "Messenger of God, I am your foster-sister." "How can you prove that?" he asked. She replied, "There is the mark of the bite you gave me on my back when I carried you on my hip." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recognized the mark and spread out his cloak for her, sat her down on it and treated her well. He told her, "If you wish, you may live with me in honour and affection. If you wish for me to provide for you and to let you return to your people, I will do so." She replied, "Yes, do provide for me and return me to my people." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave her presents and returned her to her people. Banū Saʿd claim that he gave her a slave called Makhūl and a slave-girl, that she married them to one another and that descendants of that union still survive.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related from a *ḥadīth* of al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbd al-Malik, from Qatāda, who said, "On the day of the conquest of Hawāzin, a slave-girl came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Messenger of God, I am your sister! I am Shaymāʾ, daughter of al-Ḥārith.' He asked her, 'If you are telling the truth, then you have a mark I made that would not wear away.' She then exposed her upper arm and said, 'Yes, Messenger of God. When you were small, you gave me this bite.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spread out his cloak for her and said, 'Ask and it will be given; intercede for someone and you will be interceded for.'"

Al-Bayhaqī also stated that he was informed by Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda, quoting ʿAmr b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Sulamī, quoting Muslim, quoting Abū ʿĀṣim, quoting

Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā b. Thawbān, who said, "My uncle ʿUmāra b. Thawbān informed me that Abū al-Ṭufayl told him, 'I was a slave who used to care for the camel hides, and I witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) distributing the camels at al-Jiʿrāna.

"'A woman came up to him and he spread out his cloak for her. I asked who she was and they told me she was his foster-mother.'"

This is a strange *ḥadīth*; perhaps he meant his foster-sister, who was nursed together with him by her mother, Ḥalīma al-Saʿdiyya. If this tradition, as given above, is correct, Ḥalīma would have been very old; the time elapsed between her having suckled the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (and their being at) al-Jiʿrāna was over 60 years. The youngest she could have been when she suckled him was 30 years of age. Moreover, God knows best how long she lived after that.

A *ḥadīth mursal* exists which relates that both his foster-parents came up to him. But God knows best how true this is.

Abū Dā'ūd stated in *al-Marāsīl* that Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Hamdānī related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, (who said that) ʿUmar b. al-Sā'ib related to him that he was informed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was one day seated when his foster-father came up to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spread out part of his cloak for him and he sat upon it. Then his mother came and he laid out another part of his cloak, on his other side, for her to sit upon. His foster-brother next arrived and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and sat him down before him.

It is explained above that all Hawāzin are connected to him due to his having been suckled by Banū Saʿd b. Bakr, who are a clan of Hawāzin. Their spokesman, Zuhayr b. Ṣurad, stated, "O Messenger of God, those in the enclosures for the captives are nothing but your own maternal aunts and nursemaids, so be kind to us, may God be kind to you." He then recited, in part,

> "Be kind to womenfolk from whom you suckled, your
> mouth filled with pearl-like drops of their pure milk.
> Be kind to women from whom you suckled, for them your
> actions will adorn you and not be wasted"

This, then, was the reason why Bakra's father was set free; by so doing, he restored to them all their previous and present rights and privileges, as individuals and as a group.

Al-Wāqidī related from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl, from his father, who said, "Al-Naḍīr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada was one of the most handsome of men. He used to say, 'Praise be to God who was kind enough to award us Islam and Muḥammad (ṢAAS). And we will not die with the same (belief system) of our fathers, and that in which our brothers and cousins were killed.'"

He then went on to relate his enmity for the Prophet (ṢAAS) and the fact that he went out with his people of Quraysh to Ḥunayn still believing in their old faith. He said, "If there were to be a defeat for Muḥammad, we were prepared

to attack him. But we were not able to accomplish that. When he was at al-Jiʿrāna, I was still unchanged. Then I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'Is that Naḍīr?' '*Labbayk*! 'At your service,' I replied. He asked, 'Would you now like something better than what God prevented you from achieving at Ḥunayn?' I went quickly over to him and he said, 'It is now time for you to recognize how wrong you were.' I said, 'I realize that had there been any other (god) than God, he would have helped. I testify that there is no god but God alone and without associate!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'O God, make him ever more firm!' Al-Naḍīr then said, 'By Him who sent him with the truth, it was as though my heart was as firm as a rock in the faith and in enlightenment into the truth.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Praise be to God Who gave him guidance!'"

THE ʿUMRA OF AL-JIʿRĀNA IN DHŪ AL-QAʿDA.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Bahz and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Maʿnī both quoted Ḥammām b. Yaḥyā as having quoted Qatāda as saying, "I asked Anas b. Mālik the following, 'How many pilgrimages did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make?' 'One full *ḥijja* and four lesser *ʿumra* pilgrimages. There was one *ʿumra* at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya truce, another in Dhū al-Qaʿda from Medina, another in Dhū al-Qaʿda from al-Jiʿrāna, where he distributed the spoils of Ḥunayn, and then the *ʿūmra* he performed when he also performed the full *ḥijja* pilgrimage.'"

Al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāʾūd and al-Tirmidhī all related this with various lines of transmission, from Ḥammām b. Yaḥyā. Al-Tirmidhī characterized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Abū al-Naḍr, quoting Dāʾūd – meaning al-ʿAṭṭār – from ʿAmr, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* four times: that of al-Ḥudaybiyya, the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*, the third from al-Jiʿrāna, and the fourth at the time of his full *ḥijja*."

Abū Dāʾūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah related this from a *ḥadīth* of Dāʾūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭṭār al-Makkī, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār. He considered it *ḥasan*, "good", as did al-Tirmidhī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Zāʾida, quoting Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt, from ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed three *ʿumra*. All were in Dhū al-Qaʿda. He would (continue to) make the call *Labbayka*! until he saluted the (Black) Stone."

This tradition is *gharīb*, "unilateral", from this source.

These are the three *ʿumra* that occurred during Dhū al-Qaʿda; these are apart from the one that coincided with his full *ḥijja*, which took place in Dhu al-Ḥijja. If this source suggests the commencement of his *Iḥrām*, state of ritual consecration, through them in Dhū al-Qaʿda, it could be because he did not include that of

al-Ḥudaybiyya, since he was blocked from it and did not actually accomplish it. But God knows best.

I observe that Nāfiʿ and his master Ibn ʿUmar denied that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fully accomplished the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna. This is according to the account given by al-Bukhārī. He stated that it was related to him by Abū al-Nuʿmān, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who quoted ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as having asked, "Messenger of God, (what should I do about) the vow I made before the coming of Islam to spend a day in *iʿtikāf*, prayer in seclusion?" He ordered him to fulfil the vow.

(The narrator went on) "ʿUmar received two slave girls from the captives taken at Ḥunayn and he accommodated them in a house in Mecca. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) released the Ḥunayn captives and they began to run in the streets. ʿUmar asked (his son), 'ʿAbd Allāh, what's this you see happening?' He replied, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has released the captives.' ʿUmar then said, 'Go and send the two slave-girls away.'"

Nāfiʿ went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not make the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna. Had he done so, this fact would not have been unknown to ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿUmar)."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ayyūb al-Sukhtiyānī, from Nāfiʿ, from (ʿAbd Allāh) Ibn ʿUmar.

Muslim also related it from Aḥmad b. ʿAbda al-Ḍabbī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Nāfiʿ, who said, "Reference was made in the presence of (ʿAbd Allāh) Ibn ʿUmar to the *ʿumra* made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-Jiʿrāna. Ibn ʿUmar commented, 'He did not make an *ʿumra* from there.'"

This is very *gharīb*, strange, to be reported of Ibn ʿUmar by his freed-man Nāfiʿ, both of them thereby denying his having made an *ʿumra* from there. The transmitters of *aḥādīth* other than them do maintain that he did so, as is shown by reports given from them in the mass of authoritative collections of *ahādīth* of all kinds, including the military chronicles.

This is also established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections in a *ḥadīth* of ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Rabāḥ from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, who contradicted Ibn ʿUmar's statement that "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* in Rajab." She stated, "May God forgive ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's father! (ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, that is.) The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never performed the *ʿumra* other than in his presence, and he never did so in Rajab."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ibn Numayr related to him, quoting al-Aʿmash, from Mujāhid, who said, "ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr asked Ibn ʿUmar in what month the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra*. He replied, 'In Rajab.' ʿĀʾisha was listening to us. Ibn al-Zubayr referred to what Ibn ʿUmar had said and asked her to comment. She replied, 'May God have mercy on Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never made an *ʿumra* that Ibn ʿUmar did not witness, and he never made any *ʿumra* that was not in Dhū al-Qaʿda.'"

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim quoted this from a *ḥadīth* of Jarīr, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, in similar terms.

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī also related this from a *ḥadīth* of Zuhayr, from Abū Isḥāq, from Mujāhid, to the effect that Ibn ʿUmar was asked how many times the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made the *ʿumra*. He replied that he had done so twice. ʿĀʾisha then commented, "Ibn ʿUmar knows well that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made the *ʿumra* three times, apart from the one he combined with the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, the 'farewell pilgrimage'."

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yaḥyā b. Ādam, quoting Mufaḍḍal, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, who said, "I went inside the mosque with ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and there we saw Ibn ʿUmar leaning against ʿĀʾisha's compartment while people there were performing the *al-ḍuḥā* prayer. ʿUrwa asked him, 'Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, what is this prayer?' 'It is a *bidʿa*,[160] "an innovation",' he replied. ʿUrwa asked, 'Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, how many times did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) perform the *ʿumra*?' He replied, 'Four times; one of them was during Rajab.' We then heard ʿĀʾisha picking her teeth inside her compartment. ʿUrwa asked her, '(Is it then as) Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān says, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* four times, one of which was in Rajab?' She replied, 'May God have mercy on Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān! The Prophet (ṢAAS) never performed the *ʿumra* without him being present, and he never did so in Rajab.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus from Aḥmad b. Munīʿ, from al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā, from Shaybān, from Manṣūr. He categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ gharīb*, "good, authentic, (yet) unilateral".

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Rawḥ, quoting Ibn Jurayj, who stated that he was informed by Muzāḥim b. Abū Muzāḥim, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Mukharrish al-Kaʿbī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left al-Jiʿrāna one evening to make the *ʿumra*, entered Mecca and did so, then travelled that same night back to al-Jiʿrāna, being back there by morning, as if he had spent the night there. After sunset that day, he left from al-Jiʿrāna along the Sarif valley, joining the route to Medina there in Sarif. Mukharrish concluded, "That is why his *ʿumra* remained unknown to many people."

Imām Aḥmad related this similarly from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Ibn Jurayj; this *ḥadīth* is one of those that only the latter gave.

The significance of this is that (the fact of) the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna is well established from authentic sources that cannot be refuted or denied. Those who deny this can have no argument to compare with those who affirm it. But God knows best.

160. While later this word became associated with heretical dissent and unacceptable change from established precedent, its use here, and Ibn ʿUmar's presence along with ʿĀʾisha at the prayer, seem to provide an example of a more favourable connotation implying a praiseworthy new practice.

They are, moreover, essentially unanimous that it took place in Dhū al-Qaʿda after the attack upon al-Ṭā'if and the division of the spoils of Ḥunayn.

The treatment of this by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī in his great compendium is as follows, "Al-Ḥasan b. Isḥāq al-Tusturī related to us, quoting ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Asadī, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Ṭaḥmān, from Abū al-Zubayr, from ʿUmayr, the freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from al-Ṭā'if, he made camp at al-Jiʿrāna where he distributed the spoils. He then made the *ʿumra* pilgrimage from there, two days before the end of Shawwāl.'"

This is very *gharib*, strange; its chain of authorities is controversial. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Ismāʿīl, quoting Ibn Jurayj, who said that ʿAṭā' informed him that Ṣafwān b. Yaʿlā b. Umayya told him that Yaʿlā used to say, "I wish I could see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he is receiving divine revelation. While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at al-Jiʿrāna being sheltered from the sun by a cloth, along with some of his Companions came a bedouin wearing a cloak and heavily perfumed. He approached him and asked, ('Messenger of God, what is your view of a man who adopts the state of *iḥrām* for the *ʿumra* and puts on a cloak, after having applied perfume to himself?')[161] ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then signalled to Yaʿlā to approach. When Yaʿla did so and placed his head inside (beneath the sunshade) he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to be very red in the face.[162] He was immersed in this (divine revelation) for some time and then he was relieved of it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'Where is that person who earlier asked me about the *ʿumra*?' The bedouin was searched out and brought and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Regarding the perfume you have on, wash it off three times. Also remove your cloak. Behave on the *ʿumra* just as you would on the *hajj*.'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadith* of Ibn Jurayj. They (also) gave it from another route, from ʿAṭā', both attributing it to Ṣafwān b. Yaʿlā b. Umayya.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Usāma related to him quoting Hishām, from his father, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in at the time of the conquest from Kudā, from the heights of Mecca. And he also came in for the *ʿumra* from Kudā."

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Mūsā Abū Salama related to him, from Ḥammād, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions performed the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna. They jogged around the *kaʿba* three times, then walked around for four times. They tucked one end of their cloaks beneath their armpits, then tossed them over their left shoulders.

161. This sentence, necessary for the sequence of the narrative, is given in al-Bukhārī's text but omitted from the edited printed version of Ibn Kathīr's work.

162. That is, while receiving divine revelation.

Abū Dāʾūd is alone in giving this. Ibn Mājah also related it, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Khuthaym, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn ʿAbbās, but in abbreviated form.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Ibn Jurayj, who said that al-Ḥasan b. Muslim related to him, from Ṭāwus, that Ibn ʿAbbās informed him that Muʾāwiya told him, "I missed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with an arrow head." Or else the words he spoke were, "I saw him missed by an iron arrowhead (shot at him) at al-Marwa."

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj. Muslim also related it, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Hishām b. Ḥujayr, from Ṭāwus, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Muʾāwiya.

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī also related it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from Ibn Ṭāwus, from his father.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAmr b. Muḥammad al-Nāqid, quoting Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī, quoting Sufyān, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Muʾāwiya, who said, "I missed (the arrow I fired at the) head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Marwa."

What is implied above is that it is inferred that this was at the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna.

This is because on the *ʿumra* at al-Ḥudaybiyya, he did not enter Mecca but was prevented from so doing, as has been explained heretofore. Regarding the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*, Abū Sufyān had not yet accepted Islam and none of the Meccans remained there when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered it, having preferred to leave for that three-day period of his stay. As for the *ʿumra* that was performed in conjunction with his *ḥajj*; it is unanimously accepted that he did not free himself thereof. And so it is obvious that the mistake committed by Muʾāwiya, son of Abū Sufyān, may God be pleased with them both, when he shot close to the head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Marwa, could only have occurred during the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna, as we have stated. But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, may God have mercy upon him, stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left al-Jiʿrāna to perform the *ʿumra* and gave orders that the battle spoils be kept at Majanna, near Marr al-Ẓahrān."

I observe that it is clear that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had retained some of the spoils to employ it to gain goodwill with those bedouin he might meet between Mecca and Medina.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed this *ʿumra* he headed back to Medina, leaving ʿAttāb b. Asīd as his deputy over Mecca. He also left with him Muʿādh b. Jabal to instruct the people in the faith and to teach them the Qurʾān."

ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba relate that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had left Muʿādh and ʿAttāb as his deputies in Mecca before he had gone out to battle Hawāzin, and then reappointed them when he returned to Medina.

Ibn Hishām stated that he was informed that Zayd b. Aslam stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed 'Attāb b. Asīd in charge of Mecca, he awarded him payment of one dirham per day. 'Attāb arose and gave the following address, 'May God make hungry indeed the liver of one who still hungers on a dirham! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has awarded me one dirham every day; I have need of no one!'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The *'umra* of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took place in Dhū al-Qa'da and he arrived in Medina at the end of that month or early in Dhū al-Ḥijja."

Ibn Hishām stated that he arrived there six days before the end of Dhū al-Qa'da, according to Abū 'Amr al-Madīnī.

"That year the people performed the *ḥajj* in the same manner as the Arabs had previously. That year, 8 AH, 'Attāb b. Asīd performed the *ḥajj* along with the Muslims.

"The people of al-Ṭā'if continued their polytheism and their abstention (from Islam) in their own city for the period between Dhū al-Qa'da and Ramaḍān of 9 AH."

THE ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAM BY KA'B B. ZUHAYR B. ABŪ SULMĀ.

His father, a poet and son of a poet, was an author of one of the Seven *Mu'allaqāt*[163] odes. His *qaṣīda*, his ode, known by its opening words, *Bānat Su'ād* ..., "Su'ād has moved away", was heard by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned (to Medina) after his departure from al-Ṭā'if, Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā wrote to his full brother Ka'b b. Zuhayr to inform him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had executed at Mecca some of the men who had satirized and harmed him with their poetry. He also told him how the remaining Quraysh poets – Ibn al-Ziba'rā and Hubayra b. Abū Wahb – had fled in disarray. He advised him, 'If you value your life, then hurry to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for he does not execute anyone who comes to him in repentance. If you do not do this, then flee far away.' Ka'b had previously spoken the lines,

'Transmit to Bujayr a message from me: "Confound you
for what you said!
Can you explain to us, since you have not yet, for what
other reason did he lead you
To a religion which I find none of his ancestors
followed, nor you find yours to have done.
If you do not accept it, I'll not be sorry nor merely
say, if you stumble, 'Good luck!'

163. See pages 83–86, Vol. I above.

"Al-Maʾmūn"[164] *has given you to drink by it a full cup;*
and after the first, 'al-Maʾmūn' has also given you a
second drink."'"

Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar in the poetry also quoted to him the following verses,

"Who will deliver a message from me to Bujayr: 'Do you
agree with what I told you at the mountain slope?
You have drunk a full cup with "al-Maʾmūn", and after
the first draught he also gave you a second.
You abandoned good guidance by following him; to what
is it, damned that you are, that he has led you?
Into a religion you'll find no man nor woman ever
served, nor any brother of yours.
If you do not do as I say, I'll not be sad; though I'm
not one merely to say, "Good luck!" if you stumble.'"

He dispatched this to Bujayr who was reluctant to keep it from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and finally recited it to him. When he heard the words, *saqā bihā al-Maʾmūn*, "al-Maʾmūn has given you to drink" he commented, "He speaks the truth here, terrible liar though he is. I am the 'al-Maʾmūn', the 'trustworthy one'." When he heard the words, "Into a religion you'll find no man nor woman ever served" he commented, "That's right; you'll not find his father or mother in it."

(Ibn Isḥāq narrated) "Bujayr then wrote back to Kaʿb the following verses,

'Who will inform Kaʿb, "Would you blame me for serving
something foolish when it is very serious?
It is to God, alone, not to al-ʿUzzā or to al-Lāt you
should flee, while flight and safety are still
possible,
At a time when none shall slip away and escape except
those who are Muslim, pure of heart.
For the religion of Zuhayr is nothing, and that of Abū
Sulmā is forbidden to me."'

(Ibn Ishāq went on) "When this message reached Kaʿb, he was very apprehensive and those about him who were his enemies spread false rumours about him, saying, 'He's as good as dead!'

"When he could see no alternative, he recited his ode praising the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). In it he referred to his fear and to the slander being spread by his enemies. He then left and went to Medina and stayed with a man he knew of Juhayna, so I have been told. That man took him next morning to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as he was performing the morning prayer and prayed with him. The man of Juhayna then pointed out to him the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, 'That is he. Go over to him and ask him for your safety.'

164. "The trustworthy", the Prophet (ṢAAS), that is.

"I have been told that Ka'b did approach the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), sat down beside him and placed his own hand in his. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not know who he was. Ka'b then said, 'Messenger of God, Ka'b b. Zuhayr has come to ask you to guarantee his safety as a Muslim who is repentant. Would you accept this from him if he were to approach you with this request?' 'Yes, I would,' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him. 'Then,' said Ka'b, 'I am Ka'b b. Zuhayr!'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me that one of the *anṣār* then jumped on him, saying, 'Messenger of God, let me execute the enemy of God!' He replied, 'Leave him alone! He has come expressing regret and repentance.'

"Ka'b b. Zuhayr was enraged at the *anṣār* for how one of them had treated him; this was because none of the *muhājirūn* spoke anything but good about him. In the ode that he delivered when he came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said,

'Su'ād has gone away and my heart is sad, enslaved to
her, unransomable, and chain-bound;
And Su'ād, the day of departure, when they left, was
like a gazelle, her eyes down-cast and black-rimmed
Slender as she approaches, full of rear when she turns
her back; she could not be faulted for being short or
tall.
When she smiles, she reveals gleaming teeth, sweet as
though bathed repeatedly in fine wine,
Wine mixed with ice-cold water from a pure pool on a
valley bend cooled by a north wind,
All dirt kept from it by the breeze, its sides brimming
over with white torrents stemming from a morning rain-cloud.
What a friend she would be if only she kept her
promise, or would accept advice!
But she is a friend whose blood is a mix of lust and
desire with deceit and changeability.
She never stays in one state but resembles a genie,
ever-changing its guise.
She only keeps promises made to the degree that a sieve
can hold water!
Be not deceived by her kindness and promises; one's
hopes and expectations can lead astray.
The false promises of al-'Urqub are her model and her
vows are mere foolishness.
How I hope and long for her intimate love; yet I think
women are never prepared for this.
Su'ād is in some land so far off that only fine, swift,
full-bloodied camels could reach,

Where only a big, strong she-camel, swift and sure-footed, though tired, could attain her,

A camel whose ear-bone would stream with sweat, heading into unknown featureless wastes.

She scans into the distance with the eyes of a lone white bull in broiling rocky terrain

Stout her neck, full-fleshed her ankles, superior to all others of the stallion's foals.

Strong her brother, her father from high-bred stock, her uncles all swift and strong-necked.

When insects walk upon her, she shakes them off her smooth chest and sides.

(Like a) wild ass with heavy flesh on her flanks, her knee-joints set well away from her ribs

Her nostrils prominent; breeding is evident in her ears, her cheeks smooth.

Her muzzle, jutting out past her eyes and neck and jawbones, prominent like axe heads.

(Her tail) hanging down like a leafless palm frond with hairy tufts over her udder, its teats unsucked.

Though merely playing, she flies on light, spear-like feet that brush lightly on the ground.

On a hot day when the chamelion leaves a part of him exposed to bake it in the sun,

A day when the guide tells his group to siesta, as the ash-coloured locusts move over the pebbles,

Like the hand-clapping of a grey-haired woman rising in mourning, while other childless women respond.

One wails, her muscles limp, senseless at the news of her first-born's death when the mourners report it.

She tears at her breasts, her dress torn in shreds from her shoulders.

Fools surround my mount, saying, "You're as good as dead, Ibn Abū Sulmā!"

While every trusted friend responded, "I can't help you – just too busy!"

"Then out of my way, confound you", I told them, "for whatever the Most Merciful decrees is done!"

And everyone born to woman, even if safe for long, is one day borne upon his funeral bier.

I was told that the Messenger of God threatened me, yet one hopes for forgiveness from the Messenger of God.

Go easy – may He guide you Who gave you that gift of the Qurʾān in which there are exhortations and explanations.

Do not punish me for slanderers' reports, for I have not sinned, despite all the rumours.
Standing where I am, I see and hear what would, if he stood and so heard, make an elephant
Tremble, unless there came to him from the Messenger, with God's permission, some pardon.
(I will travel) until I place my right hand, never to withdraw it, in that of him who takes revenge, he whose word is final.
I am more afraid to speak with him – though people call me of fine lineage and responsible –
Than with a lion in the jungle in the lowlands of 'Aththār, deep within its thickets,
That each morning feeds two cubs, their meat human flesh thrown down and ripped apart.
When he falls on his prey, he cannot conceive of leaving it any other way but prostrate.
From him the wild asses flee in terror, and no men may walk in his valley.
But in his vale there is man of trust, already eaten, his weapons stained, in rags.
The Messenger is a light-giving illumination, an unsheathed sword of God, of fine Indian steel
Amidst a band of Quraysh whose spokesman said in Mecca's valley, when they accepted Islam – "Go away!"
They left, but not from cowardice in battle, nor without shields or weapons.
They walk like proud camels, striking out in defence when the short, black men take flight,
Proud chiefs, dressed for battle in chain-mail made by Dā'ūd,
Shining and full, its rings joined together like those of the *qafʿā'* plant.
They do not exult if their lances strike home, nor are they despairing if themselves struck.
Enemy thrusts only ever strike their throats, and they are not afraid of the pools of death.'"

Ibn Hishām stated that in quoting the poem as above Muḥammad b. Isḥāq gave no chain of transmission.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave its text in his *Dalā'il al-Nubūwwa* with a complete chain of transmission. He stated, "Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, quoting Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Asadī Bahmadhān, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥazāmī, quoting al-Ḥajjāj b. Dhū al-Ruqayba b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka'b b. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, 'Ka'b and Bujayr,

both sons of Zuhayr, travelled out as far as Abraq al-ʿAzzāf. There Bujayr told Kaʿb, "Stay here until I go to this man" – meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) – "and hear what he says." Kaʿb did remain there, while Bujayr went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who offered Islam to him and he accepted it. When news of this reached Kaʿb, he spoke the following,

"Send from me a message to Bujayr: 'To what – confound
the rest – is it he is leading you?
To a faith you'll find no one – mother, father or
brother of yours – ever belonged.
Abū Bakr poured out a full cup of it for you, while al-Maʾmūn
refilled it again and again.'"

"'When these verses reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he made permissible the execution of Kaʿb, he said, 'Whoever encounters Kaʿb should kill him!'

"'Bujayr wrote to his brother telling him this and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had authorized his execution. He told him to escape while he could. Thereafter he again wrote him saying, "You should know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepts when anyone comes and makes an affirmation of his faith in Islam and considers the past over and done with. If this note of mine reaches you, do come and accept Islam."'"

The quoted source went on, "And so Kaʿb did accept Islam and composed his ode praising the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He came and made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and entered it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there with his Companions, like a food-table, with ring after ring of people seated around it, looking first towards one group and talking with them, next to another and talking with them."

Kaʿb stated, "So I made my mount kneel at the mosque door. I recognized the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from his description and went and sat down near him. I then affirmed my acceptance of Islam, saying, 'I bear witness that there is no god but God and that you are Muḥammad, the Messenger of God. Safety, Messenger of God!' 'And who are you?' he asked. 'Kaʿb b. Zuhayr,' I replied. 'That fellow who recited ...?' asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then turned and asked, 'What was it he recited, Abū Bakr?' Abū Bakr then recited,

'Al-Maʾmūn has given you to drink by it a full cup;
after the first, al-Maʾmūr[165] has also given you a second drink.'

"Kaʿb said, 'Messenger of God, I did not recite like that.' 'How did you speak, then?' he asked. Kaʿb said that what he had said was,

'Al-Maʾmūn has given you to drink by it a full cup;
after the first al-Maʾmūn has also given you a second
drink.'

165. In this version the name given al-Maʾmūr means "the one given orders"; al-Maʾmūn means "the one who is trusted".

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Yes indeed, Maʾmūn, "trustworthy".'

"Kaʿb then recited to him the entire ode, to its end."

This was the poem that begins,

"Suʿād has gone away and my heart is sad, enslaved to
her, unransomable and chain-bound ..."

We have referred above to those phrases which differ in the versions of Ibn Isḥāq and al-Bayhaqī, may God, Almighty and Glorious is He, have mercy upon them both.

Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr stated in his book *al-Istiʿāb* that when Kaʿb had completed the verses,

"The Messenger is a light giving illumination, an
unsheathed sword of God, of fine Indian steel ...
I was told that the Messenger of God threatened me; yet
one hopes for pardon from the Messenger of God."

Abū ʿUmar went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gestured to those with him to listen well."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba preceded Abū ʿUmar in stating this, in the former's military chronicles. To God belong all praise, all credit.

I observe that it is given in some accounts that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented Kaʿb with his cloak when he recited the ode. Al-Ṣarṣarī wrote a verse on this in some of his *madāʾiḥ*, "poems of praise". The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr gave a similar account in his work *al-Ghāba*. He stated, "It is this cloak that is in the possession of the Caliphs."

I note that this matter is very broadly known. However, I do not see in any of these well-known written accounts any chain of authorities that I find satisfactory. But God knows best.

It is related that when Kaʿb recited the line, "Suʿād has gone away ..." the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "And who is Suʿād?" "My wife, Messenger of God," responded Kaʿb. "Nay, she did not!" he then said.

However, that is not true. It seems to imply that he imagined that his wife had gone away because of his acceptance of Islam. But it is obvious that what he was referring to was an emotional distancing, not a juridical one.

But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda said, 'When Kaʿb, in his poem, spoke the words, "when the short black men take flight" he could only have been referring to the *anṣār* because of how one of us had treated him, whereas he had singled out the Quraysh *muhājirīn* for his praise. Since the *anṣār* were therefore angry at him, he recited the following verses after he had accepted Islam. In them he praised the *anṣār* and referred to the suffering they had undergone with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and to their success:

"Let those who love a noble life remain in the cavalry
of the fine *anṣār*.
They inherited noble qualities from father to son; the
finest of men are they, sons of the finest,
Men who hurl from their arms strong spears, long like
Indian swords.
And they stare ahead, their eyes red as embers but
their sight untired.
Men who expend their souls for their Prophet by death
in battles of hand and horse,
They cleanse themselves with piety by the blood of the
unbelievers they spill.
They act like fierce, strong-necked lions used to
hunting in secluded valleys.
If you go to them so they may protect you, you'll feel
as safe as if in the haunts of young mountain goats.
At the battle of Badr they struck ʿAlī such a blow as
to bring down all of Nizār.
If the tribes had my knowledge of them, those whom I
oppose would believe me.
(They are) a people who, at times when the stars have
given no rain, will still feed well their guests."'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is said that when Kaʿb recited to him his poem, 'Suʿād has gone away' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Even though you have not spoken well of the *anṣār*, don't they still deserve that?' And so Kaʿb spoke these verses which are included in a *qaṣīda* of his."

He went on, "I learned on the authority of ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Jadʿān that Kaʿb b. Zuhayr recited the verses of 'Suʿād has gone away' to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the mosque."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it, with its chain of authorities given above, back to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī (who said), "Maʿan b. ʿIsā related to me, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Afṭas, from Ibn Jadʿān, who gave it." This chain of transmission is *mursal*, incomplete.

Sheikh Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr, God have mercy upon him, stated in his book *al-Istiʿāb fī Maʿrifat al-Aṣḥāb* after having given some biographical details about Kaʿb b. Zuhayr, "Kaʿb b. Zuhayr was a prolific poet considered pre-eminent in his class, along with his brother Bujayr. Kaʿb was the better poet of the two, while their father Zuhayr was superior to both. Among the fine poetry of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr are the lines,

'Were I surprised by anything, it would be how a young
man goes forward though his fate is hidden from him.
He will strive to achieve what he cannot attain; the
soul is one, while worry is all-encompassing.

As long as a man lives, hope extends before him; the
sight goes out as far as the full extent of space.'"

Thereafter Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr gave other verses too numerous to mention. He did not record the date of his death. Similarly, Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr, in his book *al-Ghāba fī Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba* did not give this information. However, it is related that his father died one year before the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). But God knows best.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "Among the finest verses of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr are those he spoke in praise of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),

'The brown she-camel carries him on, wrapped in his
cloak, like the full moon shining bright on a dark
night
Inside his wrappings or folds of his cloak there is
such religion and such nobility that God well knows.'"

Chapter: Concerning those well-known events and deaths that occurred in 8 AH.

In Jumādā that year the battle of al-Muʾta took place. In Ramaḍān there was the expedition resulting in the conquest of Mecca. Thereafter, in Shawwāl, there was the conflict with Hawāzin at Ḥunayn which was followed by the siege of al-Ṭāʾif. In Dhū al-Qaʿda the *ʿumra* was performed from al-Jiʿrāna and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to Medina for the remainder of that year.

Al-Wāqidī stated that his return to Medina from that journey came six days prior to the end of Dhū al-Ḥijja.

Al-Wāqidī went on, "That year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAmr b. al-Āṣ to Jaʿfar and ʿAmr, sons of al-Julundī, of Banū Azd; the *jizya* tax was taken from the *magūs*, 'the Magians', of the country of these two men and from the bedouins in the areas around there.

"That year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Fāṭima, daughter of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān al-Kilābī, in Dhū al-Qaʿda. She, however, spoke a plea of refuge in God from him,[166] and so he forsook her. It is also said that he gave her the choice and that she chose the worldly life and so he left her.

"In Dhū al-Ḥijja that year, Ibrāhīm, the son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Mārīya, the Copt, was born. The envy of his other wives, the *ummahāt al-muʾminīn*, was aroused when she bore him a male child. The midwife was Salmā, the freed-woman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She came out and informed Abū Rāfiʿ, who went and delivered the good tidings to the Messenger

166. She invoked the *istiʿādha* when he first walked into his apartment where she was. Sources suggest that she had been tricked into saying this by the other wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who were envious of her beauty.

of God (ṢAAS), who presented him with the gift of a slave. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent him (the baby) to Umm Barra, daughter of al-Mundhir b. Usayd b. Khidāsh b. ʿĀmir b. Ghanm b. ʿAdī b. al-Najjār and her husband al-Barāʾ b. Aws b. Khālid b. al-Jaʿd b. ʿAwf b. Mabdhūl."

That year there occurred the deaths in military engagements of those martyrs to whom we made reference above.

We earlier referred to the destruction by Khālid b. al-Walīd of the temple where al-ʿUzzā was worshipped at Nakhla, between Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif. That was five days prior to the end of Ramaḍān that year.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "That year the destruction was carried out of Suwāʿ, (the idol) at Rahāṭ that Hudhayl had worshipped. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, may God be pleased with him, destroyed it, but he found nothing in its treasury. (The idol) Manāt was also destroyed at al-Mushallal; it had formerly been venerated by Aws and Khazraj, the *anṣār* tribes. Saʿb b. Zayd al-Ashhalī, may God be pleased with him, destroyed it."

We referred to this event in a useful and full section of our exegesis of *sūrat al-Najm*, with reference to the words of the Almighty, "and have you considered al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā and Manāt, the third, the last?' (*sūrat al-Najm*; LIII, v.19–20).

Al-Bukhārī made reference, after the material relating to the conquest of Mecca, to Banū Khathʿam's destruction of the temple where they used to worship, and which they called the "*Yemeni*", the "southern" or "*Yemeni*", *kaʿba*, in imitation of the *kaʿba* at Mecca. The latter they knew as the "*Shāmī*", the "northern" or "Syrian", *kaʿba*.

Al-Bukhārī stated: "Yūsuf b. Mūsā related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays, from Jarīr, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked me, "Will you not relieve me of Dhū al-Khalaṣa?" "Yes indeed!" I replied. So I set off with a force of 150 cavalry from (Banū) Aḥmas, who were good horsemen. I used not to feel secure on horses and I told this to the Prophet (ṢAAS). He hit me on the chest with his hand so that I could see its imprint and said, "O God, set him firmly, and make him a guide who is rightly led." And I never fell off a horse thereafter.'"

Dhū al-Khalaṣa was a temple in Yemen belonging to Banū Khathʿam and Banū Bajayla which contained idols they worshipped.

Al-Bukhārī's account continued, "Jarīr went there and destroyed it. When he arrived he found a man who foretold using divining arrows. He was told, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is here! If he gets hold of you he will behead you!'

"While one day he was using his divining arrows, Jarīr came and stood over the man and said, 'You had better break them up and testify that there is no god but God! Otherwise, I'll strike your neck!' The fortune teller broke them and so testified.

"Then Jarīr sent one of the Banū Aḥmas men, called Abū Arṭāt to the Prophet (ṢAAS) to inform him of the good news. When the man reached him, he said, 'Messenger of God, by him who sent you with the truth, by the time I left it

(the temple) it was like nothing but a scabby camel!' Thereat the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) blessed the horses and men of Banū Aḥmas five times."

Muslim related this with various lines, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī, in similar words.

GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS AND NAME-RELATED TERMS

Abū means father. According to Arabic grammatical rules, this word changes to Abī when governed by a preceding word. While, therefore, Abū Ṭālib would mean Ṭālib's father, when the word Ibn, son, is prefixed to the name, the form changes to Abī, and so Ibn Abī Ṭālib, would mean 'the son of Ṭālib's father'. To avoid confusion in this text, however, the term is left here universally as Abū.

The letters 'al-' before a noun represent in Arabic the definite article, 'the'.

The letter b. when part of a name represents a shortened form of the word 'Ibn', 'son'. Thus, the name 'Yaʿqūb b. 'Utba' means 'Yaʿqūb, son of ʿUtba'. In a composite name, as are often given in this text, such as 'Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas' the names of Yaʿqūb's father, grandfather, and great grand-father are given.

The letters bt. a shortened form of the Arabic *bint*, indicates 'girl' or 'daughter'. Thus the name ʿĀʾisha bt. Abū Bakr refers to ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

The letters ṢAAS are inserted after mention of the Prophet Muḥammad. These letters stand for the Arabic words *ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa sallam*; this invocation, recited by Muslims after every reference to the Prophet, whether by name or inference, is normally translated as 'May God's peace and blessings be upon him'.

GLOSSARY ITEMS

Words defined in footnotes associated with the text are not generally included in this glossary.

afkhādh: plural of *fakhdh* (q.v.).

aḥādīth: plural of *ḥadīth* (q.v.).

agnatic: related through descent on the father's side.

ʿālim (pl. *ʿulamāʾ*): scholars or theologians of Islam.

anṣār: the plural of *nāṣir*, helper, or victor. Most commonly met, in this text, in the plural form, it refers to the early Medinan allies of the Prophet who

officially fraternized with the *muhājirīn*, those Muslims who had initially gone into exile from Mecca to Medina in their support for Islam.

ʿarab al-ʿāriba: the original Arabs, who are assumed to have spoken the language of Yaʿrub b. Qaḥṭān.

ʿarab al-mustaʿriba: 'the arabized Arabs', initially referring to those who spoke the Arabic of Ishmael, the dialects of the Ḥijāz, that is. The term is also applied to those not descended from the Arabs of Arabia, but who have been assimilated into Arab culture and who speak Arabic as their native tongue.

ʿArafāt (also ʿArafa): a plain some 13 miles east of Mecca. Essential parts of the *ḥajj* pilgrimage ceremonies occur there, centered on a small granite hill, also known by the same name.

ʿashīra (pl. *ʿashāʾir*): an agnatic group. The word is commonly translated as tribe. An *ʿashīra* is composed of several *afkhādh* (q.v.), while several *ʿashāʾir* form a single qabīla (q.v.).

badana: an animal, commonly a camel, to be offered for sacrifice by a pilgrim at the *ḥajj* (q.v.).

baraka: blessing, in particular that divine force that enables prosperity and happiness. Persons of great piety or holiness are believe suffused with *baraka*, which radiates from them to those around them.

Bakka: an ancient alternative or original name for Mecca. In legend, the name comes from the Arabic verb *bakā*, he wept, applied to Adam's sadness at descending to the barren environment of Arabia after his expulsion from paradise.

baṭn (pl. *buṭūn*): an agnatic group smaller than a *qabīla* (q.v.) but larger than a *fakhdh* (q.v.).

dafʿ: the word used to denote the act of departure from ʿArafāt during the pilgrimage rites.

fakhdh (pl. *afkhādh*): a group of several families claiming descent from the same ancestor.

al-fajr: the dawn; also the superogatory prayer, recommended but not required, performed immediately after dawn. It consists of two *rakʿāt* (q.v.) to be recited audibly.

faṣīla (pl. *faṣā'il*): an agnatic group consisting of the nearest members of one's *ʿashīra* (q.v.).

ghazwa (pl. *ghazawāt*): armed engagements in which the Prophet Muḥammad participated personally. Those he initiated but without his own direct participation are known as *sarāyā* (pl. of *sariyya*).

ḥadīth (pl. *aḥādīth*): a saying, reported action or anecdote relating the words or deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad. An *isnād* (q.v.) precedes the *ḥadīth* and lists the persons by whom the reported material was transmitted.

ḥadīth marfūʿ: a *ḥadīth* related by one of the Companions of the Prophet (see *ṣāḥib*) and quoted directly from the latter.

ḥāfiẓ (pl. *ḥufāẓ*): a person who has memorized the entire *Qur'ān*. Also one of the sacred attributes – the Guardian, the Protector – by which God is known.

ḥajj: the pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca set annually to take place in the first half of the month of *Dhū al-Ḥijja*.

ḥanīf: 1) a devout pre-Islamic monotheist. 2) a person sincerely searching for the ancient religion practised by Abraham, with whom the word is particularly associated.

ḥanīfiyya: the religion of Abraham and the *ḥanīfs*.

ḥaram (or *ḥarām*): a term denoting what is sacred, forbidden or inviolable.

ḥijāba: the office of the custodian of the *kaʿba*; he is known as the *ḥājib*.

ḥijra (or hegira): the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad and his supporters from Mecca into exile in Medina. The date of this event was later adopted as the commencement of the Muslim era, calculated as 622 AD.

ijāza: 1) rendering something legal or permissible. 2) the act of transmitting a *ḥadīth* and attributing the same to an authority without actually having heard that person recite it.

ifāḍa: the movement or departure of pilgrims from ʿArafāt following their performance of the *wuqūf*, 'the standing'.

iḥrām: 1) the rendering sacred or inviolate. 2) the name given to the clothing donned by Muslims entering the *iḥrām* state prior to their participation in the pilgrimage.

isnād: the prefatory material to a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) that lists the sequence of scholars or witnesses who transmitted the account from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad up to the time when it was written down.

izār: the cloth that covers the pilgrim from waist to knees when he commits himself to the sacred state of *iḥrām*.

jāhiliyya: denoting childlike foolishness or ignorance, the word is commonly applied to the period prior to the advent of Islam.

jamra (pl. *jamrāt*): ancient stone pillars symbolizing Satan at Minā. These are pelted with pebbles during the pilgrimage rites, the stones being known as *jamrāt*.

kaʿba: the ancient cube-like structure within the great mosque in Mecca positioned some feet from the sacred spring *zamzam* (q.v.). It is towards this site that Muslims direct their prayers (see *qibla*).

al-Khalīl: 1) a town, also known as Hebron, some 32 miles south of Jerusalem and the site of the Tomb of the Patriarchs, sacred both to Jews and to Muslims. 2) a name or attribute implying close friend or confidant; the word is particularly associated with Abraham.

liwāʾ: 1) a flag, banner or signpost. 2) the issuance of this to those making the pilgrimage to the *kaʿba*.

maqām Ibrāhīm: the 'station' of Abraham. A sanctuary positioned a few feet from the *kaʿba* where Abraham and his co-religionaries would stand for prayer during the summer months.

maghrib: the west or direction in which the sun sets. Also, the fourth canonical Islamic prayer performed at dusk. It consists of three *rakʿāt*; at the first two of these the prayers are spoken audibly, the third in silence.

masjid: the place where the Muslim prostrates in prayer, usually a mosque.

Minā: a location some four miles east of Mecca on the road to ʿArafāt.

ḥadīth mursal: a *ḥadīth* which is considered by scholars to have a fault or inconsistency in the chain of its transmission.

al-Muzdalifa: a location some half way between Minā and ʿArafāt. It is there that pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt spend the night.

nadwa: the act of presiding over assemblies of pilgrims at the *kaʿba*.

parasang: a Persian term for a unit of length, also known as a *farsakh*. One *parasang* equals approximately one league, some three miles, that is.

qabīla (pl. *qabāʾil*): a large agnatic group whose members trace descent from a single ancestor. Often translated as tribe. A *qabīla* is larger than an *ʿashīra* (q.v.) but smaller than a *shaʿb* (q.v.).

qāḍī: a judge appointed by a Muslim community to administer and adjudicate issues of Islamic law.

qibla: the direction to which a Muslim faces when praying. Initially towards Jerusalem but later changed by the Prophet Muḥammad so that Muslims would face Mecca and the *kaʿba* there.

rakʿa (pl. *rakʿāt*): a unit of prayer consisting of a variety of gestures and postures. These *rakʿāt* total 17 each day, divided between the five canonical prayer periods.

al-raḥīm: The All-Compassionate; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

al-raḥmān: the All-Merciful; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

Ramaḍān: the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar. The month of fasting, it was during *Ramaḍān* that divine revelation first came to the Prophet Muḥammad, and it is therefore particularly venerated.

ridāʾ: a length of unsewn cloth that is draped over the left shoulder and around the torso of the pilgrim. This garb is donned by the pilgrim when he enters the *iḥrām* state.

rifāda: the provision of pilgrims with wheat and raisins by certain members of Quraysh of Mecca.

al-saʿy: the ritual rapid walk or jog performed during the pilgrimage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

sabaʾ: the community and kingdom ruling South-West Arabia for centuries prior to the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad.

ṣāḥib (pl. *aṣḥāb, ṣaḥāba*): companion; that community of men who knew and supported the Prophet Muḥammad during his mission.

ṣaḥiḥ: a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) the chain of transmission of which is considered by Muslim scholars to be reliable beyond any reasonable doubt; also, a collection comprised only of such *aḥādīth*.

samʿan: the receipt of a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) from a scholar by listening to him or her recite it and then repeating it back. This method of transmitting and receiving a *ḥadīth* was considered the most trustworthy of all.

shaʿb (pl. *shuʿūb*): a tribal group larger than a *qabīla* (q.v.); a nation, race or people.

shahāda: the profession of faith in Islam by reciting in Arabic the words: 'There is no God but God and Muḥammad is His Messenger'.

shaykh (pl. *shuyūkh*): an elderly man; a tribal or spiritual leader; a distinguished and devout scholar.

shīʿa: the doctrine and its adherent, a *shīʿī*, that considers ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭālib and husband of the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima, was the legitimate spiritual and political heir to the Caliphate of Islam.

sunna: the body of recorded words, actions, gestures and practices of the Prophet Muḥammad. This material constitutes the second foundation of Islam and its legal system, the holy Qurʾān being the first and prime source. In the plural form, *sunan*, reference is made to the compilation, by various authorities of the reported words and actions of the Prophet.

tafsīr: exegesis and commentary, particularly applied to the Qurʾān.

tasmiyya: the enunciation by a Muslim of the formula: 'In the name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate' prior to any act or activity in which he or she might engage.

ṭawāf: ritual circumambulation of a religious site, normally the *kaʿba*.

tubbaʿ (pl. *tabābiʿa*): the title applied to the kings of pre-Islamic Yemen.

wudūʾ: the ritual ablution necessarily practiced by Muslims prior to their performance of prayer.

zamzam: the sacred well positioned close to the *kaʿba* (q.v.) within the *ḥarām al-sharīf*, the sacred enclosure encompassing the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims believe the well to have been miraculously opened through the agency of Gabriel to provide water for Abraham's wife Hagar and their son Ishmael.

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